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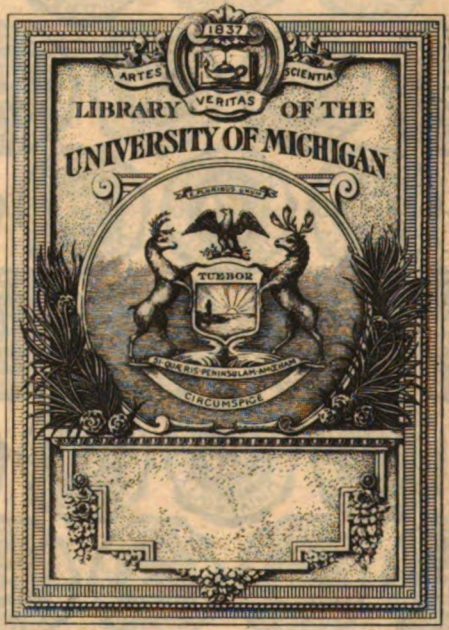

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VOLUME XXV NUMBER 1

August 1927

MODERN PHILOLOGY

A *Journal* devoted to research in Modern Languages and Literatures

THE UNIVERSITY *of* CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

The Cambridge University Press, *London;* The Maruzen-Kabushiki-Kaisha, *Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Fukuoka, Sendai;* The Commercial Press, Limited, *Shanghai*

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VOL. XXV

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Modern Philology is published quarterly by the University of Chicago at the University Press, 5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill. ¶The subscription price is $4.00 per year; the price of single copies is $1.00. ¶Orders for service of less than a half-year will be charged at single-copy rate. ¶Postage is prepaid by the publishers on all orders from the United States, Mexico, Cuba, Porto Rico, Panama Canal Zone, Republic of Panama, Dominican Republic, Canary Islands, El Salvador, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru, Hayti, Uruguay, Paraguay, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Samoan Islands, Balearic Islands, and Spain. ¶Postage is charged extra as follows: for Canada and Newfoundland, 15 cents on annual subscriptions (total $4.15), on single copies, 4 cents (total $1.04); for all other countries in the Postal Union, 25 cents on annual subscriptions (total $4.25), on single copies 6 cents (total $1.06). ¶Patrons are requested to make all remittances payable to The University of Chicago Press in postal or express money orders or bank drafts.

The following are authorized to quote the prices indicated:

For the British Empire: THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, Fetter Lane, London, E.C. 4, England. Yearly subscriptions, including postage, £1 1*s*. 6*d*. each; single copies, including postage, 5*s*. 3*d*. each.

For China: THE COMMERCIAL PRESS, LTD., Paoshon Road, Shanghai. Yearly subscriptions, $4.00; single copies, $1.00, or their equivalents in Chinese money. Postage extra on yearly subscriptions 25 cents, on single copies 6 cents.

Claims for missing numbers should be made within the month following the regular month of publication. The publishers expect to supply missing numbers free only when losses have been sustained in transit and when the reserve stock will permit.

Business correspondence should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.

Communications for the editors and manuscripts should be addressed to The Managing Editor of MODERN PHILOLOGY, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Entered as second-class matter July 13, 1903, at the Post-office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1105, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on July 15, 1918.

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

MODERN PHILOLOGY

EDITED BY

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VOLUME TWENTY-FIVE
1927–1928

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, LONDON
THE MARUZEN COMPANY, LIMITED, TOKYO
THE COMMERCIAL PRESS, LIMITED, SHANGHAI

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Published
August, November, 1927, February, May, 1928

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

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The PRESS IMPRINT

July and August 1927

Humanizing the Sciences

Comment on *The Nature of the World and of Man* by sixteen members of the Faculty of the University of Chicago is running high.

Whatever their intentions toward college Freshmen, which are of no very great interest to the world outside the universities, the sixteen scientists have written sixteen fireside lectures ranging from astronomy to psychology, which the critics rank as the best of recent attempts to humanize the sciences. Opinion runs as follows:

"One of the finest and most engrossing popularizations of current science in existence. . . . . It is simple, clear, concrete, reliable. One emerges from it the richer by solid information and definite concepts."—HENRY HAZLITT, *New York Sun*.

"A manual of the physical and biological sciences of which it would be hard to speak too highly. The volume is so many things that an outline ought to be but frequently is not. It is selective in the sense of plucking the real heart out of a body of data."—*New York Times Book Review*.

"It is unexcelled for the general reader and many of those who have had scientific training will here learn for the first time what it is all about. Above all, it is vigorously inspiring."—*New York Herald-Tribune*.

"For the story is well told, well illustrated, and well colored with human significance. Certainly the volume is accurate; the names of the various contributors guarantee that. Certainly it is interesting and readable, and popular without being diluted."—*The Nation*.

"It sweeps on from one great truth to another in a way that gives one a profound respect for the recent progress of science."—*Saturday Review of Literature*.

"It is fascinating reading for anyone who has a spark of that divine curiosity about the ways of life which causes man to seek, and seeking, to progress."—*Chicago Tribune*.

That the orientation course upon which *The Nature of the World and of Man* is based is helping the students build a workable philosophy of life is indicated in a large body of comment from these students themselves. The following statements are representative of the student attitude toward the course:

"To me this course has been most stimulating. It has given a new and broader conception of the universe. It has aroused in me a new interest and spirit of curiosity. I feel that to some extent, I have learned to value the scientific spirit. The influence that science has upon our lives is better appreciated. I believe that the course was intended to present a brief but comprehensive picture of everything that concerns us, to shake up our minds, and to stimulate us to a little thought. It has done those things for me. I am eager to take more science courses and find out how and why the universe is as it is."

"I find the spirit of science to be open-minded, strong, fearless, and wholesome. It is strange to consider one's self related to the great universe of things. I am very enthusiastic about the course. The realization or the apprehension of the infinitude of the heavens, the universe of the atom has put me in my proper place in the cosmos."

"This course is called an orientation course. This expresses well its aim and what it has

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done for me. It has taken me out of the universe and has set me at a point outside where I could see everything that was going on and look at the ways of the universe from an impartial perspective. It has given an introduction to the natural sciences and their interrelationship. The greatest benefit I have received, a benefit which sinks all other results into insignificance, is that it has caused me to ask myself such questions as 'Who am I?' 'What am I?' and 'Where am I?' It has changed my outlook on the world."

Two printings of *The Nature of the World and of Man* have already been exhausted and a new printing of 15,000 has been ordered. This will include a revision of the chapter on "The Nature of Chemical Processes" by Julius Stieglitz. As re-written it will simplify the subject of chemistry for the layman. *THE NATURE OF THE WORLD AND OF MAN.* By SIXTEEN MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO. *$4.00, postpaid $4.15.*

Gangs

Gang activities are familiar enough in cosmopolitan cities, but strangely, there has been no adequate sociological study of them. The forces that explain gangdom, adult and juvenile, have been brought to light by Professor Frederic M. Thrasher in *The Gang*, a book which critics believe destined to become the standard source book on the subject.

Professor Thrasher spent six years in his study of gangland—the poverty belt which surrounds Chicago's loop district. He lived with the gangsters, interviewed their leaders, and became intimately acquainted with gang life from the inside. Mingling with the "Murderers," the "Deadshots," and members of hundreds of other gangs, he learned their mysteries and secret signs, their attitudes toward society, and toward each other. And he found in investigating 1,313 gangs of all ages and sizes, the facts which explain the sensational features of gang life which are flaunted in the headlines.

He looks upon the gang as a social makeshift, which naturally appears in the cracks of the community and inevitably fosters the spread of crime. Abandoning the idea of a gang instinct, he attempts through a careful study of the natural history, structure, and functioning of the gang, to arrive at the true causes for its existence.

Mr. Thrasher has collected a vast amount of intensely interesting material which he discusses with a minimum of seminar jargon. A large part of the case material was secured from the gang boys themselves. A typical case is the following, obtained in an interview with a gang boy:

BILLY, THE BRAINS

Billy was the brains of the gang. He was "educated," a high-school boy too. He would work sometimes, but not often. The kids would bring their "stuff" to him. One day we had a big fight over it when we were robbing a merchandise car; we had cigarettes, pop, and a lot of other stuff. Billy had his stuff put away in a box with straw on top of it. The watchman looked at the straw, but Billy told him it was for a rabbit. Billy would sell "cartoons" (of cigarettes) for a half a dollar apiece.

Billy would plan things for our gang. He would get us a place to sleep when we were bumming away from home. He would get us keys to the bread boxes, so that we could get food when we were hungry. We would get the bread after the bakers left it early in the morning before the stores opened. . . . . Billy would find us a place to sleep in some house or basement. He would go around everywhere to see if there was a place to sleep or rob; he was a regular investigator.

Henry Zorbaugh of New York University comments: "Dr. Thrasher's monograph should be of interest to the sociologist and psychologist as a model of social research and a contribution to our knowledge of human behavior; to educator and social worker as an illuminating background against which to consider the practical problems of boy adjustment; and to the romantically minded as a fascinating story of 'the web of life' as it is spun in a great city."

Harry Hansen says in the *New York World:* "Here is a remarkable document and one that ought to be a source book for years to

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come. . . . . He has dug right down into boyland, gone to the root of the problem, and produced a book that will become an authority." *THE GANG.* By FREDERIC M. THRASHER. *$3.00, postpaid $3.15.*

Ernest DeWitt Burton

During a half-century of research Ernest DeWitt Burton achieved an international reputation as a New Testament scholar. In two years of extraordinary activity as President of the University of Chicago, he became equally well known as an educational executive. In addition, a leader in missionary and denominational enterprises, he offers an inspiring example of life lived to the full.

Dr. Burton's personality made a deep and lasting impression on those who knew him. "In him," says Henry Justin Smith, "were concentrated the mental vigor of youth and the benignity of age; the devotion of a missionary and the acuteness of a worldling; the simplicity of a plain man and the delicacy of a true aristocrat."

Of his associates, no one is better qualified to portray this great and enormously attractive individual than Thomas W. Goodspeed, who has been an intimate witness of his life-activity. In *Ernest DeWitt Burton: A Biography*, Mr. Goodspeed has followed his career from his student days at Denison, through his work as head of the Oriental Educational Commission, chairman of the China Educational Commission, and President of the University of Chicago, to his last days.

Mr. Goodspeed has not attempted to idealize Ernest DeWitt Burton, but to present him as he was in every period of his life. *ERNEST DeWITT BURTON.* By THOMAS W. GOODSPEED. *$3.00, postpaid $3.10.*

Dr. Burton left unpublished some exceedingly valuable work, and this has been preserved in two posthumous volumes, *Christianity in the Modern World*, and *A Short Introduction to the Gospels.*

The first of these volumes brings out one of the most attractive phases of Dr. Burton's character. Internationally known as a New Testament scholar, and as President of the University of Chicago, Ernest DeWitt Burton has another side no less great, but not as well known. This was Dr. Burton the Christian and exemplar of the practical Christian life, the man of deep religious experience and conviction.

This phase of his character is uppermost in this collection of his fugitive utterances on religious themes. Here are his great *apologia pro vita sua*, "Why I am content to be a Christian"; his views upon Jesus and Paul; and the essence of his thinking on Christian education and world-problems.

This book is fittingly concluded with "Christian Education in China," Dr. Burton's last public address.

The second of the two volumes incorporates his final conclusions in a work representing one of his most important projects. Dr. Burton continued during his last years the researches concerning the origins of the Four Gospels which had been the basis of his valued *Short Introductions to the Gospels.* He made further investigations regarding the dates of the Synoptic Gospels, and approached the Fourth Gospel from a new point of view, applying the method of source criticism which he had already used with conspicuous success in the case of the Synoptic Gospels.

These significant advances have been incorporated by Harold R. Willoughby in a new revision of the volume, which brings to biblical students valuable new material. Two important sections of fresh material found in Dr. Burton's files have been added. The first renders an exceptional judgment regarding the dates of the Synoptic Gospels. The second outlines a unique theory concerning the composition of the Fourth Gospel which illuminates the Johannine depiction of Jesus.

This authoritative revision places before students of the Gospels those facts concerning the purpose and point of view of each of them which are most necessary for an intelligent understanding of them. *CHRISTIANITY IN THE MODERN WORLD.* By ERNEST D. BURTON. *$2.00, postpaid $2.10. A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO THE GOSPELS.* By ERNEST D. BURTON AND HAROLD R. WILLOUGHBY. *$1.75, postpaid $1.85.*

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The Earlier and Later Forms of Petrarch's Canzoniere

By Ruth Shepard Phelps

Petrarch is rich enough to reward with fresh discoveries all who take the pains to study his work. Ruth Shepard Phelps has now added to the sum of knowledge about this great poet in her new book on the arrangement of the Canzoniere. She has subjected the artist's methods to close scrutiny and says, regarding her conclusions, "Yet our recognition of Petrarch's susceptibility to the common human exigencies, while it perhaps destroys the myth of a superhumanly perfect and impeccable artist, at the same time seems to bring us nearer to Petrarch the man."

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The new "University of Chicago Junior College Series" of German texts embodies all the most recent progress in the methods

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Two volumes are ready for immediate use. They are *A Modern German Grammar*, by Peter Hagboldt and F. W. Kaufmann; and *Inductive Readings in German*, Book I, by the same authors.

The grammar offers an absolutely new method of combining analysis and synthesis. Each lesson is scientifically constructed, with analysis of the reading text and development of grammatical principles followed by synthesis or actual use of what has been learned.

This new pedagogically scientific grammar disposes of the old grammar method which considered the rule the basic element of language. It is designed to help the student derive for himself the principles of grammar. The principle upon which this text is based is the foundation of scientific teaching and learning: that the student be called upon to work out grammatical problems through observation, reasoning, and imitation.

There is an abundance of direct-method practice material, the reading selections are made as interesting as possible, and grammar is reduced to its minimum essentials.

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Two other readers, a review grammar, a book on German words, a book on the problems and technique of teaching German, and a series of tests are in preparation. The entire series will be made up of materials which have been thoroughly tried by experienced instructors in the University of Chicago and elsewhere. *A MODERN GERMAN GRAMMAR. Minimum Essentials Inductively Presented.* By PETER HAGBOLDT AND F. W. KAUFMANN. *$1.85, postpaid $1.95. INDUCTIVE READINGS IN GERMAN.* Book I. By PETER HAGBOLDT AND F. W. KAUFMANN. *$1.25, postpaid $1.35.*

The "University of Chicago Junior College Series" of French texts, initiated not long ago with Otto F. Bond's *The Sounds of French* and *An Introduction to the Study of French*, has, because of the departure of its methods from those generally in use, become a center of controversy. Mr. Bond maintains that most of his critics have mistaken his aims. Answering one of them, Colley F. Sparkman, in the *Modern Language Journal*, he says: "I am afraid that Mr. Sparkman suspects me of having wished upon the public a substitute for a composition grammar or some *bête difforme* lacking synthetic legs and a *raison d'être*, since he would have me add various types of exercises involving composition. Let me point out that the Preface (page viii) states the purpose of the book as being to enable the student to read (not write or converse!) in a short time and to prepare him for better and more rapid progress in acquiring expression power.

"Incidentally, why do language teachers struggle manfully to uphold the conversation and composition banner in beginning courses, since better than 50 per cent of their beginners leave them when the requirements have been satisfied?"

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The Practice of Teaching in the Secondary School

By

HENRY C. MORRISON

The title of this book indicates its scope only when one understands Professor Morrison's conception of the secondary school. He defines it to be that region in the process of education within which the pupil is capable of study but incapable of systematic intellectual growth without the constant aid of the teacher—that is, the period from about the beginning of the fourth grade to the end of the junior college.

In his service as high-school teacher and principal, city superintendent, state superintendent, and finally for the last six years as a professor in the University of Chicago, with the resources of the Laboratory Schools at his disposal, Professor Morrison has been approaching the present formulation of his critical and constructive contribution to secondary education. The result is the most exhaustive analysis of teaching in the field of general education which has appeared in English.

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lion poorly nourished children from all classes in New York City alone.

There are many reasons why not only the nutrition expert but the parent needs the best available scientific knowledge of the nutrition problem. Malnutrition is an insidious enemy of childhood—it stunts growth, shortens life, increases susceptibility to disease, retards mental development. Its effect upon the nervous system is especially marked. The rapidly developing brain and nervous system of a child require certain food materials, and a moderate covering of fat is needed to protect the nerves from external stimulation. When this is lacking, headaches, insomnia, irritability, over-activity, and even hysteria develop. If nothing is done to improve his condition, the undernourished child becomes thin, anemic, wing-shouldered, dull, listless, and backward.

In combating malnutrition, teachers, parents, students, and others concerned with nutrition problems have been handicapped by the lack of a comprehensive survey of the entire subject. The needed information has been scattered through hundreds of magazines, journals, and bulletins, many of them written in technical language. In *Nutrition Work with Children*, Lydia J. Roberts has supplied the needed survey. Here in a single volume are materials for which it was previously necessary to search through many. *NUTRITION WORK WITH CHILDREN*. By Lydia J. Roberts. *$3.50, postpaid $3.65.*

* * *

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We have recently printed, and should be glad to send those who want it, a booklet about the University of Chicago Press and how it functions as "The Voice of a University." To quote from it: ". . . . there are organizations which see in books not only the beauty of form, but which see through the book to its contents, and which insist that in content the quality of the printed page shall be preserved. This is the special opportunity of the great university presses. The university presses must restore and deserve the medieval belief in the sacredness of books. If men can find in books ideas which liberate and enlighten them, their reverence for books will live. . . . . This is the special function of the university press."

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MODERN PHILOLOGY

VOLUME XXV *August 1927* NUMBER 1

THE CYCLE OF CRITICISM

Since the days of Kant, philosophers have often defined criticism as the attempt to mediate between skepticism and dogma. If literary men and interpreters and historians of the other arts would adopt this definition they would find that its implications would mellow the issue between impressionistic and judicial critics. Let us go on to assert that criticism is not a "subject," a detached branch of learning, but a phase. Criticism is an inevitable and frequently recurrent stage in all those cycles of thinking and acting which constitute human life. This corollary of ours will exorcise the phantom distinction between "creation" and "criticism." Finally, it will lead us on to a review of the requirements which must be fulfilled before we can say that we have learned how to study literature and the other arts by a genuinely scientific method. We shall see that at some recurrent stages in any normal behavior-cycle literary criticism is inevitably artistic in emphasis while at other stages its aim must be scientific.

It is probable that the futile attempt to sharpen an antithesis between "criticism" and "creation" and then to dub "criticism" parasitical or pedantic, destructive, or fault-finding has a wider vogue among English-speaking peoples because of the narrow meaning attached to the word "criticism" in the England of the eighteenth century and perhaps because of the proverbial Anglo-Saxon negligence of "ideas" as opposed to "facts." On the other hand, the French have not secured a more genuine precision by using *critique* for the

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literary work of a Lemaître or a Brunetière, *criticisme* for the German *kritik*, that is, for the epistemological researches of a Renouvier or for a Poincaré's analysis of scientific concepts. If the English use is too narrowly confined to fault-finding or to opinions of taste, the French choice of two words overemphasizes the real but not unbridgeable distinction between evaluation (appreciation) and scientific description.[1] Anatole France's account of the adventures of his soul among literary masterpieces, the gossip of painters in a studio about their technique, Boileau's rule-making for poets, Thomas Warton's attempt to approach *The Faërie Queene* through historical perspectives, Taine's search for formulas for the scientific description of English literature, Mach's inquiry into the meaning of "sensation" for physics and psychology, the organization of Göttingen seminars to winnow the data for humanistic sciences, and Kant's analysis of the antinomies that baffle the pure reason—all these works have in common the aspiration to mediate between skepticism and dogma; all involve appreciation and description. Only the proportions differ. Boileau accepted too many misleading traditions. But he could on occasion reason sturdily. Kant reduced our hopes for "the pure reason." But he sought to establish a rarefied faith. Poincaré's emphasis on hypothesis warns equally against intellectual paralysis and a false sense of security. All these writers, whatever their topics, passed through series after series of behavior-cycles essentially the same, of which criticism was but a phase, a phase common to all humanity, but a phase over which they tarried somewhat longer in passing than poet and peasant, merchant and statesman, and scientific experimentalist.

It follows that epistemology which asks how knowledge is possible—in so far as it rejects the two extremes of Pyrrhonism and authoritarianism—is the most critical kind of criticism. It is not likely that an individual can furnish an absolutely impregnable theory of knowledge—least of all within an essay of this scope. But he can reflect, he can read patiently enough to discern the progress manifest in the history of philosophy, and he can declare himself tentatively

[1] For a brief history of the word *criticisme* as contrasted with *critique*, cf. J. T. Merz, *A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh and London, 1912), III, 97, n. 2.

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but unequivocally. Such epistemological humility and openness is the open sesame to the city of honest fellowship.[1]

If we return now to the French *critique* and *criticisme* and remember that the latter term serves to label knowledge-seeking work, while the former refers to valuing activities, we find ourselves confronted with two of our earlier observations: that knowing and valuing (of the more sophisticated sort) may be subsumed under our definition of criticism, yet knowledge and value have their differences. Value and knowledge are diverse enough to compete and co-operate.

There are still some thinkers who would make knowledge and value one. But in this essay we shall be at least consistent if we follow scientists and the majority of realistic philosophers in the contention that value and knowledge do not fuse in any enduring equilibrium—though I would insist that at times they aid each other and that each one would atrophy if it remained in perpetual isolation from the other.[2]

For the truth-seeker cognition is in the saddle. In the process of valuing, emotions and conations (ranging from desire and aversion to will) dominate. He who would know, be it the best or the worst of all possible universes, sets aside his likes or dislikes. An object is valuable only in so far as it is liked or disliked by some organism. A thing may exist whether you or I know it or not. But a Chinese coin is no medium of exchange, charity is no virtue, and Keats's "Ode to a Nightingale" is not a great poem save in the presence of one who cherishes them as useful, good, or beautiful in accordance with the peculiar appeal of each object to complexes of his emotions and conations which will be appropriate to the particular kind of value involved. This is to make value a relation.

[1] Temporarily, at least, I find most congenial the theory of knowledge called "critical realism." Cf. Drake, Pratt, Lovejoy, Rogers, Santayana, Sellars, and Strong, *Essays in Critical Realism* (New York, 1921); Roy Wood Sellars, *Evolutionary Naturalism* (Chicago and London, 1922); James Bisset Pratt, *Matter and Spirit* (New York, 1922); Arthur Kenyon Rogers, *The Nature of Truth* (New Haven, 1923); George Santayana, *Scepticism and Animal Faith* (New York, 1923); Charles Augustus Strong, *A Theory of Knowledge* (New York, 1923); Durant Drake, *Mind and Its Place in Nature* (New York, 1925). The writings of Arthur O. Lovejoy, with whom I believe that I have the most in common, are still unfortunately widely scattered. The quickest access to his work may be gained by a survey of the bound volumes of the notable philosophical magazines, e.g., the *Journal of Philosophy* and the *Philosophical Review*.

[2] I have offered a defense of this position and an account of its significance for aesthetics and the criticism of the arts in "The Interactions of Beauty and Truth," *Journal of Philosophy*, XXII, No. 15 (July 16, 1925), 393–402.

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Such a view forces the frank admission that value is not objective. Does it follow that standards of taste are impossible? This would mean ultimately the denial of any socially communicable *critique*. It might well appear at this point that our only way out of the cul-de-sac is to define value as objective, i.e., a quality entirely in the object valued. This is the view of common sense. But the philosophers who defend it are growing fewer daily. And it would not salvage for us a *critique* socially communicable through the existence of standards in our universe of discourse. For the definition of value as a quality in an object leads implacably to the admission that beyond this point each value is indefinable. You say that value is an indefinable quality in an object? Reason cannot accept ultimates of this sort if there is any other reasonable way out.[1] As opposed to this objective view I believe that experience proves the relational definition of value to be (1) more adequate for value itself; (2) more illuminating as a basis for the explanation of the difference between value and knowledge and their interaction, thus enlightening us as to the relation between impressionistic and judicial criticism which praise and blame and scientific criticism which tells the truth; (3) perfectly reconcilable with a doctrine of standards and thus admitting a socially communicable *critique* which, like *criticisme*, will be concerned in its own way with the mediation between skepticism and dogma. Value, then, is a relation. In other words, an object is valuable (useful, good, or beautiful) in so far as it arouses in a person certain emotions and conations which differ with different value-relations.[2] Such values, while not purely objective, are not utterly subjective; they require both a thing valued,

[1] For an excellent account of the limitations of the objective theory of value cf. I. A. Richards, *The Principles of Literary Criticism* (London and New York, 1924), pp. 38 ff., in general a very important book although somewhat too large, perhaps, in its concessions to behavioristic psychology and decidedly too sweeping, I think, in its effort to divorce aesthetic experience and mysticism.

[2] I have attempted to differentiate the several values in "Usefulness, Goodness, and Beauty," *Journal of Philosophy*, XXI, No. 3 (January 31, 1924), 64–71, and "Beauty and Goodness, Art and Morality," *International Journal of Ethics*, XXXVI, No. 4 (July, 1926). The best defense of the relational theory of values, to my mind, is by David W. Prall, *A Study in the Theory of Value*, "University of California Publications in Philosophy," Vol. 3, No. 2. This monograph is of special interest for literary critics and historians because it is by a man who, because of his dissatisfaction with the study of literature either as the mere accumulation of facts or the indulgence of loose appreciation, entered the field of philosophy. The final chapter of his essay is on literary criticism. I cannot begin to express my indebtedness to this essay. But I must add that I am not quite satisfied with its treatment of standards and of the possible relations between evaluation and scientific description.

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with its various properties, and a valuer, with his emotions and conations. Such values may be reasoned about, if not so arrogantly as the older judicial critic thought, at least fruitfully enough to dispel the jaunty skepticism of the more extreme impressionistic critics and the fatalistic indifference of those scientific students of literature who are lost in antiquarian research.

Critique then, like *criticisme*, must mediate between skepticism and dogma. Must? What of those who have said that there is no disputing about tastes? Impressionistic critics are said to rest with this declaration. But find me a single one who has done so steadfastly. "Aelion was an ass," cries Anatole France with a finality that implies a standard or two. This is characteristic of all impressionists. Their skeptical tilt has been exaggerated by their foes. The fact that impressionistic critics write and publish attests their belief in the communicability of tastes and standards. Their work is usually the frank and glowing account of one man's taste. But it does not follow that they would discourage argument about it. They have questioned not standards but authority. And dogma cannot stand on its own legs, as William P. Montague has of late most effectively reminded us.[1] Why are the Ten Commandments profound? Because Moses uttered them. But why accept Moses? Because he reasoned coherently or because he observed well or because he had a subtle intuition of God's message or because he tried his doctrines and we have tried them and they work—in other words, because rationalism or empiricism or mysticism or pragmatism is a sound way of knowing or valuing. But this is to submit authority to critical analysis and purification or support. *Criticisme* and *critique* are inevitably recurrent phases of all behavior-cycles. They are distinguishable. But they can co-operate. And the wise man will try to prolong them whenever they recur.

If our organisms were perfect and the universe in absolute harmony life would consist of nothing but primordial liking, valuing. Neither *criticisme* nor *critique* would be necessary. But inner conflicts wage war in our pilgrim souls and obstacles lurk for us in the Valley of the Shadow of Death, Evil, and Ugliness. In these tragic imperfections John Dewey finds the causation of thought. It begins with a

[1] The sentences which follow in the text are condensed and paraphrased from an invincible analysis of authoritarianism in Montague, *The Ways of Knowing* (New York, 1925), pp. 40 ff.

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"felt difficulty." The second step is the "location" of the difficulty, a diagnosis based on observation and classification. Third comes "the suggestion of a solution," the formation of a hypothesis. Fourth, we must needs "reason" about the solution, search out its deductive implications as we sit in our armchairs far from the madding facts, worshiping clean consistency, building forms of thought. Fifth, and last, comes the return to the facts, "further observation and experiment leading to" the "acceptance or rejection" of the suggested "solution" or hypothesis.[1]

Whenever with a "felt difficulty" internal or external a new cycle of thought begins and we are shaken out of an evanescent period of delighted reverie or smooth automatic activity, then comes the opportunity to be a critic in the face of two temptations: (1) A man may be tempted to regress to a fool's paradise of reverie by falling back on authority, any authority which promises a quick "getaway" from his pain. No need to dwell here on the very dignified and respectable dogmas. But it is worth noting that sentimentalism is crude dogma of which one species is the "optimistic squint" which Owen Wister once declared our national malady. The sentimentalist who refuses with obstinate frivolity to accept the brute fact of his "felt difficulty" is simply a dogmatist who chooses for his authority his own fading daydreams and those of a mob of kindred Laodiceans. These slothful fantasies he declares to be more real than the realities which beleaguer him. That way madness lies: the preference of the pretty to the beautiful, the philistine idolatry of the increase of creature-comforts as "progress," the overvaluation of individual wealth to support these. Here we have the seeds of world-wars and revolutions. We should note here also the cynic whose dogma is an oversimplified facile explanation of the facts. Suppose, for instance, when some "felt difficulty" has led him to think, he reads that man first thought of personal immortality when in a trivial moment he caught a reflection of his hairy visage in a woodland stream. He is too weak to endure the pain of thinking long enough to discover with Aristotle and George Santayana that "everything ideal has a natural basis and everything natural an ideal development." It is easier to accept an easily attained unpleasant conclusion than to struggle in the fell clutch of circumstance with the pain of thinking that promises no paradise. Why not

[1] Cf. Dewey, *How We Think.*

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then conclude at once that a cathedral is naught but an expression of cowering fear? The conclusion is disappointing. But at least it relieves the tension of uncertain questing thought and allows one to relax into the reposeful attitude of the man with the muckrake. (2) A troubled soul may follow a line of least resistance more immediate in its devastating influence than dogmatic sentimentalism or cynicism; he may be tempted to doubt anyone's ability to reach a solution. He may become a palsied skeptic. But if he surmounts these two temptations he becomes the critic, the meliorist.

The man who presses on to the "location" the diagnosis of the difficulty resorts to a wide-ranging observation and classification of facts. Observation and classification are of course the mere *a b* of scientific method. Unfortunately, they still remain the last stages of a great deal of so-called scientific literary criticism and history. Romantic indulgence of our more primitive mental contents, emotions, and sudden impulses lead to a repudiation of the humdrum present for the strange and therefore wonderful past. Antiquarianism is thus one of the many restless activities of the romantic spirit. But only the sentimentalist or cynic or doctrinaire or skeptic would condemn these beginnings of scientific literary criticism. One need but contrast man's knowledge of classical culture in the days of Pico della Mirandola with that of the age of Sir Gilbert Murray. Even more dramatic is the growth of understanding of medieval literature in the shorter period that extends from the Walpole of Strawberry Hill to George Lyman Kittredge.

But the process of thinking proceeds, as Dewey shows, to a third stage, hypothesis-making. In this exalted phase criticism is quite properly at a low ebb. A man must be susceptible to an epical faith. Such critical impulse as he may have at this time is impressionistic. His sensibilities must vibrate. His emotions must flow swift and deep like the arrowy river toward some oceanic embrace. This is true not only for poet and musician but for the scientist who at this imaginative stage of striding analogies must be fairly mystical in his susceptibility to the affinities which draw remote things like stars and tides and which account for the resistance to the demolisher of the invisible molecules of diamond and Damascan blade. He hears hidden harmonies and detects vast furtive caresses.

But even the mystic knows that such ecstasies are followed by

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periods of "dryness." Once more man is tempted to become dogmatist or skeptic and give up the Odyssean voyage of thought in some snug, smug port. But the critic will here mediate between dogma and skepticism in a fourth stage, the deductive examination of the implications of his hypothesis, a stage of judicial criticism par excellence, but also a stage for scientific criticism as soon as it comes to make a more intensive use of logic and mathematics. For it is at this point that the most venerable sciences in scrutinizing their own hypotheses have availed themselves of the perfect deductions of mathematics. There is no reason to suppose that mathematical deduction will not prove available for the scientific study of literature. Indeed, there are already a few pioneers among us; Edith Rickert, for instance, in her analysis of literary styles at the University of Chicago. And while we await the conquest of mathematics for literary criticism there is no excuse for the neglect of the severe logical analysis of literary hypotheses. We spend disproportionate effort on the search for the predecessors and imitators of Zola, for example, while failing to search deeply for the implications of his program for the experimental novel. What epistemology does he presuppose? Or do conflicting epistemologies undermine his whole edifice? Does he understand the true meaning of experiment? Compare what he says about determinism with what a celebrated contemporary scientist like J. H. Jeans tells us about the same concept[1] in his account of the conflicting attitudes underlying the great frontier-theories of relativity and the quantum of energy. But while seeking the mote in his victim's eye let the truly scientific critic at each recurrent fourth or deductive stage in his behavior-cycles pluck out his own beam by making sure that he knows just what he himself means when he uses the words "form," "content," "meaning," "style," "realism," "romanticism," "classicism," "expression," "goodness," "sublimity," "truth," "beauty," "genre," "facts," "history," and all the rest of his very stock-in-trade.

The judicial critic, as he meditates on the plausibility of a standard formed in the now waning glow of the third stage, will return to the C-major of life in the sober deductive fourth stage by asking first of all in what sense may standards exist midway between the despair of the skeptics and the arrogance of the dogmatists. For us in this essay

[1] Cf. his "Address," published in *Nature*, February 29, 1926.

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the logical situation may seem acute. We stand committed, if we admit a difference between value and knowledge, to the admission that beauty and truth are not the same. If we entertain the hypothesis that a thing is valuable only in so far as related to an individual dominated by emotions and conations, we must accept the logical consequence that what is beautiful for one may for another be ugly. But it does not follow that two such individuals may not, if they choose, reason about their conative-affective attitudes. And the more we reason about values the more we are forced to appeal to cognitive attitudes, to knowledge. We seek information. We must tell the truth about works of art, whether or not these works of art themselves attempt to tell the truth as well as to be beautiful. Truth thus becomes an auxiliary to the discussion of beauty. Before we can decide whether the Miltonic or the stricter Petrarchan sonnet is more beautiful we must see to it that both contestants are aware of the truth that the English poet welded sestet and octave more closely by enjambment. In order to choose between the relative aesthetic merits of the symphonies of Mozart and César Franck we must state correctly the facts about the Belgian composer's use of generative motives. A defense of the paintings of Matisse as beautiful is pretty sure to be supported by true propositions about the unusual devices he employed for producing on canvas the illusion of the third dimension. A sculptor's statement that it is bad art to make a bowstring of clay is a mere expression of a dislike, a value judgment. But he will strive to support it by telling the truth about various properties of clay. And we tell the truth when what we say the sculptor said corresponds with what he actually said, whether or not his taboo on clay bowstrings is or is not justified by the facts about clay or by his personal dislikes.

Of what significance are these truths for values? Here we come to an old question. Are the values of the learned man in any sense more valuable than those of the vulgar? Should the preferences of the expert be accorded any prestige? Has the well-informed man a richer, deeper, more intense conative-affective attitude? Is an expert learned? He is. Skill may be in part instinctive. But all psychologists today are agreed that skill is in large part learned. And such learning involves not merely muscular practice but the acquisition of theories. While the athlete plunges at a tackling-dummy his coach tells him

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how to do it and why he should do it in a certain way. But does learning desiccate emotion? It is an old superstition that connoisseurship is gained only at the cost of atrophied feelings and desires, that warm enthusiasms give way to feeble querulousness. But common sense (in its saner moods) and psychology know that restraint sharpens gusto in contrast with indulgence which leads straight to satiety and on to the impotent disgust of the burnt-out *roué*. The accumulation of truths has been said to dull spontaneity. Are the naïve, then, more spontaneous? No; for the naïve are guided by common sense. And common sense is the mass of uncriticized opinions of a community. This includes superstitions. And superstitions inhibit whereas the growth of the scientific control of nature has shown that science makes us free. The genuinely sophisticated man, then, is really more consistently and finely spontaneous than the naïve. The learned man has been emancipated from the chilling unknown, the skilful man has been freed from his clumsiness to feel and to desire profoundly and audaciously. It follows that the expert cherishes higher values than the philistine, the sentimentalist, the idolator, the trifler, and the cynic. By all means let our values be supported by knowledge and reason.

Standards, then, are possible. And well-reasoned values are more valuable than primitive values. But are standards eternal verities? This dispute would soon prove idle if literary men would once for all admit with the scientist that all our generalizations are hypotheses of various degrees of probability in accordance with the extent to which they have been deductively analyzed and then resubmitted to the facts. We are here at one not only with the scientists but with the great religious seers who admit the imperfection of knowledge, the need of faith, and the indispensability of righteous living as a kind of experimental test of the workability of our beliefs in God, freedom, and immortality. Thus we cut the Gordian knot which has so long held in deadlock judicial literary critics with their more or less uncritical authoritarianism and impressionistic literary critics in so far as they drift toward skepticism. Let us now seek some of the practical consequences of a frank admission that standards of taste are hypotheses. A single illustrative example will throw a spotlight on all significant implications. Racine obeyed the canons of the unities. Corneille chafed under them. Shakespeare ignored them. Yet all three have

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been acclaimed great. Old-fashioned judicial criticism concluded that Shakespeare was a gifted barbarian who might have been a great artist if he had known and obeyed the rules. Romanticism rejoined that the growing taste for Shakespeare exposed the homicidal pedantry of the champions of the unities. An impressionism sufficiently skeptical would generalize this into the denial of all standards. But take all these theories back to the facts. We find that long after the drama was emancipated from the unities Ibsen used them in *Hedda Gabler*. Manifestly they served well his peculiar technique, the limitation of his play to crucial moments, the adroit insinuations of bits of his characters' past into the swift dialogue of the present. Hedda Gabler is shown at her pitch of pride. Her prolonged sinister achievements are revealed in the casual allusions of a few passing moments. The brief time, the limited space, the rapier-thrust action dash her to ruin with an abruptness appalling in its contrast with the equally appalling success of a long career of evil. Thus new facts justify the unities as at least capital instruments for the attainment of rapidity of action and concentration and intensity of emotional effect. This is the way science treats hypotheses. It is slow to accept, slow to scrap them. It takes them back again and again to the facts. It revises them.

The history of scientific hypotheses suggests a great hope for the future of aesthetic standards once they are treated as hypotheses. On the whole, the "laws" of nature which science has gradually verified have endured the test of eternal vigilance. For all the talk about "Copernican revolutions" relativity now shows the truth in Ptolemaic astronomy while further supporting Copernicus. The study of radioactivity throws new light on the doctrine of the elements yet also salvages the element of truth in the beliefs of the alchemists. The momentary distrust which shook astronomers when they found discrepancies in the orbit of Uranus as calculated by Herschel on well-known principles lead, through the work of Adams, Leverrier, and Galle, to the discovery of Neptune and the triumphant reassertion of order in the tremendous spaces of our solar system and our galaxy. Newtonian mechanics are merely refined by the genius of Einstein. If, then, we are humble enough to call standards of taste "hypotheses" and subject them to scientific verifications and reverifications, may

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we not be rewarded by finding them to be "laws" of nature and human nature? And this would leave to a faith sufficiently sober and fearless to endure repeated scrutiny the right to believe that these purified standards are probably eternal verities subject at worst to occasional limiting or broadening refinement.

Literary men, even those who defend judicial criticism, have grown too evasive of late to list specific standards lest the mention of them spell their annihilation. Fortunately for us, the philosophers are more candid and courageous. Recently De Witt H. Parker has collected an interesting list.[1] (1) "The complete use of the medium": For example, "Unless the *vers-libristes* can show some positive gain in expression,—a power to do something that normal verse cannot do, their work must rank lower than normal verse, which makes fuller use of the rhythmical possibilities of language." (2) "The unique use of the material": We compare the arts with each other. And we see no reason for "poetry to be merely imagistic or merely musical when we have another art that can give us much better pictures and still another that can give us much better music." (3) The use of the medium "to delight the senses" to such a degree as to compel us to feel at one "with the object expressed." (4) The "range and vision of the [artistic] object," the "depth and breadth of the aesthetic experience" which a work of art is capable of evolving in a susceptible contemplator: "A Velasquez is greater than a Peter De Hooch because, in addition to an equal beauty of expression through color and line and composition, an equal dominion over light and space, it contains a marvelous revelation of the inner life, which is absent from the latter." (5) "Freshness": The avoidance where possible of "well-worn" expressions however great the utilitarian value of their facile repetition for the humdrum of practical life. (6) "Spontaneity and inner necessity, the signs of a genuine, as opposed to a factitious, expression. If we get the impression from a work of art that no part could be otherwise—not a single line or note or stroke of the brush—then we have the same sort of feeling towards it that we have towards the living thing that was not made by hands capriciously, but *grew* in its inevitable way in accordance with the laws of its own nature." This implies (7) "restraint," which might almost be segregated as a stand-

[1] *The Principles of Aesthetics* (Boston and New York, 1920), pp. 135 ff.

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ard itself. "Compose your passion, we say to the musician; pattern it forth, we say to the poet; it will not lose its vigor; rather it will acquire a new power." These last three standards involve questions of form and content, unity and variety, just as the first two involve technique, the third and fourth a sensitive *rapport* with our fellows as well as with our medium. Finally, we stress two more principles which Parker plainly and justly conceives of as standards. (8) A work of art must be loyal to the autonomy of art. It may portray but it must not be ruled by religious creeds, moral codes, sciences, economic or political activities, parochialism, nationalism, the *Zeitgeist*. (9) A work of art is bound to reveal a continuity (which should be significant) with other works of the same artist with the same genre and with the spacious history of all the arts. Consequently, no man in a partisan mood, an idolator of his childhood tastes, a narrow patriot, a sectarian, a puritan, a philistine, a devotee of momentary fads, can judge aesthetically a work of art in agreement with a majority of experts.[1]

Already in our advocacy of the treatment of standards as hypotheses and the frequent return with them to the facts we had passed from the third through the fourth to the last stage of thought, the fifth, which Dewey describes as "further observation and experiment" culminating in "the acceptance or rejection" of our "suggested solution." We should study comprehensively the tastes of experts and mobs. Something but all too little for the survey of the taste of experts has been done by way of "collective criticism," suggested in one way or another by Hennequin, John McKinnon Robertson, and others, studies of the history of the reputations of individual authors at the hands of their critics of various generations and countries. Practically nothing has been done by way of statistical examination of the tastes of the crowds in the street although this would be illuminating not only to the historian but even at times to the puzzled connoisseur.[2]

The kind of observation involved in a relatively mature fifth stage of a behavior-cycle should obviously be more synthetic than the rela-

[1] In addition to Parker's work we should read and adapt for all the arts the principles of musical criticism boldly and sanely formulated by W. H. Hadow, *Studies in Modern Music* (8th ed.; London, 1909), pp. 22 ff. Hadow's standards correspond very closely with Parker's. Although they are fewer in number they are individually more comprehensive.

[2] Professor Edward Stevens Robinson, of the Department of Psychology of the University of Chicago, is at work on some illuminating observations of the taste of the man of the street in picture galleries.

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tively primitive observation at the first confusing onset of a "felt difficulty." Here again the established sciences can teach literary critics who aspire to be scientific a profound lesson. Already the physicist and the chemist have, by combining their investigations, revolutionized our conception of matter. Close on the heels of the physical chemists, already exultant with new perspectives and on the threshold of epoch-making discoveries, come the investigations of the still younger synthetic science of biochemistry. The present entente between the biological sciences and psychology, although it has produced a few mordantly narrow "behaviorists" has wonderfully clarified much of the study of the human individual. The age of specialization has not fled. It is, in fact, the fulfilment of one of the most fundamental of the tendencies of organic evolution. But by breaking down the more artificial boundaries between branches of learning which were defined in less enlightened days we are saving ourselves from standing aghast before a new Tower of Babel. Far in the rear of this forward movement lag the students of literature and the other arts. And for this they are justly censured by their colleagues in the more progressive sciences. The scientific literary critics should lose no time in combining their findings with those of biology, ethnology, and psychology.

The most refined activity of the fifth stage is of course experiment. If the scientific critic of literature succeeds in assimilating this technical achievement of the greatest sciences he will obviously deal with contemporary phenomena. The naturalistic traditions in the novel, the drama, poetry, painting, sculpture, and even music have already brought these genres and science into closer *rapport*. And the composers of these arts are likely at any moment now to subject themselves to the experimental investigations of a literary critic who can combine a rich knowledge of the arts of the past with a good technical equipment in biology and psychology.

Rhythmically, throughout the five thoughtful stages of every behavior-cycle criticism waxes at the crisis to mediate between dogma and skepticism and wanes as actions and thoughts flow for a while unhampered. This criticism is in all of us by turns impressionistic, judicial, and scientific. The professional critic is simply a man who lingers at these crises while others rush on more carelessly.

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To Auguste Comte, the history of mankind was divided into three periods: the religious, philosophical, and the scientific. In the world's dawn men, he thought, were religious. Then with widening enlightenment they turned their warmly colored myths into the cool, clear crystals of concepts. They saw no more the breasts of the nymph in the brake. Pan was dead. The gradual curves of the seafoam no longer suggested a cradle for the exquisite limbs of Aphrodite. Men argued with spare, sinewy dialectic about the meaning of nature, goodness, love, truth. This was the age of philosophy. Then came the age of positive science, an age of the discovery of the majestic spectacle of a slowly dying universe, an age of tragic insight and stoic resignation but comforting at least as an age of truth. But Comte's theory needs to be corrected by the contradiction of it which he lived. For did he not himself pass on again from his scientific vigils to religious enthusiasms? He devised what he inadequately called the "religion of humanity" and was fain to trick it out with a pompous array of priests and rituals. Comte's cycle, in short, was one which the race passes through not once, but again and again in the lifetime of an individual, in a year, in an hour. Comte's account was not a history of dead epochs, it was really a sketch of the living psychological and logical processes of human beings past and present. Comte described stages which occur and recur at ever higher levels of maturity, the rhythm of the soul. And in this flux of faith and fear, exultant imagination and humble observation, cunning logic and delicate experimentation, criticism strengthens us at each crisis when, remembering Swinburne's "Hope thou not much and fear thou not at all," we gaze like Milton's eagle in the *Areopagitica* with undazzled eye at the noonday beam.

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"THE EMPEROR'S NEW CLOTHES"

The theme which is best known as "The Emperor's New Clothes" in the version of Hans Christian Andersen or as *Der Talisman* in the dramatic version of Ludwig Fulda moves in the lower levels of literature rather than in the realm of folk-tales.[1] Its history is consequently difficult to trace, since neither the literary historian nor the folk-lore scholar has troubled himself much about it. Yet its history has interest and value as revealing the sources and influence of more than one literary document of intrinsic worth and for raising the question why this story failed to catch popular fancy.

The versions of the theme fall into several well-marked groups within which the literary relationships are usually unmistakable. All exemplify the idea: knaves will lie for their own supposed advantage, even if the act involves boldfaced deception. In the first group the fraud turns on a picture which does not exist, but which the courtiers nevertheless see and describe because they fear to tell the simple truth. A second group employs a cloth or a garment in the same way. In the last group we may put those tales which have no easily recognizable relations among themselves (or with anything else) beyond the possession of the common theme.

The form of the story considered first is characterized by the trait that lying courtiers claim to see a non-existent picture. It occurs

[1] Comparatively little work has been done on this story; see particularly M. Landau, "Das Märchen vom Blendwerk und von des Kaisers neuen Kleidern auf seiner Wanderung durch die Weltlitteratur," *Bühne und Welt*, I (1899), 969–75. The title promises rather more than the article performs, for Landau has collected many stories which show only a remote similarity, e.g., *Pañçatantra*, III, 3 (a man is convinced by sharpers that a goat is a pig; cf. Chauvin, II, 96; Benfey, I, 355, etc.); *Gesta Romanorum*, No. 132 (a man is made to believe that he has leprosy); Boccaccio, VIII, 3, and IX, 3; Grimm, No. 149, etc. The article is more serviceable for its summaries of a few otherwise inaccessible examples of the theme than for indicating connections and relations. The prefatory remarks in the American school-editions are not helpful and are indeed frequently misleading. The best survey of the parallels to the story is found in A. Wesselski, *Die Begebenheiten der beiden Gonnella* (Weimar, 1920), pp. 133–34, No. 34.

A play by Rud. Genee, *Das Wunder*, which was presented in Berlin in 1854, has been inaccessible both to Landau and to me. V. Chauvin (*Bibliographie*, II, 156) cites Prévost, *Œuvres choisis*, XXXV, 411–15; but I do not find anything apposite in the editions available.

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in two distinct traditions, German and Italian, which presumably have a common origin. Beyond sharing this possible common origin the two traditions have maintained themselves without interaction. The German tradition begins with an episode in the Stricker's *Pfaffe Amîs*, a Middle High German collection of stories in which a priest plays a prominent but rather unclerical rôle. Composed before 1236, it is the first in the long line of German jestbooks. It preserves many timeworn tales, notably an early European parallel to the English ballad of King John and the Abbot of Canterbury. Simplicity and directness of style distinguish the Stricker among Middle High German writers. His version of "The Emperor's New Clothes" is as follows:

At the Parisian court Amîs declares he can paint pictures which only those begotten in lawful wedlock can see. The king commissions him to paint the wall of a hall and gives him as advance payment money and food. Amîs locks himself up and paints—nothing. When the day comes to show his results neither the king nor the court see what Amîs describes as pictures from the Old Testament (Solomon, David, Absalom), Alexander's campaigns, Rome, and Babylon (the tower of Babel). Yet all praise the work to turn aside any accusation of illegitimacy. Only after Amîs departs and a fool asserts that he sees nothing is the fraud disclosed.[1]

This tale fails to seize the opportunity for a striking dénouement in the disclosure of the trick played upon the court. The bald and rather stupid close shows a peasant's interest in easy profits:

dô wart ein michel spot
dâ ze hove und ein grôzer schal.
ze jungist sprâchens' über al:
"dirre phaffe ist ein karc man,
daz er sus guot bejagen kan."

Like other episodes in *Pfaffe Amîs* this story is copied in the Eulenspiegel jestbook. By slight alterations the compiler has improved it somewhat, but he has not materially bettered the weak conclusion. Eulenspiegel declares he has painted the line of Hessian landgraves, and points them out one by one. The king's fool, who is a woman, acknowledges her inability to see the pictures and discloses the fraud.[2]

[1] See Lambel, *Erzählungen und Schwänke*[2] (1883), pp. 40–50, ll. 491–804.

[2] J. M. Lappenberg, *Dr. Thomas Murners Ulenspiegel* (Leipzig, 1854), pp. 35 ff., No. 27; cf. pp. 244–45; *Neudrucke* (ed. W. Braune), Nos. 55–56; p. 38, No. 27. See E. Kadlec, *Prager deutsche Studien*, XXVI (1916), 17–23. The corresponding chapter in the English translation published by William Copland is reprinted in *Notes and Queries* (5th ser.; July 26, 1879), XII, 62–63.

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In his turn Hans Sachs borrowed the story from the jestbook (keeping the name Eulenspiegel) and made it into both a *Meistergesang* and a *Schwank*, but the differences between the two texts are insignificant.[1] At the beginning there are verbal reminiscences of the Eulenspiegel text. Inventions of Hans Sachs are the substitution of the burning of Troy for the Hessian landgraves as subjects of the putative pictures and the change in the sex of the court fool, who is now a man. Beyond these changes he has shortened the story considerably, to its great improvement. He concludes with an appropriate proverb:

> Auf kam das sprichwort diese zeit:
> Die narren sagen die warheit,
> Treff unter oder ober on.[2]

Apparently the vitality of the Stricker's jest continues undiminished in later years, for I find mention of Ludwig Woltmann, *Till Eulenspiegels Malerkunst*,[3] which is an obvious derivative of the same tradition. In the line of oral descent from *Pfaffe Amîs* stands a folk-tale told by the Shawaites, a small group residing in what is now Poland. The emphasis on the good living which the scoundrel enjoys at the dupes' expense reminds one of the *Pfaffe Amîs*, although such a similarity is probably without significance. The story displays what is said to be a locally frequent and typical motif, the ridicule of the Germans.

A man promises to show the country-folk heaven with God, the angels, and the apostles, but only the legitimately born will be able to see it. On the strength of promises and representations he lives for three months at a German's expense and finally cheats the German of a thousand rubles. Although the Germans of the neighborhood are invited to the spectacle the fraud is not disclosed.[4]

[1] *Fabeln und Schwänke* (ed. Goetze, 1893), I, 487–89, No. 171 (written March 22, 1556), and VI (1913), 209–11, No. 976 (written on the same day).

[2] Cf. Handschin, *Das Sprichwort bei Hans Sachs* (Madison, 1904), p. 95. "Kinder und narren die warheit sagen" is the usual form; see Handschin, p. 72; Wander, *Deutsches Sprichwörterlexikon*, II, 1296, Nos. 570–74. It is in Gruter, *Florilegium Ethico-Politicum* (Frankfurt, 1610–12), among the English proverbs; see Taylor, "Proverbia Britannica," *Washington University Studies*, XI (1924), No. 75; Heywood, No. 38; Camden, *Remaines concerning Britaine* (1614), p. 305; and in Lyly's *Endymion* (1591). See another form in Wander, III, 911, No. 783, and 912, No. 794; Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Sprichwörter der germanischen u. romanischen Völker*, I, 85, No. 151. The last line is open to several interpretations. I am indebted to my friend Professor Richard Jente for information about this proverb and others mentioned later.

[3] *Deutsches Dichterheim*, XI (1891), No. 23, reprinted in *Deutsche Dichterhalle*, XX, 424. I have not seen the poem and owe the references to Bolte's notes on Hans Sachs (*ed. cit.*), I, viii.

[4] Miecyslaw Sylwestrowicz, *Podania swujdzkie* (Warsaw, 1894), p. 283, "Okiezu dangus [The German Heaven]." I have not seen the book and follow Landau's summary.

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And with this the German tradition, begun by the Stricker, appropriately ceases so far as the evidence in my hands is concerned.

The concurrent, but quite independent, Italian tradition takes rise in a Latin *exemplum* which was written down in Italy. In the stock of *exempla* the theme appears to be rare, for I find no other instance in J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of romances in the British Museum*, Volume III. The manuscript which was written by a Franciscan in the north of Italy in the early fifteenth century brings together many hackneyed *exempla* and several of more infrequent occurrence.[1] The text, hitherto unpublished, shows a close relationship to the story in *Pfaffe Amîs*. It is as follows:

Quidam ystrio intrauit quandam curiam Cui rex curie dixit quid scis facere Qui Respondit scio peroptime pingere et ymagines formare Cui Rex volo ut depinguas palatium meum Respondit ille libenter domine sed tibi unum dicere scio nemo potest uidere picturas meas si fuerit coruca uel illegitime natus uel prodictor domini sui fecit ergo ystrio poni cortinas circha palatium ubi debebat pingere post aliquos uero dies dixit ystrio domine uenite et videte pulcriores picturas deinde tunc rex intrauit cum militibus suis palatium vt opus uiderent Cumque rex huc atque illuc prospiceret nichil uidit quipe quia nulla pictura ibi erat Sed timens ne corucha uel nothus putaretur dixit se nunquam pulcriores ymagines et picturas uidisse similiter dixerunt et alii Cum inde recessisset dixit unus ex militibus regi domine credo ne habere a deo ita fidam et bonam uxorem sicut sit in ciuitate ista[2] habui etiam bonos parentes nec sum proditor unde sum paratus sum substinere in prelio quod nichil uideo similiter et alii sic dixerunt tunc rex dixit se similiter nil uidere et ystrio ita illuxit omnes Sic illudit diabolus peccatores et mundo deditos quia ea que in rei ueritate nulla sunt apparare fecit preciosa et cara uerbi gratia sicut sunt diuitie potentia fortitudo pulcritudo nobilitas.

In this *exemplum* the most interesting trait is perhaps the mention of marital infidelity which appears in a later Italian version as well.

The persistence of the story in Italian tradition appears from its inclusion in a verse biography of Gonnella, a famous court fool: *Le Bouffonnerie de Gonnella, cosa piaceuole et da ridere*, Florence, 1585.[3] In all significant matters this second Italian version follows the usual track. New are the following details: the scene is the court of a

[1] Brit. Mus. Add. 27336, No. 333; cf. J. A. Herbert, *Cat. of Rom.*, III, 672.

[2] An *e* is crossed out after the *t*.

[3] Most easily accessible in a German translation (A. Wesselski, *Die Begebenheiten der beiden Gonnella* [Weimar, 1920], pp. 80–81, No. 33; cf. p. 133). It has been reprinted, according to Wesselski, by F. Gabotto (*Le epopee del buffone*, Bra, 1893 [Nozze Manzone-Ricca]).

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Mantuan margrave, the supposed picture represents a hunt which in Hercules and Dejanira are seen, the deluded audience is a Venetian ambassador and his entourage. A disclosure of the fraud is withheld by all as a courtesy to the margrave and his guest, the ambassador. And a modern Italian folk-tale gives evidence that the tale is not yet forgotten. The rather numerous changes in the tale's structure seem to indicate oral transmission and preservation. The tale is briefly as follows:

The town of Casale wants a picture of its patron saint, to be finished by his "day." The painter begins and soon shows his supposed work to the priest, who thinks it very fine. The painter refuses to show it to anyone except the priest. Later on the priest asks him how it is coming on and the painter says it isn't getting on well at all, perhaps because the people here are so sinful. The priest says, "Well, I'll tell them to be sure to come and confess to me." He did so, and all the people came to confess.

On the eve of the saint's day the painter shows the picture to the priest, who finds it very beautiful. The painter says, "I warn you, however, to have the people confess completely, because if they don't they won't see anything." The priest reports this to the people.

The painter, during the night, paints the whole thing white. On the next morning the people crowd into the church to see the new picture. The priest tells them to look attentively because it is so beautiful. They uncover the painting and no one sees anything. The priests tell them it is because they have failed to confess their sins. He himself, however, finally comes around and looks at the painting and sees nothing, and at the end bursts out, "Well, if I must admit it, I can't see anything either."[1]

Concerning the antecedent history of the following story I am very little informed, but the localization in Naples leads me to group it with the Italian tradition. This grouping is perhaps confirmed by the presence of the trait of marital infidelity which was noted in the *exemplum*. The scene and temper of this literary tale agree with the Pistoian folk-tale. The story is as follows:

A starving painter agrees to paint the Virgin in the dome of the little Italian church. But instead of performing his task he spends his time in eating, drinking, and sleeping behind locked doors, while the church wall remains as white as chalk. On the day of the unveiling of the picture, which, according to announcement, is visible only to those of legitimate parentage, all

[1] R. Nerucci, *Racconti popolari pistoiesi in vernacolo pistoiese* (Pistoia, 1901), pp. 105–7, No. 41, "Ve l'ha a di? Nun vedo nulla neanch io!" Mr. John W. Spargo kindly transcribed this tale for me and Professor E. H. Wilkins has interpreted the *vernacolo pistoiese*.

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burst into cries of enthusiasm. A little fellow who sees nothing is slapped for his honesty. "Keep your mouth shut," says his father. "When we get home I shall beat your mother black and blue, the shameless creature."[1]

Probably not to be separated from this Italian story is a superstitious practice in Croatia. At a spot where the Virgin is said to have revealed herself to a woman the peasants have built a hut. Only the sinless can see the Virgin in it. Efforts to tell the truth are rewarded with blows. Attempts to destroy the hut have been prevented by the peasantry.[2]

In Spain, Juan Timoneda, who presumably drew on some Italian source, included the story in a collection of jest and repartee, *El Buen Aviso y Portacuentos*.[3] The little volume which seems to have been preserved in but a single copy contains several old and widely told stories and although it is of interest on that account, it lacks distinction on any other score. In particular the story of the credulous king and the shrewd painter has no merits which raise it above other versions. As usual, variety and ingenuity appear only in the scenes on the canvas or supposed to be on the canvas: Diana bathes with her nymphs and Actaeon is torn by dogs. It has been said that Cervantes found in this story the suggestion for his amusing *entremés*, *El retablo de las maravillas* (Madrid, 1615).[4] In this play Cervantes represents on the stage an audience deluded into believing the assertions of the stage-manager about the stage and the actors. No one who has Jewish blood in his veins or who is of illegitimate birth, the stage-manager says, can see the wonders of the theater. The spectators, with the exception of hard-headed Capacho, are led to see Samson clasping the pillars of the temple, a mad bull, a swarm of rats, a shower of rain, the dance of Herodias. The disclosure of the fraud is prevented by the timely entrance of the military guard seeking quarters for the night. At best

[1] Almerigo Ribera, *Berliner Tageblatt* (June 16, 1901), as cited by A. Andrae (*Rom. Forsch.* XVI [1904], 343).

[2] *Volkskunde* (Ghent, 1890), III, 43.

[3] Schevill, *Revue hisp.*, XXIV (1911), 207–9, No. 49.

[4] *Comedias y entremeses* (ed. Schevill and Bonilla; Madrid, 1918), IV, 105–23; cf. p. 226. It was adapted by Bertuch (*Das wundertätige Puppenspiel* [*Musenalmanach*, Lemberg, 1788]) and by Herman Kurz (1868), but I have been unable to see these. It is translated by E. Fahnestock and F. D. White (*Poet-Lore*, XXXII [1921], 234–43). Contrary to Kadlec's assertion (*Prager dt. Stud.*, XXVI, 18) Cervantes probably did not utilize Juan Manuel's version in *El Conde Lucanor*.

Kadlec's reference (p. 18) to a parallel in Timoneda, *Patrañuelo*, (Alcalá, 1576), is wrong. The source of the error is found on p. 501 of Dunlop-Liebrecht, *Geschichte der Prosadichtung*, where the list of parallels to the *Patrañuelo* is immediately followed by the parallels to *El Conde Lucanor*, and of the latter and not the former our tale is No. 7.

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the *entremés* stands a little out of the direct line of descent, and no immediate relation to the established tradition is apparent. Representative of a similar idea is, for example, a magazine story which is no longer traceable:

After some urging a man promises to give an exhibition of tricks he has learned in India. He hangs a row of colored glass beads across the top of the curtain and by causing his audience to fix their eyes on it he hypnotizes them all. They see the sights which he describes to them and some members of the audience come to the stage and make fools of themselves. At a critical moment his fiancée comes into the hall, but since she has not been hypnotized she sees the reality and the ignominies put upon her friends. His later difficulties with her can be imagined.

Quite independent of the bifurcate tradition which has just been traced historically and which is most readily identifiable by the fraudulent picture is a series of stories in which the fraud is practiced by a weaver and not by a painter. This series runs parallel in Europe to the former one and yet does not become confused with it. Its beginnings are Oriental. The line begins with a famous Turkish jestbook, *The Forty Vezirs*. This work is of uncertain date, being usually assigned to the fifteenth century, although it is known to be derived from an earlier Arabic collection. The feeble conclusion of the tale is much improved in later forms. It runs as follows:

A man appears before a king and volunteers to weave a turban which only those born in wedlock can see. The king marvels at the offer and accepts it. For a long time the weaver accepts the allowance from the king. One day he comes before the king with a folded paper, which contains the turban. The king opens the paper, but sees nothing. He cannot bring himself to acknowledge the truth. The weaver calls for a cap on which he may wind the turban and when it is finished all admire it. When the weaver has gone the king calls two viziers aside and confesses he sees nothing. "At length they knew of a surety that the turban had no existence, and that that weaver had thus played a trick for the sake of money."[1]

A more effective conclusion is supplied by Juan Manuel in his famous jestbook, *El libro de los enxiemplos de conde Lucanor et de Patronio* (1400–1450).[2] The cheat offers to weave a marvelous cloth. As in the former group of stories the King acquiesces in the deception lest he

[1] E. J. W. Gibb, *The History of the Forty Vesirs* (London, 1886), pp. 148–49; Behrnauer, *Die 40 Vesiere* (Leipzig, 1851), pp. 155–56; cf. Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, VIII, 130.

[2] Ed. Knust, pp. 144–48; cf. pp. 365 f. I cannot believe that this story gave rise to the Eulenspiegel tale, but see Knust, p. 365. A new edition of Eichendorff's translation promised by Alfons Hilka has not yet appeared.

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be shown to be illegitimate. When he has lied once he finds himself forced to continue, even to the point of making a public appearance in a garment made of this wonderful cloth. The public appearance breaks the chain of falsehood: truth will out.[1] In this Juan Manuel has created what becomes the classical literary form of the tale, and its later history is almost wholly in the field of literature. The merit of Juan Manuel's invention lies in the drastic utilization of the King's credulity to bring about the catastrophe; only in Juan Manuel and in the literary tradition dependent on him is this so cleverly brought about. Noel du Fail's allusion (1547), the first evidence of the story's spread, has in the mention of the cap a curious resemblance to the turban and cap of *The Forty Vezirs*. In *Les contes d'Eutrapel*[2] he speaks of "le cousturier, qui fit vne cappe au Gentil-homme d'vn drap invisible, fors à ceux qui estoient fils de putain." It will be noticed that the story has been reversed, but this is a not improbable accident in oral transmission. With the slightest changes from Juan Manuel's text it was copied, we are told, into Father Carlo Casalicchio's *Utile col dolce* (II, ii, 2), a Jesuit's collection of moral precept and illustrative story which appeared in Naples between the years 1671 and 1678.[3] This compilation employs materials from many sources and leans heavily on the *Conde Lucanor*. Hans Christian Andersen as well took the hint for his story, "Kejserens nye klæder," from the Spanish novelist. He found it, says Brix, the latest commentator on Andersen, in a German translation.[4] Andersen increases the ethical import of the tale, but makes no change in the outlines of the story. Directly dependent on Hans Christian Andersen in turn is Ludwig Fulda's *Der Talisman* (1893), which revived the fairy-drama in Germany after two generations of neglect. The smooth verse, the dramatic effectiveness, and the whimsically satiric tinge of the play made it a stage success which its author was never able to

[1] The incident of the man deluded into going about naked is an incident in the *fabliau* "Les trois dames qui troverent l'anel," but this fact needs no more than passing mention; cf. Bédier, *Les fabliaux*[2] (the later edd. are merely mechanical reprints of the 2d ed.), p. 458; Euling, *Germanist. Abh.*, XVIII, 83; Jellinek, *Euph.*, IX (1903), 163; *Prager dt. Stud.*, XIII, 162, n. 3.

[2] Ed. Courbet (1894), II, 72–73; ed. Assézat (1874), II, 209; ed. Hippeau (1875), II, 90.

[3] See Marchesi, *Per la storia della novella ital. nel secolo XVII*, p. 180; Mele, *Giornale stor.*, LXXXII (1923), 71. I have not seen the *Utile col dolce*.

[4] *H. C. Andersen og hans eventyr* (Copenhagen, 1907), pp. 111–14. The German translation is said to have been that of Ed. von Bülow, entitled "So ist der Lauf der Welt" (1836). I have not seen it.

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equal. A last witness to the popularity of the literary tradition which Juan Manuel established is a novel, *The King's New Clothes*, by F. Heller, but its contents have nothing to do with the story. The title's form makes it certain that the author had in mind some English translation of Hans Christian Andersen, for the English translations have often rendered the Danish *kejser* as "king." A tale recently taken down in Ceylon is merely a version of Juan Manuel, probably in the retelling of Andersen, which has been carried to the East. It is as follows:

Seven men agree to cheat a notoriously stupid king. They offer to weave a silk cloth which shall not be visible to the base-born. A messenger who is sent to them while they are at work reports that progress is being made, although he has seen nothing. In this report the king's retinue concurs on various occasions. In due time the king allows himself to be dressed by the cheats and to be escorted about the city naked. Apparently there is no disclosure of the fraud.[1]

Perhaps no single head will serve to unite the remaining instances in which this theme of self-imposed deception has found narrative expression. The best parallels are two Indian tales; the others often seem remote indeed. The *Avadanas*, Chinese translations of tales carried northward by Buddhist missionaries in perhaps the sixth century A.D., include the following:

A fool hands some cotton to a spinner and begs him to make it into extremely fine thread. The man does so, but the fool thinks it too coarse. The angry spinner draws his hand through the air and, holding it out, says, "There are extremely fine threads." The fool cannot see them; he is assured that they are too fine to be seen even by the best workmen.

The fool gives the spinner a new order and pays him handsomely.[2]

A modern Indian folk-tale shows striking resemblances to the European forms of the story:

A girl promises to prove that the king sometimes lies. She invites the king to visit a palace she has built and to see God there. God is visible, she adds, to but one person at a time, and only then if the person is legitimately born. Two ministers enter one after another, see nothing, and declare nevertheless that they have seen God. The king enters and on coming out insists that he too has seen God. The girl convicts him of lying and the king marries her.[3]

[1] H. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon* (London, 1914), II, 66–69, No. 89.

[2] St. Julien, *Les Avadanas* (Paris, 1859), I, 150, No. 39; cf. H. Parker, II, 69, for a summary which I have used in part.

[3] Swynnerton, *Indian Nights Entertainment*, p. 60. I follow H. Parker's summary.

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Finally, one Singhalese tale has already been disposed of as a European borrowing. The similarities of these Oriental tales do not permit any dogmatic assertions about their connections with Western story. It is conceivable that Oriental tradition has given rise to the more elaborate Western forms, but such a derivation cannot be insisted on. It does seem to be a fact that the mention of weaving is an older constituent of the story than the mention of painting a picture. Consequently a development from a simple story of a fool, such as is preserved in the *Avadanas*, through something like the tale in *The Forty Vezirs* to ultimately the satire on frauds in such a work as *Der Talisman* is plausible enough. Somewhere along the line there branched off a new type in which the picture replaced the cloth, but this forking of the tradition did not take place until after it had reached Europe. Such a historical development is plausible and possible and until more material is available, it may perhaps pass for the actual history of events.

A few remaining tales may contain something related to the themes discussed or may be of wholly independent origin.[1] The following Elizabethan jest is suggested by the proverb, "An honest miller hath a golden thumb,"[2] and has probably little or nothing to do with our story: "A merchant derided a miller by asserting his disbelief in the adage, but the witty miller replied that no cuckold could see the golden thumb."[3] Nor do I see any obvious source or relationship for a didactic tale in the *Fliegende Blätter:*

Among the Havas of Madagascar there lived a lovely maiden, Truth (Treue), whose glances conferred the highest felicity on those on whom they fell. But seeking her favor became irksome in time and the magician Falsehood (Meineid) cast a spell on her. When a new king came to the throne he demanded that Truth be present at the coronation. After searching in vain the minister reported that he had found her, but she was invisible tc liars. She was led into the coronation hall, where everyone pretended to see her, and was seated on a throne beside the king. One of the courtiers released a fox

[1] Landau's article, to which reference is made in the first note, gives more material of this sort; these examples are additional and, I venture to think, more nearly related in subject, although I do not insist upon any filiation.

[2] Chaucer, *Prol.*, 563 (cf. W. Haeckel, p. 71); J. Ray, *A Collection of English Proverbs* (London, 1678), p. 176; Bohn, *Handbook*, p. 116; Hazlitt, p. 60; Brand-Ellis, III (1849), 387; Wander, *Dt. Sprichwörterlexikon*, III, 760, No. 32; cf. J. Howell, p. 27, "A miller, a man, a thief, and a cuckhold."

[3] *A C Mery Talys* (ed. Oesterley, *Shakespeare's Jest Book* [1886], p. 22, No. 12; ed. Hazlitt, p. 23, No. 10, and cf. p. 125).

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which had been trained to take the best empty chair. It occupied the vacant throne and in a moment of enthusiasm the king reached for Truth's hand and seized the fox's tail instead. General confusion and amusement followed. Truth still lies enchanted.[1]

The French dramatist Alexis Piron has an unusual story which is somewhat reminiscent of Juan Manuel in that only the virtuous can see the garment, but here the deceit is a prearranged test of which some are informed in advance and the story is no doubt ultimately a derivative of the medieval theme of the chastity test.[2] Also prearranged is the trick in a ballad entitled "Der Derwisch und die Rose," which is briefly as follows:

A dervish offers to separate the honest from the dishonest among the king's courtiers. He is introduced by the king as a magician. He holds out his hand and calls attention to the beautiful rose which lies upon it, a rose which only the pure in heart can see. Of course all the courtiers see the rose, and their falsity is displayed.[3]

Here we may stop. What can be said in the way of tracing the development and history of the tale has already been said. The question why this tale failed so completely to establish itself in the stock of popular tradition remains. The opportunity for the story to find its way into oral tradition was beyond question present. Yet the *Volksgeist* clearly would have none of it. For this refusal one explanation is perhaps as satisfactory as another. Possibly the tale points a moral too obviously, and the moral, that it is possible to fool all of the people some of the time, is too bitter a pill.

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[1] *Op. cit.* (1892), No. 2432, p. 89.

[2] *La robe de dissension ou le faux prodige* (1726); see Landau's summary.

[3] Bowitsch, *Sindbad* (*Reclams Universalbibliothek*), pp. 35–37.

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NOTES ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF BOSCÁN'S VERSES

We do not need the statement made in the Prologue of the edition of Boscán's poetry to know that the author had already carefully prepared his manuscript for printing. In the first book he included "the first things that he wrote, which are Spanish *coplas;* in the second, *canciones* and sonnets after the manner of the Italians; and in the third, epistles and *capítulos* and other works, likewise in the Italian fashion." The *coplas* of the first book are preceded by a composition in *versos sueltos*, addressed to the Duchess of Somma, in which the poet complains that his verses are circulating in imperfect copies, and to the same lady is directed the important letter that precedes the second book.

Apparently it has escaped the notice of critics that within several of the metrical groupings Boscán arranged his compositions in approximately a chronological order.[1]

Coplas I–VIII describe the course of his passion for Doña Isabel, whom he names but once (II); his sufferings date from the moment that he first saw her (I); now he knows that love is bitter sweet (II); a misunderstanding has parted them, and he wishes he had never seen the lady (III); he regrets the quarrel (IV), but remains disconsolate (V); he determines to cure his malady by absenting himself, as one has an injured finger amputated in order to save the hand (VI); now he feels free, though his soul still lives in his lady's heart (VIII). *Copla* XII is a sort of farewell in which he assumes a share of the blame for what has happened.

There is a striking analogy between the foregoing and the sentiments described in the first twenty-five sonnets. The first four of these serve as an introduction to the sequence, and he explains that he displays his wounds so that others may be deterred from following

[1] Allusions to the text refer to the edition of William I. Knapp, Madrid, 1875. I am chiefly concerned with the verses that appeared in the first edition, Barcelona, 1543. The additions made subsequently, as in the edition of Antwerp, 1544, obviously were not made on the basis of the manuscript prepared for publication by Boscán.

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in his footsteps. Doomed to unhappy love from his cradle (V), he foresees no change in his sad fate (VI); alone and dispirited he seeks out deserted places (VII); he wished to love his lady discreetly (*blandamente*), but with this she was not satisfied (VIII); he has lost faith in pleasure (IX); he suffers the pangs of disillusion (X) and prefers death to his present anguish (XI); he regrets his old love, but cannot be happy (XII); as new torments assail him, he shudders at the past and longs for death (XIII–XV), yet he yearns to see the eyes that cause his pain, separated from him by so many plains and mountains (XVI); but doubts still torment him and the fire of love still smolders (XVIII–XXV).

It was apparently to this unhappy love affair that the poet refers in the composition entitled "Conversión de Boscán" which was first published in the edition of Antwerp, 1544.

Conocí la enfermedad
De mi mal conocimiento,
Vi confuso al pensamiento,
Y suelta la voluntad,
Y atado el entendimiento.
Vi mi alma cómo va
Muerta con su misma guerra,
Y víla enterrada ya,
Puesta debaxo de tierra,
Pues debaxo el cuerpo está.

He realizes that he had been blinded by sensual desire, but with God's help the light of reason has descended upon him, putting to flight the clouds that enveloped him, and leaving dead his fleshly longings.

Menéndez y Pelayo asks, with respect to this composition:

¿Señala esta conversion un momento psicológico en la vida del poeta? Me parece demasiado fría y discursiva para esto; el elemento intelectual ahoga el afectivo; más que al pecador contrito que entra en nueva vida espiritual, vemos al discípulo aprovechado de la ética escolástica que razona sutilmente sobre los efectos de la gracia y el concurso del libre arbitrio.[1]

On the contrary, the "Conversión" seems to me one of Boscán's most personal compositions, as reflecting an acute crisis in his life. Nor was his conversion merely a passing twinge of conscience. He was thoroughly ashamed of a love which he believed sinful, and he refers to it with regret and chagrin in a number of later compositions.

[1] *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, XIII, 262.

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Coplas XIII–XXV reflect another love affair, which the poet takes care to place upon a higher plane. Once again he runs love's gamut, passing from mere gallantry to desire, jealousy (XV),[1] the conflict between hope and fear, with an occasional cry of triumph. He confesses that this was not his first love (XV), but there is no great merit in his confession since the earlier affair was well known to his friends.

Este mal que agora siento,
Otro tiempo le sentí,
Tan fuerte que el pensamiento
Nunca estuvo tan en sí,
Que estuviese sin tormento.

But a new love has freed him from his pain, only to make his heart the battle ground between fear and desire.

In *Copla* XVI he addresses verses to his lady in sending her some of his poems:

Ahí van las ansias mías,
Presentes y las pasadas;
Do más vivas que pintadas
Hallaréis mis fantasías,
De mi mano trasladadas.
Aunque a otras se presenta
Parte aquí de mis querellas,
Al rematar de la cuenta,
La suma de todas ellas
A vuestra merced se asienta.

Si antes de yo seguiros
Lo que hice fué acertado,
De ser yo predestinado
A la gloria de serviros,
Parece que fué salvado.
Y si en otras hermosuras
Anduvo mi sentimiento,
Los males de aquel tormento
No fueron sino figuras
Deste nuevo pensamiento.

Regarding this dedication Menéndez y Pelayo says: "Para (su esposa) y no para una *amiga* vulgar hubiera debido ser escrita esta dedica-

[1] This is the composition called *Las treinta*. Professor Hayward Keniston reprinted an edition of this which was published prior to the *princeps* edition of the *Obras* of Boscán of 1543 (*Publications of the Hispanic Society of America*, No. 84; New York, 1911).

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toria." What is to prevent us from assuming that these verses were in reality addressed to the lady who was later to be the poet's wife?

Francesillo de Zúñiga's witty *Chronicle* affords abundant testimony that Boscán's love affair (or love affairs) and his *coplas de amores* were well known in court circles, and tongues soon began to wag when it was learned that the poet who had so frequently been at death's door because of an earlier love was now consumed by a new passion. No less a person than Don Fadrique Enríquez, Almirante of Castille, with whom Boscán had enjoyed an intimate relationship, sent him one of his characteristically embarrassing queries, asking whether he had forgotten his old pain or whether he had really been in love before (XIX). There is a bit of mockery in the questioner's tone, but Boscán's answer is serious enough (XX). The lover's lack of sense of humor is proverbial. After referring to the other world in which he lives, which presumably is Barcelona, he speaks of his repentance for past sins, which recalls the "Conversión," and then he adds:[1]

En los pasados amores
Amaba como otras gentes;
Agora mis acidentes
Son nuevos, y son mejores,
Y siempre serán presentes.
Descubro aquellos milagros
Que amor me tuvo guardados;
Mis pensamientos cansados
Se han tornado dulces de agros,
De muertos resucitados.

. . . . . .

Pues también será escusado
De lo que fué preguntarme,
Harto tengo en que ocuparme;
De aquello que es ya pasado
No hay tiempo para acordarme.
Quanto más que estoy corrido
De mis pasados enojos,
Como herege convertido,
Que no osa alzar los ojos,
Si le mientan lo que ha sido.

Pues porque nadie me tienta,
Señor, con viejos pecados,

[1] Knapp's ed., p. 246.

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Los días que son pasados
Si se hace buena cuenta
Por nada quedan contados.
Por tales también los cuento,
No he de ocuparme en nada,
Quédame tan gran jornada
Que me da grave tormento
Qualquier hora malgastada.

We cannot be sure whether the Almirante continued his teasing, but if he refrained, others addressed questions on the same topic in the Almirante's name and to them Boscán replied, at times with vexation, giving casuistical arguments to justify his alleged fickleness. These *coplas* (XXI–XXV) are not found in the first edition, but were included in Knapp's edition from a manuscript copy.

The course of his new love is described also in his Sonnets XXVIII–XC. New hopes fill his heart (XXVIII), but he is timid and distrusts love (XXVIII–XXXII); he cannot understand why he should seek again the cause of his ills (XXXVII); his desires are renewed as the trees and flowers spring into new life (XXXVIII), yet fears still torment him as his love grows. The lady's birth was the union of heaven and earth (XLIV); blessed was the day and hour when she was born (XLV–XLVI); he suffers when he cannot see her (XLVII–XLVIII), and his soul is once more captive (LII). He now directs himself more openly to the lady, picturing to her his distress in a series of sonnets until we reach the exultant cry of the seventy-seventh:

Otro tiempo lloré, y agora canto;
Canto de amor mis bienes sosegados;
De amor lloré mis males tan penados,
Que por necesidad era mi llanto.
Agora empieza amor un nuevo canto,
Llevando así sus puntos concertados,
Que todos, de estar muy acordados,
Van a dar en un son sabroso y santo.

We may assume that by this time he has been accepted as a lover, or rather as a husband, for in the closing sonnets he insists that the love he now feels is pure, and that he was cured of his moral paralysis by "the chaste love that God sends from heaven." It is evident from the phrase *el curso desta historia* employed in the eighty-sixth sonnet that the poet expected these compositions to be read as an account of his sentimental pilgrimage.

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Ten *canciones* in Italian meter were included in the first edition, and the first two of these seem to deal with the earlier love affair. As in the first sonnet sequence, he wishes his story to serve as a warning to lovers, and he is thoroughly ashamed of himself. At first he thought his affection based merely upon friendship, but jealousy tormented him; yet he did not venture to declare himself. His tragic awakening is described in the same vague terms that are employed in the eighth sonnet. For many years his sorrows torture him without respite; he is weary of life, but cannot die. In the second *canción*, he pictures himself as far removed from his lady, where every inch of ground is like a high mountain that separates him from her.

The last eight *canciones* reflect the poet's state of mind as mirrored in Sonnets XXVIII–LXXVI, and include frequent verbal similarities with them. He praises the heaven-born beauty of his lady (III), yet moments of sadness come and he writes (IV):

Habré de morir mal aunque me pese,
O que el alma se aveze
A sostener al cabo de sus años
Nuevo mal, nuevo amor y nuevos daños.

This mood of uncertainty (V) gives way to the despair of the sixth *canción*, in which he calls upon death in moving verses that recall the Comendador Escrivá's famous "Ven muerte tan escondida." Doubts still assail him (VII–VIII), and in the ninth *canción* he refers to his earlier passion:

En otro tiempo, pues, pasé mi vida
De tal suerte, que en fin yo la pasaba
Concertándome en mí con mis tormentos.
Ya entonces mi dolor me fatigaba;
Mas al cabo a mi mal daba salida
Un blando discurrir de pensamientos,
Que un no sé qué traían de contentos.
Y quando me tomaba una sospecha,
Con el fuego de amor se iba gastando,
Poco a poco dexando
El alma de su error tan satisfecha,
Que desto me acudía
Una esperanza allí de nuevo hecha,
Y un pensar que otra vez mi fantasía
Su vano sospechar entendería.

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In the tenth *canción* he writes that once before love held him in bondage, from which by God's grace he had been freed:

Resucitado, pues, de aquella muerte
Que mató vivamente mis sentidos
Los del alma y también los corporales;
Volviendo atrás, mis años vi perdidos,
Y vi que fuí caído en baxa suerte,
Igual con los más baxos animales.

Since he had been pardoned for his past faults, he calls upon God to cure these new wounds.

If it has been shown that the *coplas*, sonnets, and *canciones* may be divided into two groups with respect to the subject matter, it may not be amiss to attempt to fit in these conclusions with the few facts that are known regarding Boscán's life. Apparently before he had his memorable conversation with Navagiero in the fall of 1526, he was in love with a lady named Doña Isabel and had addressed to her all or a part of his *Coplas* I–VIII and XII.[1] If we may assume that he meant Barcelona when he wrote in his letter to the Duchess of Somma, describing his interview with Navagiero, "Partíme pocos días después para mi casa," his life at court terminated in 1526. According to this, the first twenty-five sonnets and the first two *canciones* constitute his first experiments in Italian measures and were written at Barcelona.

Apparently, the poet sought to forget the lady, and finally he turned to religion which cured him of his sensual desire, as he describes in the "Conversión" and elsewhere. Later, new interests stir in his heart, and the course of this new, pure love is recorded in his *Coplas* XIII–XXV, Sonnets XXVIII–LXXVI, and *Canciones* III–X, in which are mingled his ardent protestations of love and his fears of refusal. Sonnets LXVII–XC forecast his marriage to Doña Girón de Rebolledo.

We do not know when this marriage took place, but since Garcilaso does not mention Boscán's wife in the epistle addressed to him from Avignon in October, 1534, while he alludes to her in his second elegy, composed in the latter part of the year 1535, it is likely that their wedding was celebrated some time between these dates. There

[1] It is obvious that *Coplas* IX–XI do not belong in this group since they had already been published in the edition of the *Cancionero General* that appeared in 1514 (see Hayward Keniston, *Las Treinta of Juan Boscán*, p. 2).

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is a tradition, dating from Herrera, that one of the ladies celebrated by Boscán in his "Octava Rima" was his wife, and the poet describes his idyllic—if somewhat colorless—life with her in his epistle to Hurtado de Mendoza, which was probably written in the early forties. The *privilegio* of the edition published in 1543, one year after Boscán's death, forms the last chapter of the story.[1]

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[1] After having completed this study, I find that E. Díez Canedo in the introduction to his edition (Garcilaso y Boscán, *Obras poéticas*, Madrid, 1917, pp. 15–16) alludes briefly to the autobiographical features of Boscán's verses. It is a pleasure to see my conjecture confirmed by this well-known critic.

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CLASSIC MYTHS IN ENGLISH VERSE (1557–89)

The purpose of this article is to discuss a heterogeneous mass of pieces on mythological themes which achieve a certain unity through their more or less medieval coloring. The terminus 1589 is taken because Lodge's *Glaucus and Scilla* marks the real beginning of the Italian manner—though by no means the end of medievalism. Since the interest of the poems lies mainly in their sources comment is limited to matters of fact.[1]

MYTHOLOGICAL POEMS

The Elizabethans did not distinguish between translation and adaptation, so that in tracing the origins of the modern mythological poem one has to include pieces which vary from translation to loose paraphrase. The first metrical rendering of a passage of Ovid seems to be a scrap of twelve lines in Tottel's *Miscellany*, a translation of the opening lines of the first epistle of the *Heroides* (Penelope to Ulysses).[2]

An interest out of proportion to literary merit attaches to *The fable of Ouid treting of Narcissus, translated out of Latin into Englysh mytre, with a Morall ther unto* (1560).[3] The narrative, which follows

[1] The classification adopted in the following pages is loose, but inevitably so. Translations of whole books, such as Golding's *Metamorphoses*, are not mentioned except incidentally. Classical elements in long poems, such as *Albion's England*, are reserved for future discussion.

[2] Tottel, *Miscellany* (ed. Arber), p. 229. In prose, Ovid—or something like him—had appeared in *The flores of Ouide de arte amandi* (1513), and in Caxton *Metamorphoses* (1480), which may not have been printed, and of which only a fragment (x–xv), lately reprinted, is extant. One may mention the first complete version of any of the epistles of the *Heroides*, a close translation of the letter of Helen to Paris, by Sir Thomas Chaloner (d. 1565). It apparently was not published, but appears in *Nugae Antiquae* (London, 1804), II, 372–89. Turberville's complete *Heroides* was issued in 1567. The Stationers' Register under 1566–67 records three entries of separate epistles (*Arber Transcript*, I, 328, 329, 335), but, as one of the notes added to Warton suggests, "the probability is, that the epistles were entered sectionally thus merely to guard against forestallers" (Warton, *History of English Poetry*, IV [1871], 300).

[3] The poem is reprinted in W. E. Buckley's edition of the poems of Thomas Edwards (Roxburghe Club, 1882), pp. 133 ff., and is described in Corser, *Collectanea*, Part IX, pp. 101 ff.; Brydges, *Restituta*, III, 265 ff., and *Censura Literaria*, I, 257 ff.; E. Witz, *Die englischen Ovidübersetzungen des* 16. *Jahrhunderts* (Leipsic, 1915), pp. 27–29. The author is unknown. The piece ends with "Finis. Quod T.H.," and was assigned, without much reason, to Thomas Howell by Ritson and others (e.g., *Cambridge History* IV, 438). The initials may refer to the printer, Thomas Hacket (Warton, *op. cit.*, IV [1871], 298).

In connection with this and following moralized tales it may be noted this decade

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Ovid closely, occupies six pages; the moral, thirty-two. Much of the moral seems to be more or less original sermonizing on subjects traditionally connected with Narcissus, such as the folly of pride and self-love and beauty. But the preacher names some of his sources. Nearly forty lines elaborate Boccaccio's interpretation of Echo—the voice of earthly delights which lures men to ruin.[1] We have a Platonic discourse on body and soul taken from "Ficius" (Ficino).[2] There is a reference to one "that walles hath to name," that is, the moralized Ovid of Berchorius which went under the name of Thomas Waleys.[3] About twenty lines are based on an interpretation of the story by one "whome Italye dyd brede"; the reference may be to Nicolo Agostini, whose prose moralization of the story corresponds more nearly to the English lines than any that I have seen.[4]

Thomas Peend's *Pleasant Fable of Hermaphroditus and Salmacis . . . . With a morall in English Verse* (1565) contains about three hundred and forty lines, and the narrative, which is a very loose paraphrase of Ovid, is shorter than the moral.[5] The myth is said to represent pure youth exposed to the temptations of the world, which is one of the interpretations in the *Ovide Moralisé*, so that Peend is thoroughly in the medieval tradition.

Underdowne's *Excellent Historye of Theseus and Ariadne* (1566) proclaims a strongly didactic (and misogynist) purpose in title, Preface, and text. The extracts available show that Ovid was treated with freedom.[6]

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witnessed an epidemic of moralized ballads (see below, p. 47). The allegorical theory of poetry remained popular of course throughout the Elizabethan age, and was held by critics as intelligent as Lodge and Harington—or at least professed. It is discussed in many books, such as Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance;* G. Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays* (Introd.); G. A. Thompson, *Elizabethan Criticism of Poetry* (Chicago dissertation, 1912); C. B. Cooper, *Some Elizabethan Opinions of the Poetry and Character of Ovid* (Chicago dissertation, 1914); D. L. Clark, *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance* (Columbia dissertation, 1922).

[1] Buckley, p. 150; Boccaccio, *Genealogiae* (Venice, 1511), Book VII, chap. lix, fol. 60.

[2] Buckley, pp. 166 ff. The lines seem to be based on a passage which refers to the story of Narcissus in Ficino, *Commentarium in Convivium* (*Omnia Divini Platonis Opera tralatione Marsilii Ficini*, Basle, 1532), p. 406.

[3] Buckley, pp. 168 ff. Buckley prints the moralization of "Waleys" on p. 175. Cf. *Ovide Moralisé* (ed. C. de Boer; Amsterdam, 1915 ff.) iii. 1464 ff., 1847 ff.

[4] Buckley, p. 169; N. Agostini, *Tutti gli Libri de Ouidio Metamorphoseos tradotti dal litteral in uerso uulgar con le sue Allegorie in prosa*, Venice, 1522(no page numbers).

[5] I have used the copy in the Bodleian. Brydges prints excerpts in *British Bibliographer*, II, 344 ff. See Witz, pp. 30–36.

[6] *Heroides* x; *Metam.* viii. 172–82. See Brydges, *British Bibliographer*, II, 534 ff.; Collier, *Bibliographical Account*, II, 458–59.

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John Partridge's *Notable hystorie of two famous Princes of the worlde, Astianax and Polixena* (1566) fulfils the intention expressed in the Preface of showing the horrors of war. The story, of about two hundred and twenty long lines, begins with the capture of Troy and the Greeks' preparations to return home. The spirit of Achilles appears from hell and demands the blood of Polyxena and the sacrifice is carried out. Partridge speaks of having "translated" the tale, but I do not know of any foreign source. He seems to have made a redaction of the parts of Heywood's version of Seneca's *Troas* which deal with Astyanax and Polyxena, using among other things the apparition and speech of Achilles which Heywood added to the original.[1]

In 1569 was published *The tragicall and lamentable Historie Of Two Faythfull Mates: Ceyx Kynge of Thrachine, and Alcione his wife*, by W. Hubbard.[2] The author handled Ovid freely, for instance, in abridging the description of the storm and omitting the mythological machinery in the account of Alcione's dream. Lines and phrases are constantly borrowed from Golding, whose success was doubtless Hubbard's inspiration.

The *Gorgious Gallery of gallant Inuentions* (1578) contains a poem of nearly five hundred lines, "The History of *Pyramus* and *Thisbie* truely translated."[3] I have not found any original from which it could be said, in our sense of the words, to be "truely translated," but the material, most of which is un-Ovidian, goes back ultimately to a French poem of the twelfth century. A product of the age which revamped classical stories in the spirit of the courts of love, this was preserved, like Chrétien's *Philomena*, in the *Ovide Moralisé*.[4] A brief sketch of some salient resemblances will make clear the medieval character of the English piece.

[1] *Heywood's Translations from Seneca* (ed. H. de Vocht; Louvain, 1913), esp. pp. 22 ff., 39 ff., 80 ff. Partridge's account of Polyxena may owe some details to Ovid (*Metam.* xiii. 449 ff.), or Lydgate, *Troy-Book* (ed. Bergen), Book IV, ll. 6635 ff., 6684 ff. I have used the copy of Partridge in the Bodleian. The piece is described in Collier, *op. cit.*, II, 121 ff.

[2] Reprinted in Collier, *Illustrations of Old English Literature*, and briefly described in Collier, *Bib. Acct.*, I, 382–83. The source is *Metam.* xi. 346 ff.; in Golding's translation (ed. W. H. D. Rouse, 1904), p. 228, ll. 471 ff.

[3] *Gorgeous Gallery* (ed. H. E. Rollins), Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926, pp. 103 ff.

[4] Edited by C. de Boer, in *Verhandelingen de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel XII, No. 3, pp. 39 ff.; also, by the same editor, in *Les Classiques français du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1921). Cf. Barbazan and Méon, *Fabliaux et Contes*, IV (1808), 326 ff., and E. Faral, *Romania*, XLI, 33 ff.

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Both the Old French and the English poem have much to say about the childhood of the pair, who were touched by love at the age of seven, and in both the mention of their age is followed by reflections on the power of love. In the French a servant tells the mother of Thisbe that the children are in love; in the English, "to *Thisbes* Mothers eares, some spark thereof were blowen." In the former, Pyramus, after uttering a long complaint, goes to the temple of Venus to pray, though his prayer is not given; in the latter, Pyramus does not make a complaint, but he does go to the temple of Venus, and his prayer is set down. In both poems Thisbe finds a hole in the wall and hangs the pendant of her girdle through it; Pyramus, returning from the temple, is about to enter his chamber when he sees the pendant and stops to talk. Apart from such incidents, which are not in Ovid, the two versions do not usually show a close resemblance in the substance of the complaints and dialogue.[1]

Of foreign versions there are many, and many that I have not seen.[2] Hart, who presumably examined them, throws no light on our poem, and had not noticed the relation between it and the Old French version. There may, of course, be some foreign rendering which was the immediate source of our piece, but I have not seen one. However, considering Elizabethan standards of "true translation," it is quite possible that the English poem is a loose paraphrase of a modern French version of the Old French piece. Such a version, in prose, is in *Les XV. liures de la Metamorphose D'ouide* (*Poëte treselegāt*) *contenans L'olympe des Histoires poëtiques traduictz de Latin en Francoys, le tout figuré de nouuelles figures & hystoires, nouuellement imprimé à Paris par Denys Ianot libraire & ĩprimeur*, 1539.[3] This version contains all the un-Ovidian matter, such as the play and the age of the children,

[1] Certain of these un-Ovidian items, though not the visit to the temple, had already appeared in English, in Stephen Scrope's translation of Christine de Pisan's *L'Epistre d'Othea a Hector*, made about 1444–50 (ed. G. F. Warner; Roxburghe Club, 1904); in another version of the same book, called the *C. Hystoryes of Troye*, printed and probably translated by Robert Wyer, 1536–45. In both the story occupies chap. xxxviii. It is also in Brian Anslay's translation of Christine's *Livre de la Cité des Dames*, the *Boke of the Cyte of Ladies* (1521), in chap. lvi, which Flügel printed in *Anglia*, XII, 14 ff. See M. Laigle, *Le Livre des Trois Vertus de Christine de Pisan* (Paris, 1912), p. 36, n. 5, and P. G. C. Campbell, "Christine de Pisan en Angleterre," *Rev. de Litt. comparée* (Oct.–Dec., 1925), pp. 666, 668. A missing link in the chain of English versions belongs to 1562 (see Rollins' note in *Gorgeous Gallery*, p. 203).

[2] G. Hart, *Die Pyramus-&-Thisbe Sage in Holland, England, Italien u. Spanien* (Passau, 1891).

[3] I have used the copy in the British Museum. The story occurs on pp. 54–58.

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the pendant of the girdle, and the visit of Pyramus to the temple of Venus. The chief difference is in the speeches, which, while akin in general content, are often not close enough to warrant the word "translation."[1]

At any rate, whether one is absolutely certain of the immediate source or not, the medieval pedigree of this poem of 1578 is amply evident, and it is fully confirmed when one reads the piece.

In 1587 appeared *The most famous and Tragicall Historie of Pelops and Hippodamia*, by Matthew Grove. The poem occupies forty-four pages in Grosart's reprint, and is of the hopelessly jog-trot kind. The original myth is amplified with speeches, moralizing, and descriptions.

In 1589 Peele published together his *Farewell to Norris and Drake* and his *Tale of Troy*, the latter probably written between 1572 and 1581. The most interesting thing about it is the combination of incongruous elements, classic myth, and medieval chivalry—the natural result of the author's depending mainly upon Caxton's *Recuyell*, while he took more or less from the *Heroides*, *Metamorphoses*, and *Aeneid*, and perhaps minor sources.[2] Such a combination is thoroughly medieval, and thoroughly Elizabethan.

For the sake of completeness several lost or doubtful works may be mentioned: N. Whyte's version of Valerius Flaccus (licensed, 1565–66); a version of Musaeus which Abraham Fleming said he wrote about 1577; a translation of Coluthus, accredited to Marlowe.[3]

MISCELLANEOUS POEMS

A lytell treatise cleped La conusaunce damours was printed by Pynson, and cannot therefore have been later than 1530.[4] It contains thirty pages of rhyme-royal. Seeking inspiration for a poem in honor of "dames and pusels" the writer calls on a young woman and her friends, with whom he talks of love and lovers. The young woman

[1] The same material, in metrical form, appears in *Les Histoires des Poetes: Comprises en Grand Olympe, en enfuyuant les Metamorphoses d'Ouide: et autres aditions et Histoires Poetiques propres pour la poësie, par Christofle Deffrans, Ecuyer ... A Niort, Par Thomas Portan, 1595*, pp. 57 ff.

[2] See Professor Tatlock's compendious list of Peele's borrowings in his "Siege of Troy in Elizabethan Literature," *PMLA*, XXX, 680 ff.

[3] H. R. Palmer, *List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics*, pp. 109, 74, 39.

[4] I have used the copy in the British Museum. The poem is described by Corser, *Collectanea*, Part IV, 438 ff., and by Collier, *Bib. Acct.*, II, 439–40. It is said by Collier to be from the French—as the title might suggest—but I have not found any original.

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tells, in thirty stanzas, the story of Pyramus and Thisbe; the verse is rather better than much later stuff. The tale is a fairly close paraphrase, direct or indirect, of Ovid, with a few trifling changes; the chief departure, a thoroughly medieval one, is the expansion of Ovid's *audacem faciebat amor* into four stanzas on the power of love.[1] At the conclusion of the story there is a discussion of love, with weighty contributions from "Reason" and "Thought-and-hevynesse," which is perhaps nearer to the medieval courts of love than to Italianate conversations of Renaissance courtesy books and *novelle*.

A few pseudo-Chaucerian pieces may be noticed as medieval survivals. The "Letter of Dydo to Eneas" (Pynson's *Chaucer*, 1526) is in style like Lydgate, but while Lydgate follows Boccaccio this seems to be a free and abridged paraphrase of Dido's epistle in Ovid.[2] The "heap of rubbish" in Stow's *Chaucer* (1561) includes a piece telling "how Mercurie with Pallas, Venus and Minarua, appered to Paris," which suggests a shaky knowledge of classical divinities.[3] "The Nine Ladies Worthy" is notable mainly for its aureate style and a preponderance of Amazons among the heroines.[4]

Grimald's two narrative poems contributed to Tottel's *Miscellany*, "The Death of Zoroas" and "Marcus Tullius Ciceroes Death," are important mainly because they "were possibly the first published poems in blank verse in the English language."[5] As treatments of classical themes they require no special comment, except that, in this welter of medievalism, they show a classic sobriety worthy of a humanist; in manner they are, of course, not in the Ovidian tradition.

Turbervile anticipated Keats in writing of war between the gods

[1] *Metam.* iv. 55 ff. The story had often been treated in English already, e.g., Chaucer, *LGW* (II); Gower, *CA*, III, 1331–1494; Lydgate, *Reson and Sensuallyte* (*EETS*, 1901), ll. 3960–4001; Scrope's translation of Christine's *Epistre d'Othea* (ed. G. F. Warner; Roxburghe Club, 1904), chap. xxxviii; a romance, printed by Flügel in *Anglia*, XII, 16 ff.; Brian Anslay, *Boke of the Cyte of Ladies*, Part II, chap. lvi. The *Conusauance* does not appear to owe anything to any of these versions.

Dr. G. M. Vogt has called my attention to the romance of *Amoryus and Cleopes*, by John Metham (1448–49), which is summarized in Furnivall, *Political, Religious and Love Poems* (*EETS*, 1866), pp. 301–8. This romance makes use of the plot of Pyramus and Thisbe, though with some wondrous changes, such as the revival of the dead lovers by the hand of God (see L. A. Hibbard, *Mediaeval Romance in England* [Oxford, 1924], pp. 191–92 n.).

[2] Lydgate, *Fall of Princes* (ed. Bergen), I, 253 ff.; Boccaccio, *De claribus mulieribus*, chap. xl; E. P. Hammond, *Chaucer*, p. 436.

[3] Stow, fol. cccxliiij; Skeat, *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. xiii.

[4] Skeat, *op. cit.*, p. xii.

[5] L. R. Merrill, *Life and Poems of Nicholas Grimald* (Yale University Press, 1925), pp. 369 ff. Details regarding the sources (the *Alexandreis* and Beza, *Mors Ciceronis*) and the texts are given in Merrill, *op. cit.*, pp. 444 ff.

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and Titans, and the manner of treatment is sufficiently indicated by the title, "A Myrrour of the fall of Pride," a text supported with other traditional examples of pride, Narcissus and the rest.[1] To obviate the necessity of returning to Turbervile one may mention here the story of Aristotimus contained in the later *Tragical Tales*.[2] It is a pedestrian paraphrase of Bandello (iii. 5), with an envoy on the evils of tyranny. As Professor Erskine says, Turbervile's "smattering of classical motives found no reaction in his imagination, and left his verse as arid as before"—a judgment which applies to the rest of the material discussed here.

Violently anti-Romanist and heavily didactic is Richard Robinson's *Rewarde of Wickednesse* (1574), inspired probably by the *Mirror for Magistrates*, which tells of a visit, in a dream, to Hades, to see Helen, Pope Alexander VI, Tarquin, Medea, Tantalus, and many others, who tell of their evil deeds.[3] The subtitles are texts for sermons —"Helen tormented for her treason to her husband," "Young Tarquin rewarded for his wickednesse," "the torment of Tyranny in King Midas," and so on.[4]

George Whetstone's *Rocke of Regard* (1576) includes three pieces on classical subjects. "In Cressids Complaint, the subtilties of a courtisan discovered may forwarne youth from the companie of enticing dames"[5]—a link in the chain of devolution which leads from Chaucer's gentlewoman to Shakespeare's "daughter of the game."

A purely conventional piece is the "Pitious complaint of Medea," and a half-burlesque is "The discommodities of forst marriages, by the example of Venus and Vulcan."[6]

Four classic anecdotes are utilized by Edwards in the *Paradyse of Dayntye Deuises* (1576)—stories of Damocles and others—with a heavily moral purpose.[7]

[1] *Epitaphes, Epigrams, etc.* (1567), Collier's reprint, pp. 152 ff. There was an earlier edition, published probably "in or after 1565" (Rollins, "New Facts about George Turbervile," *Mod. Phil.*, XV, 134).

[2] *Tragical Tales* (reprint, Edinburgh, 1837), pp. 203 ff. The extant copies of the book were printed in 1587, but it first appeared between 1574 and 1575 (Rollins, *op. cit.*, pp. 136 ff.).

[3] Collier, *Bibliographical Account*, II, 271 ff.

[4] These titles are cited in *Censura Literaria*, VI, 42.

[5] Collier's reprint, pp. 36 ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 108. Peend's poem, mentioned above, contains a version of the tale of Venus and Vulcan similar in tone (*Brit. Bib.*, II, 348); similar also is one of the "explications" of the *Ovide Moralisé* (ed. De Boer, Books III–VI [1920], p. 7).

[7] Collier's reprint, pp. 78 ff. On the sources, Valerius Maximus, etc., see notes in *Paradyse* (ed. H. E. Rollins). Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (forthcoming).

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The *Gorgious Gallery of gallant Inuentions* (1578) has a piece of thirty-eight lines sternly entitled "The reward of Whoredome by the fall of Helen."[1] It is a speech by Helen, delivered from what the moralist assumes to be her present dwelling-place, "Limbo Lake, where dismall feendes do lye. . . . ." Helen avows all her misdeeds in lurid language and wishes that she had "modest liued."

In 1579 appeared a compilation justly called *The Forrest of Fancy*, which contains a little bit of everything, love poems, sermons, Italian tales.[2] There are a few short classical stories about Eteocles and Polynices, "the great patience and clemency of King Antigonus," "the tragedy of Meliager," the last of which is not a rival of Swinburne's version.[3] The authorship of the work, which is an Elizabethan equivalent of an American Sunday newspaper, is unknown; the colophon is initialed "H.C."

A piece of thirty pages in *A Poore Knight his Pallace of priuate pleasures* makes use of the dream-allegory to describe a battle between the forces of Diana and Cupid and a trial before the gods.[4] It is more suggestive of Lydgate (or Googe's *Cupido Conquered*) than of "a student in Cambridge" in 1579. The same collection has a poem of almost two hundred lines which tells in broadside manner, though with remarkable historical detail, "The lyfe and death of Maister T. Cicero."

Thomas Howell treated the story of Troilus twice, though the second piece is only a recasting of the first. Both are heavily didactic. They show a marked debt to Chaucer and Henryson.[5]

[1] Collier's reprint, pp. 102–3; reprint by Professor Rollins (Harvard University Press, 1926), p. 81.

[2] I read, or at least used, the copy in the British Museum. A list of titles is given in Brydges, *Restituta*, III, 456 ff. Collier (*Bib. Acct.*, I, 291) says that there were two editions in 1579, the second being larger than the first. The Italian prose tales are discussed by Koeppel, *Quellen und Forschungen*, LXX, 44–46.

[3] A note in Warton, *History* (ed. 1871), IV, 274, suggests that the tale of Eteocles and his brother was inspired by the publication of Studley's translation of Seneca's *Œdipus* or Gascoigne's *Iocasta*.

[4] In *Three Collections of English Poetry of the latter part of the Sixteenth Century* (ed. Sir H. Ellis: London, 1845).

[5] *Howell's Poems* (ed. Grosart), pp. 121–22; *Howell's Devises* (Clarendon Press, 1906), pp. 18–19. See Rollins, "Troilus-Cressida Story," *PMLA*, XXXII, 403–5.

Howell has a didactic piece on Croesus (Grosart, p. 124) and two pieces on "Iulia Pompeis Wyfe" (Grosart, p. 138; *Howell's Devises*, p. 26). He probably got the tale of Julia from Valerius Maximus (iv. 6. 4), whose account is more detailed than Plutarch's (*Pompey* 53; North, *Tudor Translations*, IV, 263); it is also in Boccaccio, *De claris mulieribus*, chap. lxxix.

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Longer, but not better, than these is a poem of broadside character, "The lamentable historie of Sephalus with the Unfortunat end of Procris. To the tune of Appelles."[1] The story omits all of the Ovidian myth except the catastrophe, and makes use, apparently, of the tale of Pyramus and Thisbe to describe the youth and enamorment of the lovers.

Humphrey Gifford's *Posie of Gilloflowers* (1580) contains a poem, "A straunge historie," on the story of Sinorix and Camma.[2] The tale is told in broadside manner; certain details and verbal parallels show that it is based on the version in Hoby's *Courtier*.[3]

In T. Proctor's *Triumph of Trueth* (*ca.* 1585) classical stories are treated in the usual didactic way; Caesar's glory was "blemisht with desire of Lucre." "The Gretians Conquest" tells in half-a-dozen pages the story of the Trojan War. The notion of Helen's willing elopement may have been taken from Dictys or from the *Heroides;* the account of the capture of Troy follows Vergil.

In Geoffrey Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes* (1586), mostly translated from Alciati and others, dozens of myths are briefly told, and often allegorized in the traditional way. Still further removed from the classic spirit are such things as Roger Rawlyns' *Cassius of Parma his Orpheus* (1587), which slights Eurydice in order to show what hard work a musician must perform if he wants to succeed. Equally edifying is Rawlyns' "Nestor his Antilochus: Poynting out the trueth and necessities of Arte in studie," in the same volume.

AMATORY POEMS

The influence of the formal study of rhetoric and of the rhetorical tradition in literature is very pronounced in Elizabethan writing, good and bad.[4] The confusion of poetry with the art of persuading was aggravated, in love poetry, by the example of the popular *Heroides*, in which Ovid is, above all things, a clever rhetorician. One is not surprised, then, to find Gascoigne advising the poet-lover to seek "occa-

[1] Grosart, pp. 146 ff.; cf. the brief piece in *Tottel*, pp. 213–14.

[2] Grosart's ed., *Fuller Worthies*, I, 122–26. Professor Baskervill remarks (*Mod. Phil.*, XXIII, 123) that it "is very probably one of two ballads entered in 1569–70." See H. E. Rollins, *Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries* ("Studies in Philology," Vol. XXI), Nos. 2284 and 2452.

[3] *Tudor Translations*, pp. 236–37.

[4] D. L. Clark, *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1922.

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sion to pleade by the example of some historie, or discover my disquiet in shadowes *per Allegoriam.*"[1] And for versifiers in need of matter no example lay readier to hand than the familiar figures of classical mythology.

A number of specimens of this sort of verse appear in Tottel's *Miscellany*. For instance, "The tale of Pigmalion, with conclusion upon the beautye of his loue," in thirty-two lines, tells how Pygmalion, after thinking of various un-Ovidian ways of gaining immortality by his art, at last made a statue and fell in love with it.[2] At the end the poet applies the tale to his own unhappy state.

There is no need of cataloguing even the titles of the multitudinous pieces of this sort which appear everywhere in the miscellanies and other lyric verse of the time. He who runs may or may not read.[3] But two or three significant items may be mentioned.

William Fulwood's *Enimie of Idlenesse* (1568), a practical manual of letter-writing, offers as a model

> A secrete Louer writes his will,
> By story of Pigmalions ill.

George Gascoigne uses the common formula in "Davids salutacions to Berzabe," which tells briefly the story of the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius.[4] More important is the "Complaynt of Philomene."[5] The poet goes out to listen to the nightingale and falls asleep. In his dream a stately nymph approaches and tells the story of Philomela. It follows Ovid closely, with a few changes, such as the omission of the banquet, the evil omens, and the nocturnal thoughts of Tereus.[6] There is a great deal of padding in the way of morality. The piece concludes with an application of the sermon to the poet. The ordinary amatory poem of this kind is short, but here is a narrative of twenty-three pages, with which the narrator is associated in the character of a lover. It represents, however crudely, the fusion of the Ovidian narrative proper and the amatory poem.

[1] G. Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 48.

[2] Tottel, *Miscellany* (ed. Arber), p. 131.

[3] E.g., see Tottel, pp. 192, 213, 265; Turbervile, *Epitaphes, etc.* (Collier's reprint), pp. 28, 59, 168, 223, 249—and others, including the sonneteers, *ad infinitum* and *ad nauseam*.

[4] *Works* (ed. Cunliffe), I, 463. [5] *Ibid.*, II, 177 ff. [6] *Metam.* vi. 424 ff.

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BALLADS

The multitude of ballads which gave the customers of Autolycus their knowledge, often curious, of classic myths, are so much alike that discussion would be fruitless, but a word may be said of moralizing. Professor Rollins' *Index* lists at least sixteen moralized ballads within the period 1557–89, and of these fourteen fall between 1563 and 1571. While moralizing did not cease for many generations, one finds a similar impulse at work in more pretentious versions of Ovid written during the same decade—the *Narcissus* of 1560, and the works of Peend, Golding, Underdowne, and others.[1]

CONCLUSION

The mass of material catalogued in the preceding pages, impressive in bulk at least, leaves no doubt of the extreme popularity of classical themes. They furnish inspiration to the literary aspirant, the puritan preacher, the sonneteer, and the ballad-monger. In the genesis of the mythological poem much the most important factor was of course the practice of translating episodes from Ovid. Another factor becomes more important after 1589, namely, the use of mythology in amatory verse. The mythological narrative was elaborated until it crowded out the personal erotic element—as it almost does in Lodge's *Glaucus and Scilla*. In *Venus and Adonis* the lover has dropped out entirely, but the subject remains erotic, and the manner and diction are saturated with Petrarchianism. The mass of pieces before 1589, untouched by the elaborate and sensuous Italian renderings of Ovid, are stolidly medieval in their didacticism, their allegorizing, and their indiscriminate use of ancient, medieval, and modern sources.

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[1] The following numbers in Professor Rollins' *Index* refer to ballads on classical subjects. I give them in chronological order: 2826, 1100, 2839, 1583, 90, 91, 988, 1119, 1124, 1370, 2022, 2426, 2768, 1720, 9, 168, 1009, 1053, 2253, 2840, 505, 1779, 1947, 2284, 2452, 2783, 1771, 1973, 595, 779, 1464.

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LYDGATE AND COLUCCIO SALUTATI

Twice, in the first three books of his *Fall of Princes*, does Lydgate lament the fate of Lucretia. On the second occasion, Book III, lines 960–1148, he says that he is following "Bochas," by which he means his direct source for most of the poem, Laurent de Premierfait's French prose translation of Boccaccio's *De Casibus*. He remarks, as he sets about rendering Lucretia's farewell scene, that he has already in his work "rehearsed here and there a word of a full doleful declamation" on the subject, made by "Pierius"; and in Book II, lines 974–1337, this declamation is to be found, appended to a mention of the Tarquins. At that earlier point Lydgate says that the younger Tarquin was the oppressor of Lucretia, but that because Chaucer has admirably told her piteous story, he himself will not be so presumptuous as to attempt a retelling. Immediately thereupon, however, he begins it, excusing himself on the grounds that "it were pity her story for to hide," and that his lord had bidden him incorporate a declamation by "Collucyus" on the subject.

Lydgate's "lord," the patron of the *Fall of Princes* translation, is Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester; "Collucius," the same man as the later-mentioned "Pierius," is Linus Colucius Pierius, papal secretary 1368, chancellor of Florence 1375, and friend of Petrarch, known to us as Coluccio Salutati. And the "declamation" still exists—in how many manuscripts I cannot say; the text here discussed is that preserved in MS Royal 8 E xii of the British Museum, used by me in photostat reproduction.[1]

[1] A. von Martin, in his edition of Coluccio's tractate on *The Tyrant* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1913), lists on p. 18 a number of manuscripts of this declamation; one text, that of a Greifswald University codex, was published by H. Mueller in *Blaetter f. das bayer. Gymnasialschulwesen*, XIV (1878), 371, with the assertion that there had been no previous print, and that the author, although probably not of the classical period, was unidentified. In the same publication, XVII (1881), 116, A. Eussner cited Mehus' *Vita Ambrogii Traversarii* in proof of Coluccio's authorship; and *ibid.*, XVI, 9–12, also XXIV, 74, Eussner has comments on the Latin and parallels from Livy. With Mueller's statement as to the lack of earlier prints one should note the appearance of the declamation among the *Epistles of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini* (Pope Pius II), printed in 1496 and subsequently; in the 1571 edition of Pius' *Opera* the text is found on pp. 959–60, as Epistle ccccxi. This Royal manuscript, of the fifteenth century, clearly attributes the work to Coluccio; and from Lydgate's statement it is also clear that the manuscript owned by Gloucester about 1430 was definite in its ascription. Coluccio died in 1406.

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Of Gloucester's possession of Coluccio-volumes there is no doubt; his first (1439) donation of manuscripts to Oxford included "Epistolae Collusii," an entry perhaps referring to the collection of letters printed in our own time as the *Epistolario;* and Lydgate's statement here very probably means that the duke put his own copy of the declamation into the hands of his protégé. There is no likelihood that this Royal manuscript was owned by Humphrey; it is described in the 1921 *Catalogue* as once the property of Grey, Bishop of Ely, who died 1478, and is a fifteenth-century vellum volume of homilies and rhetorical tracts and models, in Latin. The second and third of its six items are Coluccio's two-part "De seculo et religione," and "Declamationes duae," also by him; of these the "Lucretia" is followed by a rhetorical exercise "coram decemviris," on the subject of a law (apparently) of libel. It was the declamation "Lucretia" which Lydgate used.

Coluccio planned this rhetorical exercise in two speeches, the first by the husband of Lucretia, dissuading her from suicide, insisting on her untarnished fame, and urging her to live both for the sake of her family and for the satisfaction of revenge. She replies that life is worthless without honor, and that all men will say it was dread of death which made her yield to Tarquin, should she now shrink from death. The Latin has strong points which Lydgate omits, perhaps from monkish prudery; but of its many compact and forceful sentences he retains a goodly number, certainly more than "here and there a word." He has padded, as he usually does; and it is noticeable how often one of his stanzas opens with a close rendering of the Latin, thinned out to seven lines by generalities and repetition. Coluccio is neither overlong nor verbally overlabored; he uses the rhetorical question with effect; and the speech of Lucretia, in particular, has dramatic quality.

The indebtedness of Lydgate to the Latin will appear from the series of extracts which I append. I make these selections brief, since the subject is only opened here; a detailed comparison with the full Latin text, and with perhaps a note on Shakespeare, would be of interest. Such a comparison would have to deal with the numerous text-distortions made by this scribe—distortions which I leave undiscussed at present. I am much indebted to Professor G. L. Hendrickson, of Yale University, for help with the Latin.

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The English lines I cite from Dr. Henry Bergen's edition of the *Fall of Princes*, Volume I; they are in each case followed by the Latin, from the Royal manuscript above mentioned, its spelling regularized and modern punctuation introduced.

My dere Lucrece, tempeste the nat at all,
We knowe thy menyng and thy clene entent,
Thy vertu prevyd in especial, 1060
Which yevith to vs a ful pleyn argument,
Vn to thavoutour thow gaff nevir assent
And for a more singuleer evydence,
Cryest euere to punysshe his greet offence.

Noli te afflictare, Lucretia: satis maximum argumentum dedisti te adultero non consensisse, tibique vim illatam, quae poenam eius expectas.

Thyng that was secre, in covert thow nat hydest,
But rygerously thavoutour doost accuse. 1068

. . . . quam celare poteras, accuses. . . . .

For bothe in opyn and also in secre
The fame hath flouryd of thy chaast name 1077

quae non solum in hominum oculis, sed in secretis domus penetralibus et frugalitatem et pudicitiam coluisti.

My trewe Lucrece, hastow nat in mynde,
Nat yoore agoon, in verray sekirnesse,
How thavoutour and I the did fynde 1088
Amyd thy women in vertuous besynesse
Occupyed,—a tokne of stedfastnesse,
Therby concludyng of trouthe and of resoun,
Modir of vertue is occupacyoun.

I fond the thanne, as I haue do ful offte,
Among thy maydenys besily sittyng,
To make hem werke vpon wollys soffte,
In ther werkyng hem womanly cherysshyng. 1096
On vicious lust ful smal was thy thynkyng;

An recolis, mea Lucretia, cum paucis ante diebus una cum ipso, loco ipso adulterii, prima face adhuc advenimus, tu inter servas lanificio intenta reperta es, improvisa incauta nec virum nec hospitem tunc expectans?

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On thyn iniurie we shall auengid be 1114

nos iniuriam ulciscemur.

Considred first the dedli heuynesse
Which thou suffredist bi gret aduersite, 1116
Whan thauoutour thi beute dede oppresse,
And reioishyng bi a fals gladnesse,
Maugre thi will, as a theeff be nyht,
The encoumbred off veray force & myht 1120

Quae maesta violentos compressus improbi iuuenis pertulisti, dum mala ille gaudia ex invita capiebat. . . . .

But yiff thou woldist leue al thi moornyng
And restreyne thyn inportable wo,
Thou sholdist seen so egal a punshyng
Vpon thi moste froward mortal fo,
To warne alle othre, thei shal no more do so. 1125

Si ipsum odisti, si sibi [*read* "illi"] ex animo supplicium optas, fac vivas, fac quod te videat in suis poenis exultare! fac quod, cum se viderit invisum et infamem periturum, te cuius corpus attigit videat integro famae lumine superesse! [This passage is inserted to show Lydgate's alteration of the sense of the Latin, doubtless deliberate.]

Lat be, Lucrece, lat been al thi dool,
Cese thi compleynt & thi wo restreyne. 1143
Sholde I fro the lyue alone al sool,
And thi deth perpetueli compleyne?
To putte thi fader in inportable peyne,
Off our weelfare be nat so rekles,
To deie and leue our childre moodirles.

Noli, Lucretia, viduare coniugem, orbare patrem, et filiis matrem auferre.

Off prudence eek thou ouhtest for to see
And aduertise onli off resoun, 1150
Thouh off force thi bodi corupt be,
Thi soule inward and thyn entencioun
Fraunchised been from al corupcioun.
Offens is noon, considre in thyn entent,
But will and herte yiue thereto ful consent.

Pollutum est corpus, sed integer est animus. Nulla culpa sine consensu contrahitur.

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Thou were nakid in thi bed liggyng, 1156
Alone, onwar, slepyng and void off myht,
Suspeciounles al off his comyng,
That tyme namli, because that it was nyht.
A feerful woman, and he an hardi knyht, 1160
Al be it so onknyhtli was his deede,
With nakid swerd tassaile thi womanheede.

Quis nescit te non potuisse resistere, nudam dormientem incautam et nil tale verentem, armato iuueni ad homicidium vel ad adulterium praeparato.

He myhte neuer ha maistri off thi thouht. 1166
The bodi yolde, the herte yald hym nouht.

. . . . rigidum pectus tuum mollire non potuit. [And see the sentence above: "Pollutum, etc."]

Where myhtistou ha grettere price or laude, 1170
Al riht considred, trouthe and equite:
First countirpeised his force & sleihti fraude,
Thanne to perseuere in femynynyte
With thouht onchaungid, & in fragilite
Off womanheed to haue an herte stable,—
What thyng in the myht be mor comendable? 1176

It is weel knowe thou were off herte ay oon,
To all fals lustis contraire in gouernaunce,
Mor lik an ymage korue out off a ston,
Than lik a woman flesshli off plesaunce.

Tu quid? muliebris fragilitatis eius [?] iniuriam pertulisti, sed mentem intra concubitus violentiam pudicam conseruasti. Si gloriam quaeris, nihil huic gloriae potes adicere, quae iuueni amanti et auido libidinem suam explenti te non mulierem carneam se statuam marmoream praebuisti.

Thi fadir Brutus hath the weel excusid, 1184
Misilff also, thi blood & thi kynreede.

Vir, pater Brutus, et alii coniuncti, qui te culpa absoluunt, ne te occidas vetant.

Folk wil nat deeme a persone innocent, 1198
Which wilfulli, whan he is nat coupable,
Yildith hymselff to deth be iugement,
And neuer afforn was off no gilt partable.

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His owne doom, vpon hymsilff vengable,
Causeth the peeple, thouh ther report be nouht,
To deeme a thyng that neuer was doon nor thouht. 1204

Cur te occidendo iudicium ipsorum damnas? Si te occidis, culpam tibi, qua cares quamque fugis, inuris. Numquam putabitur innocens qui se nocentem supplicio affecit. AMEN.

[*Lucretia now speaks*:]

Lat be, husbonde, lat be, my fader deer, 1215
Spekith no mor to me off this mateer,
List men dempte, in hyndryng off my name,
I dradde deth mor than fals diffame.

Nolite me, pater sanctissime, tu quam luce quondam mihi carior coniunx, morte prohibere. Nisi me occidero, fides erit me potius infamiam vitare voluisse quam mortem. Quis vnquam credet quod ille me seruicidio terruerit, meque magis consociandi serui ignominiam suspiciosam timuisse quam mortem? Nisi moriendi fortitudine audaciaque probauero, restabit me miseram turpissima labes infamiae, Lucretiam potius adulteram voluisse vivere quam pudicam mori. Nonne videtis quod me non vitae vultis sed infamiae reseruare? [Lydgate spends 1219–32 in mild general comment on life.]

Doth your deuer to halwe & make stable 1233
The chast chaumbres off wifli gouernaunce.

Sanctite matrimoniales toros: facite quod ultio tanti flagitii securos reddat aliarum somnos.

Yiff ye be founde in such cas necligent 1240
. . . . . .
Luxure onbridled shal renne abrod at large. 1243

Si negligentius hoc egeritis, vagabitur effrenis libido.

Or what woman stonde in sekirnesse,
Off Lucrece afforced the clennesse? 1246

Etenim quae mulier erit tuta, violata Lucretia?

O deere husbonde, what ioie sholde it be 1247
To thyn estat, in ony maner place,
Lich as thi wiff [for] to cherisshe me,
Or in thyn armys me goodli to enbrace,
The gilt horrible considred and trespace
Be Tarquyn doon—alas and welaway!
Whiche in my persone may neuer be wasshe away.

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Tu autem, carissime coniunx, quomodo poteris in meos ire complexus, qui te non uxorem tenere tuam sed scortum Tarquinii recorderis?

And fader myn, how sholdestou me calle, 1254
Afftir this day, thyn owne douhter deere,
Which am, alas, refus off women alle,
That to thi plesaunce was whilom most enteere,
Withynne thi hous whan I dede lere,
Bi cleer exaumple off manyfold doctryne,
Al that partened to vertuous disciplyne? 1260

Et tu, pater sanctissime, quomodo me filiam tuam appellabis, quae pudicitiam, quam sub optima disciplina tua ab infantia didici, tam infeliciter amisi tamque iniuriose corrupi?

Myn owne childre, I dar hem nat beholde, 1263
Because the wombe in which that thei ha leyn
Diffouled is and pollut in certeyn,
Which was toforn in chastite conserued.
Chastisith thauoutour, as he hath disserued!

Me miseram, audebo ne natos quidem intueri meos quorum ventrem adulter oppresserit. [Coluccio continues: Quid si semen infaustum visceribus inhaesit meis? An expectabo donec ex adultero mater fiam?]

Lenger to lyue I ha no fantasie. 1269

Non est ulterius mea vita iucunda [read "ducenda"?].

Al be I was ageyn my will oppressid,
Ther was a maner constreyned lust in deede, 1283

An putatis nullam violati corporis voluptatem?

O fader myn, spare and ha pite! 1289
And deere husbonde, rewe on myn offence!
Goddis & goddessis callid off chastite,
To my trespace graunteth an indulgence.

Fatebor occultatum nefas: parce parens, parceque marite, et vos dii castarum mentium indulgete.

For yiff I sholde make a delay 1296
To perce my brest bi sharpnesse off a knyff,
Men wolde deeme and sey fro day to day,
To make my sclaundre mor open & mor ryff,
How that I was mor tendir off my lyff
Than off my worshep, which were to gret a shame,—

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In this mateer no witnesse is so good,
To putte away al fals suspecioun,
As with a knyff to sheede myn herte blood: 1305

Credant omnes me infamiam timuisse, non mortem; quod testibus probare non possum, sanguine meo ratum efficiam.

Go foorth, my soule, peur & inmortal, 1310
Cheeff witnesse off myn innocence,
Tofor tho iuges which be infernal:
First Mynos, kyng, to deeme my conscience,
With Radamanthus to yeuen a sentence
Lik my desert, that it may be seene,
In wifli trouthe how that I was cleene.

.i. anima incorrupta et immaculata testis innocentiae meae apud Minois et Radamanthis tribunal.

Thou ertheli body, which thoruh thi fairnesse 1317
Were to auoutri ful gret occasioun,
Off thi blood sheede out the rednesse,
And be thi sides late it raile doun;
Stere and excite the peeple off this toun
To doon ther deuer, withynne a litil while,
For loue off Tarquyn, alle kynges to exile.

Tuque terrestre corpus, quod etiam specie tua tibi causam et occasionem adulterii peperisti, effunde animam, effunde cruorem hunc omnem, ut hic incipiat superbi regis et infaustae regiae prolis excidium.

In the Latin, Lucretia then takes leave of her family and friends, repeating that her death should be a lesson to Roman women. Lydgate emphasizes that there must be no delay in the vengeance on Tarquin.

I have made no note as to the relation between Coluccio and the text of Livy. It may be remarked, however, that in the 1554 print of the *Fall of Princes* the name Collucyus, Book II, line 1009, was changed to Titus Livius, while the Pierius of Book III, line 983, remained. This removal of the keyword led Koeppel, using the 1554 text for his monograph on the *Fall of Princes*, to conjecture a kinship between *Pierius* and *Pierides*. Had the reading Collucius lain before him, the way would have been open.

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Many comments are suggested by this passage. It is noticeable that Lydgate's change of purpose, his resolve to narrate the story of Lucretia despite his own inferiority to Chaucer, begin a chapter. It must have been just there that Humphrey interfered, after reading what had already been translated; and it must have been he who permitted the recently written refusal of the task to stand—perhaps because of its language about Chaucer? Not only was it Humphrey who put Coluccio's Latin into Lydgate's hands, but it was very probably he who gave Lydgate the hint about Dante, used in Book IV, lines 134–40, of the *Fall of Princes;* it was from his library that Lydgate drew information about Petrarch; it was under his personal supervision that the carefully built rhythm of the Palladius translation was framed. And if it was also he who told Lydgate that Chaucer's *Troilus* was translated from *Lumbard tunge* and not from Latin, then Humphrey was no mean critic of letters. He—or Lydgate—has failed to tell us how that Lombard verse came to be called *Trophee;* but it is at least as probable that the monk drew this fact from his Italianate patron as that it descended to him from the "common knowledge" of Chaucer's contemporaries. Of that "common knowledge" we have as yet no proof.

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CHAUCER'S PARDONER OF ROUNCIVAL

With him ther rood a gentil Pardoner
Of Rouncival, his freend and his compeer.

The hospital of St. Mary of Rouncival near Charing Cross to which Chaucer alludes was established about 1231 as a dependency of the hospital of St. Mary of Roncesvalles in Navarre and was endowed by William Marshall, Earl of Penbroke.[1] The hospital of St. Mary of Roncesvalles in Navarre was established before 1006 and was a wealthy and important foundation. It was originally a military order consisting of prior, knights, and brethren whose duties were to defend the Pass of Roncesvalles, lodge and feed pilgrims, tend the sick, and bury the dead. In 1137 the order appears to have accepted a modified form of the Augustinian rule and to have become a congregation of canons regular. It had property in nearly every country of Europe and was in a flourishing condition through the fourteenth century, though it declined later.

The hospital of Rouncival in London appears to have been at the height of its prosperity in the second quarter of the fourteenth century but to have suffered severely from the Black Death. In the second half of the fourteenth century it suffered from the French wars (which interfered with communication between London and Navarre), the Great Schism (1378 on), and the movement to suppress alien religious houses. In 1379 the chapel and lands of St. Mary Rouncival were seized into the king's hand in accordance with a statute for the forfeiture of the lands of schismatic aliens, and on May 8, 1382, Nicholas Slake, a king's clerk, was appointed warden of the hospital by the king.[2] In 1383, however, the king's court after investigation restored

[1] The information contained in this paragraph and the one that follows is derived partly from James Galloway's *Story of St. Mary Roncevall* (originally published in the *Charing Cross Hospital Gazette*, July, 1907, and separately circulated without imprint) and partly from W. Webster's review (*Academy*, August 23, 1879) of D. Hilario Sarasa's *Reseña Historica de la Real Casa de Nuestra Señora de Roncesvalles* (Pamplona, 1878); the substance of the review is incorporated in Galloway's study. Other obligations to Galloway will be indicated later in this paper. I wish to express here my thanks to Miss K. S. Martin, of Farnham, Surrey, for sending me a copy of this somewhat inaccessible monograph.

[2] *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* (hereafter cited as *CPR*), 1381–85, p. 117.

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the hospital to the Prior of Roncesvalles. From 1390 there are records of the appointment by the king of various persons as wardens of the hospital of Rouncival, but the connection between the hospital and the mother-house at Roncesvalles was not entirely broken and seems to have continued in some form even as late as 1432. The hospital of Rouncival was finally suppressed with the other religious houses in 1544, and its property was granted in 1550 to Sir Thomas Cawarden.

The nature of the Pardoner's connection with Rouncival, though not indicated by Chaucer, may be inferred from information which the records furnish as to the means by which the London hospitals of the fourteenth century obtained their support.[1] The *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* contains numerous records like the following:

1346 Oct. 15. Protection with clause *rogamus* for the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Mary, Rouncevalle, and their attorneys, collecting alms.[2]

The complete text of the document is as follows:

Pro Magistro et fratribus Hospitalis beate Marie de Rouncevalle.

Rex Archiepiscopis episcopis abbatibus prioribus archidiaconis et eorum officialibus ac aliis personis ecclesiasticis necnon omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos, etc. salutem. Sciatis quod suscepimus in proteccionem et defensionem nostram dilectos nobis magistrum et fratres Hospitalis beate Marie de Rouncevalle ac eorum attornatos seu nuncios eorundem attornatorum substitutos vel substitutum necnon homines terras res redditus et omnes possessiones suas. Et ideo *vos prelatos et alias personas ecclesiasticas rogamus quatinus cum idem magister seu quiuis fratrum suorum aut eorum attornati vel nuncii eorundem attornatorum substituti vel substitutus ad loca vestra pro elemosinis colligendis accesserint uel accesserit, eos vel eum benigne in ecclesiis vestris recipiatis et elemosinas querere permittatis et eisdem fratribus seu eorum alicui aut eorum attornatis vel eorundem attornatorum substitutis vel substituto in locis ubi*[3] *litteras vestras convocatorias liberaliter concedere velitis*, vobisque ballivis et fidelibus nostris precipimus et mandamus quod predictos magistrum et fratres vel eorundem attornatorum substitutios vel substitutum necnon homines

[1] For the facts cited in the following pages I am under considerable obligation to Miss M. Reddan and Rev. J. C. Cox's treatment of the various London hospitals in the *Victoria History of London*, Vol. I, *passim*. To indicate my obligations in detail would be tedious and also misleading; for though a great number of the facts referred to are of my own collection, I have merely supplemented the facts in the *Victoria County History* with others of the same kind derived from the same sources.

[2] *CPR*, 1345–48, p. 196.

[3] A word or words are apparently omitted here, in the opinion of my copyist.

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terras res redditus et omnes possessiones suas manuteneatis protegatis et defendatis, Non inferentes eis vel inferri permittentes iniuriam molestiam dampnum impedimentum aliquod seu gravamen, et si quid eis per quoscumque clericos seu laicos forisfactum fuerit id eis sine dilacione faciatis emendari. In cuius etc. Teste Custode predicto apud Wyndesore xv. die Octobris.[1]

Three similar grants of protection were made in 1320 to the leper hospital of Southwark.[2] Numerous grants of the kind were made between 1305 and 1346 to the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr of Acon;[3] the patent of July 8, 1323, uses the words "benigne in ecclesiis vestris recipientes ipsos in eisdem ecclesiis populum admonere et elemosinas libenter querere permittatis" as a variant of the corresponding part of the patent quoted above.[4] The grant to the hospital of St. Giles, May 1, 1351, is in somewhat different form:

Protection, for two years, for the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Giles without the bar of the Old Temple, London, who have not sufficient to live on unless assisted by the faithful elsewhere, and for their proctors or substitutes collecting alms: directed to bailiffs and others.[5]

A somewhat similar grant made by the Pope in 1397 in favor of the hospital of St. Anthony is as follows:

6 Id. July To archbishops and bishops in England and Ireland. Mandate, on complaint of John Macclesfield, administrator of the Augustinian house of St. Anthony, London, to receive the brethren and envoys of the said house sent on quest for the poor and infirm of its hospital, to give them within fifteen days after their demand letters to the people, and to forbid their subjects, as the pope hereby forbids the bishops themselves, to extort anything from them when they come to beg, or to hinder them in any way.[6]

[1] Patent Roll 218, 20 Edward III, Part iii, m. 21. The italics are mine, and I have added a few commas for clearness. Another grant of protection (referred to by Galloway, p. 25) is dated August 25, 1321:

"Protection with clause *rogamus* for the messengers sent to England to collect alms by William Roberti, canon of the hospital of St. Mary, Rouncevall, and proctor general in England of the prior and convent of that place; in consideration of the benefits constantly given in that hospital to poor pilgrims visiting the shrine of Santiago. By K."—*CPR*, 1321–24, p. 15.

[2] *CPR*, 1317–21, pp. 438, 492, 514.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 256, 260, 344; 1327–30, p. 5. See also p. 64, nn. 2, 4, below.

[4] Patent Roll 159, 17 Edward II, Part I, m. 21.

[5] *CPR*, 1350–54, p. 103; see also *ibid.*, 1345–48, pp. 224, 370.

[6] *Papal Letters*, V, 18.

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Three grants of the king's protection to London hospitals mention the fact that these hospitals had letters of indulgence from the Pope. The earliest of these concerns Rouncival:

1283 Sept. 13. Protection, during pleasure, with clause *rogamus*, for brother Lupus, priest, envoy, and preceptor of the houses in England and Ireland of the prior and convent of the hospital of St. Mary, Roncevaux, coming with indulgences from the pope for the remission of sins.[1]

The original text is as follows:

Pro Preceptore domorum Prioris et Conuentus Hospitalis beate Marie Roscidevallis.

Frater Lupus presbiter et nuncius ac preceptor domorum Prioris et Conventus Hospitalis beate Marie Roscidevallis in Anglia et Hibernia ab ipsis Priore et Conventu constitutus habet litteras Regis de proteccione quamdiu Regis placuerit duraturas cum hac clausa:—Cumque dominus Papa in remissione peccatorum virorum vos exhortetur et commoneat ut fratribus Hospitalis predicti cum ipsi fratres vel eorum nuncii ad vos venerint de bonis vestris elemosinas petituri aliquid eis erogetis, vos omnes et singulos affectuose requirimus et rogamus quatinus predictum Lupum et alios nuncios et procuratores predictorum Prioris et Conventus cum ad vos venirent indulgencias et privilegia sua vobis ostensuri et elemosinas vestras petituri recommendatos habentes, ipsos indulgencias et privilegia sua coram vobis legentes benigne audire et eis intuitu caritatis ad eorum sustentacionem et ad onus hospitalitatis in domo sua supportandum de bonis temporalibus vobis a Deo collatis aliquas elemosinas erogare velitis liberaliter et benigne ut ab omni bonorum largitore remuneracionem exinde condignam et a nobis grates reportare possitis. Teste Rege apud Maclesfeld xiij. die Septembris.[2]

The abstract of the second, granted to the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr of Acon on May 5, 1305, reads:

Protection, with clause *rogamus*, for three years, for Master Edmund de London, the master, and the brethren of the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr of Acre, London, who have indulgences from various popes to be received once a year in churches to collect alms.[3]

The third, dated February 12, 1327, grants protection for one year to the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, London, "collecting alms in churches once a year by virtue of an indulgence from the pope."[4]

[1] *CPR*, 1281–92, p. 75. This reference I owe to Galloway.
[2] Patent Roll 102, m. 11, 11 Edward I. [3] *CPR*, 1301–7, p. 340.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1327–30, p. 18. For a similar grant to St. Bartholomew's see p. 66, n. 1 below.

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A grant made by John of Gaunt, November 26, 1372, states that certain persons of the hospital of Our Lady of "Runcyvale" are going into various parts of England to ask alms, requests the archbishops and bishops to grant to these persons *pardon et indulgence* and *lettres de mandement* to their obedientiaries, and also requests other ecclesiastics to receive them favorably and permit them to state their needs in the churches and elsewhere. The essential portion of the document is as follows:

Savoir vous faceons que, come noz chers en Dieu frere Laurence de Pampiloun, Henry de Preston, et sire Johan Staunden, chapellein, freres et procureurs del hospital Nostre Dame de Runcyvale soient pur eux transporter vers diverses parties de la roialme d'Engleterre pur quere et impetrer almoignes et autres bienfaites de misericorde de ceux que les vourront doner en regard de charitee; et a cause que y nous semble bien meritoire de faire as ditz freres et procureurs es choses susditz grace favour ease et desport: si supplions et prions cherement a vous ercevesques et evesques que a quelle heure que eux ou nul de eux viegne ou viegnent envers vous pur pardon de vous avoir a touz leur bienfesours vous leur veulliez tant en extacion de faire overes de charitee come pur salute et merite des almes de leur ditz bienfesours gracieusement leur ottroier pardon et indulgence, et sur ce de granter lettres de mandement a voz obedienters selonc ce que affaire en celle partie. Et a vous abbes priours et autres gentz de sainte esglise prions especialement que a eux et chescun de eux vous veulliez a leur venues envers vous faire ease favour et desport et favorablement les soeffrer exposer et pronuncier deinz voz esglises et ailleurs leur busoignes et choses en dehue manere.[1]

The document concludes with a request to constables and other officers to show favor to these persons and to protect them from injury. It was to hold good for two years and on November 18, 1374, was renewed with a practically identical grant of like duration.[2]

More definite information as to indulgences granted for the benefit of London hospitals in the fourteenth century is contained in the *Papal Registers*. The earliest that I have found is the following:

1355 9 Kal. Feb. Relaxation of a year and forty days of enjoined penance to penitents visiting and giving alms at the parish church of St. Giles, without the Bar of the Old Temple at London, of the hospital of the lepers of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem

[1] *John of Gaunt's Register* (ed. Armitage-Smith), I, 45 f. For this reference I am indebted to Professor J. M. Manly.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

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which consists of a warden, three brothers, two sisters, two secular priests, and fourteen poor lepers, and has suffered by fire and by the pestilence. To hold good for ten years.[1]

The second, dated 1357, is to the hospital of St. Thomas in Southwark:

Whereas the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr, founded by the saint in Southwerk, to which flock numbers of poor and sick, so that the master, brethren, and sisters, of the rule of St. Augustine, cannot support their charges without alms, they pray for an indulgence of two years and two *quadragene* to those who visit the hospital at Christmas, Easter, and the feasts of the Blessed Virgin and SS. Peter and Paul, and on Good Friday, and who lend a helping hand to the hospital.

Granted. Avignon, 4 *Kal. Jan.*[2]

The following was granted in 1363 to the hospital of St. Mary of Bethlehem:

The brethren of the hospital of St. Mary of Bethlehem without Bishopsgate, London. Whereas their rents are only 33*s*. and they have lost many benefactors by the pestilence, and their buildings and trees have suffered by hurricanes, they pray for relaxation of enjoined penance for ten years and ten *quadragene* to benefactors who visit the hospital at Christmas, Epiphany, and the five feasts of the Blessed Virgin, and on their vigils, and lend a helping hand for ten years to the restoration of the house.

Granted for one year and a quadragena *Avignon* 4 *Non. June.*[3]

More or less similar grants of relaxation of penance to those who at certain times visited the hospitals and gave alms for their support were made in 1365 to the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr of Acon,[4] in 1391 to the hospital of St. Mary without Bishopsgate,[5] in 1392 to the hospital of St. Anthony,[6] and in 1393 to the hospital of St. James, Westminster.[7]

From the facts cited in the preceding paragraphs it seems clear that a hospital would have been recognized by a contemporary reader of Chaucer's description as an entirely appropriate institution for the Pardoner to be connected with. But why Rouncival? Rouncival was only one of thirteen hospitals that existed in London in Chaucer's day,

[1] *Papal Letters*, III, 573 f.
[2] *Papal Petitions*, I, 304.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 423 f.
[4] *Papal Letters*, IV, 48.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 393.
[6] See *Victoria History of London*, I, 581 f.
[7] *Papal Letters*, IV, 466.

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and was certainly not the most important of the thirteen. In fact, as we run through the accounts of these hospitals in the *Victoria History of London* we get the impression that Rouncival was one of the less important hospitals in the latter quarter of the fourteenth century.

But although it was not conspicuous as a religious and benevolent institution, the hospital of Rouncival had at this time a certain notoriety as the result of occurrences referred to in the following patent of July 18, 1382:

Writ of aid for Ralph Archer, yeoman of the chamber and proctor of the king's clerk Nicholas Slake, master of the hospital of St. Mary, Rouncesvalles, appointed to arrest and bring before the king and council all persons whom he shall prove to have collected alms in the realm as proctors of the hospital and converted the same to their own use.[1]

The original patent is as follows:

De diversis procuratoribus arestandis. Rouncevall.

Rex universis et singulis vicecomitibus maioribus ballivis ministris et fidelibus suis ad quos etc. salutem. Sciatis quod quia intelleximus quod *quamplures advocantes se attornatos et procuratores Hospitalis beate Marie de Rouncevall in regno nostro Anglie*, unde dilectus clericus noster Nicholaus Slake est Magister, *absque aliqua auctoritate ipsius Magistri ad elemosinas a Deo devotis pro sustentacione eiusdem Hospitalis et degencium in eodem petendas et colligendas ad diversas partes regni nostri Anglie se divertunt et huiusmodi elemosinas petunt colligunt et recipiunt et in usus suos proprios absque aliqua responsione* prefato Magistro aut procuratoribus suis in hac parte inde faciendis *convertunt* in nostri contemptum et fidelium nostrorum huiusmodi elemosinas dicto Hospitali ut predicitur conferencium decepcionem et depauperacionem manifestam. Nos, eorum protervie in hac parte obviare volentes, assignavimus dilectum valletum Camere nostre Radulfum Archer procuratorem ipsius Magistri in hac parte ad omnes illos qui huiusmodi elemosinas ut predictum est nomine dicti Hospitalis pecierint et receperint et eas ad opus dicti Hospitalis convertere noluerint et indies recusant dummodo idem Radulfus id sufficienter probare poterit arestandos et coram nobis et consilio nostro ad respondendum ibidem super premissis et aliis que sibi tunc exponentur ex parte nostra in premissis et ad faciendum ulterius et recipiendum quod sibi tunc ex parte nostra iniungetur. Et ideo vobis et cuilibet vestrum iniungimus et mandamus quod eidem Radulfo in premissis sitis consulentes et auxiantes prout decet.

[1] *CPR*, 1381–85, p. 195. This document is referred to by Galloway but I had procured a copy of the original before I read his monograph. It is not mentioned in the *Victoria History of London*.

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In cuius etc. per unum annum duraturum. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xviij. die Julii.

per breve de privato sigillo.[1]

It seems highly probable that a contemporary reader would have interpreted Chaucer's reference to Rouncival in this context as an allusion to the recent incident of 1382. And I find it very difficult to believe that this interpretation would not have been foreseen by Chaucer himself.

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[1] Patent Roll 313, 6 Richard II, Part I, m. 313d. I have supplied italics to indicate the more essential parts of the document and have added a few marks of punctuation. Similar references to imposition practiced in the name of the hospitals of St. Thomas the Martyr of Acon, St. Bartholomew, St. Mary of Behlehem, and St. Anthony occur in 1323, 1324, 1347, and 1390:

"Mandate for two years to all sheriffs and bailiffs, on complaint of the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr of the Danes (*Dacorum*) in the city of London, to arrest persons pretending to be proctors of that hospital collecting alms, who have no letters testimonial of the hospital."—*CPR*, 1321–24, p. 234; see also *ibid.*, pp. 25, 358; 1324–27, p. 48; 1327–30, p. 364; 1330–34, pp. 9, 64; 1345–48, p. 206.

"Protection with clause *rogamus*, for three years, for the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Bartholomew, Smethefeld, London, collecting alms once a year in churches pursuant to an indult of the pope. The king's bailiffs are to arrest any persons falsely representing themselves to be their proctors and collecting alms in their name."—*CPR*, 1324–27, p. 25; see also *ibid.*, 1327–30, p. 18.

"Protection with clause *rogamus*, for two years, for the master and brethren of the house and order of the brethren of the knighthood of St. Mary of Bethlehem, in the city of London, and their attorneys, collecting alms in the churches. The sheriffs, bailiffs and others are to arrest any unauthorised persons collecting alms in their name."—*CPR*, 1345–48, p. 357; see also *ibid.*, 1334–38, p. 344; 1348–50, p. 148.

"Protection with clause *rogamus* for one year for the deputies and proctors of John Macclesfeld, master-general of the house or hospital of St. Anthony in England, Ireland and Wales to collect alms for the said house; with power to arrest false proctors, until further order or until they make amends."—*CPR*, 1388–92, p. 214.

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THE INDEBTEDNESS OF SIR JOHN DAVIES' *NOSCE TEIPSUM* TO PHILIP MORNAY'S *TRUNESSE OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION*

In his article "The Sources Used by Davies in *Nosce teipsum*," which appeared some time ago in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*,[1] Mr. Louis I. Bredvold refutes with great cogency Grosart's statement that in the philosophical poem *Nosce teipsum* Sir John Davies gave evidence of "deep and original thought."[2] By means of numerous parallel passages Mr. Bredvold determines that Davies made liberal use of *The second part of the French Academy*, written by Peter de la Primaudaye and translated into English in 1594. He admits also that Davies may have seen another French treatise, *A worke concerning the trunesse of the Christian religion against Atheists, Epicures, Paynims, Jewes, Mahumetists, and other Infidels*, by Philip Mornay, first published at Antwerp in 1581.[3] The similarities between *Nosce teipsum* and *The second part of the French Academy* do in many cases preclude the possibility of doubt, and I do not question that Davies used Primaudaye. The point I wish to raise here has to do with the second treatise. Mr. Bredvold finds only four parallels to Mornay in *Nosce teipsum* and is not sure of those. Before quoting them he makes the non-committal remark that Davies had "apparently also read Mornay's *Trunesse of the Christian religion*," and hastens to suggest that in two of the four cases the similarities can be accounted for by supposing an indebtedness of Primaudaye to Mornay. In other words, Mr. Bredvold is positive that Davies used Primaudaye's treatise, but is not at all sure about Mornay's. I hope at this time to banish his doubt by showing that Davies' dependence on Mornay is much greater than he has supposed.

Mornay's work is a huge volume of over six hundred pages, but it

[1] XXXVIII (1923), 745–69.

[2] *The complete poems of Sir John Davies* (London, 1876), Memorial Introduction, p. lix.

[3] Sir Philip Sidney began the translation of Mornay's work into English, but died before completing it, and the task was finished by Arthur Golding, in 1587.

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is with the fourteenth chapter, "That the Soule of man is immortall, or dieth not," that we are here principally concerned. With two exceptions all my quotations are from this chapter,[1] and they are listed in order of their occurrence in *Nosce teipsum*.[2] Both Mornay and Davies begin their discussions of the soul with a definition:

> The soul a substance, and a spirit is
> which God himself doth in the body make,
> which makes the man; and every man from this
> the nature of a man, and name, doth take [Davies, p. 12].

There needeth no long scanning whether the soule be a substance or a qualitie. For seeing that qualities have no being but in another thing than themselves; the life which causeth another thing to be, cannot be a qualitie. Forasmuch then as the soule maketh a man to be a man, who otherwise should be but a Carkasse or Carrion: doubtless . . . . we must needs grant that the soule is a forming substance and a substantial forme, yea and a most excellent substance infinitely passing the outward man [Mornay, p. 216].

THE ABILITY OF THE SOUL TO LEAVE THE BODY AND GO ELSEWHERE

> When she without a *Pegasus* doth fly,
> swifter than lightning's fire, from east to west,
> about the center, and above the sky;
> she travels then, although the body rest.
>
> When all her works she formeth first within,
> proportions them, and sees their perfect end,
> ere she in act doth any part begin
> What instrument doth then the body lend? [Davies, p. 14.]

What would he say then, if he could afterwards see how the same man being now quickened, attaineth in one moment from the one side of the earth to the other without shifting of place, descending down to the center of the world, and mounting up above on the outtermost circle of it both at once, present in a thousand places at one instant, embracing the whole without touching it, creeping upon the earth, and yet containing it, beholding the heavens from beneath, and being above the Heaven of Heavens both at once. Should he not be compelled to say, that in this silly body there dwells a greater thing than the body, greater than the earth, yea greater than the whole world together? [Mornay, p. 210.]

> She's sent as soon to *China* as to *Spain*,
> and thence returns as soon as she is sent;
> she measures with one time, and with one pain,
> an ell of silk, and heaven's wide spreading tent [Davies, p. 25].

[1] I have used the English translation of 1617.

[2] *Prolusion, or select pieces of ancient poetry* (London, 1760), Part III.

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Bid thy Soule or Minde go to Constantinople and forthwith to turn back againe to Rome, and straightway to be at Paris or Lyons: Bid it passe through America, or to go about Africa, and it dispatcheth all these journeys in a trice [Mornay, p. 217].

THE FALLIBILITY OF THE SENSES

Sense thinks the planets' spheres not much asunder;
what tells us then, their distance is so far?
sense thinks the lightning born before the thunder;
what tells us then they both together are?

When men seem crows far off upon a tower,
sense saith, they're crows; What makes us think them men?
when we in agues think all sweet things sour,
what makes us know our tongue's false judgment then?

If we had nought but sense, then only they
should have sound minds, which have their senses sound;
but wisdom grows, when senses do decay,
and folly most in quickest sense is found [Davies, pp. 18–19].

Nay, I say further, that oftentimes we conclude cleane contrary to the report of our senses. Our eye perchance telleth us that a Tower which we see a farre off is round, whereas our reason deemeth it to be square, or that a thing is small which our reason telleth us is great. . . . . Our hearing telleth us that the thunder-clap is after the lightning, but skill assureth us that they are both together. . . . . Also, the tongue of him that hath an Ague, beareth him on hand that even sugar is bitter, which thing he knoweth by his reason to be untrue. To be short, those which have their senses most quicke and lively, be not of the greatest wisdome and understanding [Mornay, p. 232].

THE SENSES OF ANIMALS MORE SHARP THAN THOSE OF HUMAN BEINGS[1]

If we had nought but sense, each living wight
which we call brute, would be more sharp than we,
as having sense's apprehensive might
in a more clear and excellent degree;

but they do want that quick discursive power,
which doth, in us, the erring sense correct;
therefore, the bee did suck the painted flower,
and birds of grapes the cunning shadow peckt [Davies, p. 19].

And in very deede there are beasts which do heare, see, smell, taste, and feele much better and quicklier than man doth. Yet notwithstanding none

[1] This parallel alone of course would prove nothing, since it is present in practically every philosophical treatise of the period, and since the language here is not remarkably similar. It is perhaps worth something, however, as cumulative evidence.

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of them conferreth the contraries of coulours, sounds, sents, and savours; none sorteth them out to the serving one of another, or to the serving of themselves [Mornay, p. 232].

THE SOUL'S USE OF THE SENSES

But why do I the soul and sense divide,
when sense is but a power which she extends,
which, being in diverse parts difersify'd,
the diverse forms of objects apprehends?

this power spreads outward, but the root doth grow
in the inward soul, which only doth perceive;
for the eyes, and ears, no more their objects know,
than glasses know what faces they receive;

for, if we chance to fix our thoughts elsewhere,
although our eyes be ope, we do not see;
and, if one power did not both see and hear,
our sights, and sounds, would always double be [Davies, pp. 19–20].

If the eye be the thing that seeth and the ear the thing that heareth, why do we not see things double, and hear sounds double, seeing we have two eyes, and two ears? It is the Soule then that seeth and heareth, and these which we take to be our senses, are but the instruments of our senses [Mornay, p. 220].

THAT THE SOUL IS NOT OF THE BODY PROVED BY WEAK BODIES CONTAINING STRONG MINDS

If she were but the body's quality,
then would she be, with it, sick, main'd, and blind;
but we perceive, where these privations be,
a healthy, perfect, and sharp-sighted mind:

If she the body's nature did partake,
her strength would with the body's strength decay;
but when the body's strongest sinews slack,
then is the soul most active, quick, and gay [Davies, p. 21].

Againe, if the Soule were the body, it should loose her strength and soundnesse with the body, so as the mained in body should therewith feele also a maine in his understanding, as well as in his members: whosoever were sicke of any disease, should also be sicke in his reason: he that limpeth or halteth, should therewith halt in his Soule also: the blind mans Soule should be blinde, and the lame mans Soule should be lame. But we see contrariwise, that the mained and the sicke, the Cripples and the blinde, have their Soule whole and sound, and their understanding cleare-sighted and perfect in it selfe [Mornay, pp. 214–15].

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THAT THE SOUL PARTAKES OF BOTH THE WORLD AND HEAVEN

This substance, and this spirit, of God's own making,
is in the body plac'd, and planted here,
that, both of God and of the world partaking,
of all that is man might the image bear.

God first made angels, bodiless pure minds;
than, other things, which mindless bodies be;
last, he made man, the horizon, 'twixt both kinds,
in whom we do the world's abridgement see [Davies, p. 38].

Now followeth the examining of the little World (as they term it) that is to say, of Man. Concerning God, we have acknowledged him to be a Spirit; and as touching the World, we have found it to be a body. In Man we have an abridgement of both, namely, of God in respect of Spirit, and of the World in composition of body, as though the Creator of purpose, to set forth a mirror of his workes, intended to bring into one little compasses both the infinitenesse of his owne nature, and also the hugenesse of the whole world together [Mornay, p. 209].

THE THREE POWERS OF THE SOUL CORRESPONDING TO THE THREE KINDS OF MEN

And these three powers three sorts of men do make:
For some, like plants, their veins do only fill;
and some, like beasts, their sense's pleasure take;
and some, like angels, do contemplate still.

therefore, the fables turn'd some men to flowers;
and others did with brutish forms invest;
and did of others make celestial powers,
like angels, which still travel, yet still rest.

Yet these three powers are not three souls, but one;
as one and two are both contain'd in three,
three being one number by itself alone;
a shadow of the blessed Trinity [Davies, p. 53].

In Plants wee Perceive, that besides their bodies which we see, there is also an inward vertue which we see not . . . . which vertue wee call the quickning Soule. . . . . In sensitive living things we finde the self-same vertue . . . . and therewithall we finde another certaine vertue or power, which seeth, heareth, smelleth, tasteth, and feeleth. This do we terme the sensitive Soule. In man we have both the quickning and the sensitive, but moreover we see also a Minde which considereth and beholdeth. . . . . My meaning is not that he hath three soules, but only one soule, that is to wit, that like as in

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the bruit beast the sensitive soul comprehendeth the quickning soul; so in man the reasonable soule comprehendeth both the sensitive and the quickning soule.

Thus we have three sorts of men according to the three powers or abilities of the inward man. Namely, the earthly man, which like the plant mindeth nothing but sleeping and feeding, ... the sensuall man, who is given wholly to these sensible things, ... and the reasonable man, who liveth properly in spirit and Minde [Mornay, pp. 210–11].

SKEPTICS WHO WISH TO SIN WITH MORE SECURITY

How senseless then and dead a soul hath he,
which thinks his soul doth with his body die;
or, thinks not so, but so would have it be,
that he might sin with more security [Davies, p. 55].

. . . . Or else they were some persons growne quite out of kinde, shaped in wickedness, and such as had defaced their own natures in themselves, who to the intent that they might practice all manner of wickednesse with the lesse remorse, have strived to persuade themselves by soothing their owne sinnes, that they have no soule at all, and that there is no Judge to make inquiry of their sinnes [Mornay, p. 10].

THE FEAR OF DEATH IN WICKED SOULS A PROOF OF IMMORTALITY

For this idea, the fourth reason advanced for immortality, Mr. Bredvold finds Davies indebted to two passages in Primaudaye's work. The resemblance, however, is hardly as close as the one listed below:

Who ever sees these irreligious men
with burthen of a sickness weak and faint,
but hears them talking of religion then,
and vowing of their souls to every saint?

When was there ever cursed atheist brought
unto the gibbet, but he did adore
that blessed Power, which he had set at nought,
scorned, and blasphemed, all his life before? [Davies, p. 63.]

And yet notwithstanding if these fall into never so little danger, or be they but taken upon the hip, they fall to quaking, they cry out unto heaven, they call upon God. And if they approach but afar off, unto death, they fall to fretting and gnashing of their teeth. And when they bee well beaten, there is not any shadow of the Godhead offered unto them, but they embrace it [Mornay, pp. 10–11].

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IMMORTALITY PROVED BY THE GENERAL DESIRE FOR IT

Here again, in Davies' fifth reason, Mr. Bredvold finds a parallel in Primaudaye, but the resemblance to Mornay is just as close. Of course it is probable that Primaudaye had consulted Mornay, but in view of the first stanza below and the first passage from Mornay, which has no parallel in Primaudaye, I think that if Davies drew from anyone in this case, it was more than likely Mornay.

> Hence springs that universal strong desire,
> which all men have, of immortality;
> not some few spirits unto this thought aspire,
> but all men's minds in this united be [Davies, p. 64].

Men have at all times believed and admitted the immortality of the soule: I say not some one man or some one Nation, but the whole world with generall consent, because all men universally and particularly have learned it in one Schoole, and at the mouth of one Teacher, namely even their owne knowledge in themselves [Mornay, p. 240].

> From this desire that main desire proceeds,
> which all men have, surviving fame to gain
> by tombs, by books, by memorable deeds;
> for she, that this desires, doth still remain [Davies, p. 64].

There is not so base a minde which coveteth not to live forever, insomuch that whereas we look not for it by nature, we seeke to obtain it by skill and policie, some by bookes, some by images, and some by other devices [Mornay, p. 226].

THE PROOF OF IMMORTALITY FROM THE VERY DOUBTS AND DISPUTATIONS CONCERNING IT

Mr. Bredvold here comments on Davies' "ingenious argument," confesses that he is unable to find it in Primaudaye, and in his conclusion points to this passage as "an illustration of Davies' constant superiority of thinking and writing." It is an ingenious argument, but Davies deserves credit only for expressing it in verse. It appears three times in Mornay's chapter on the immortality of the soul.

> And though some impious wits do questions move,
> and doubt, if souls immortal be, or no,
> that doubt their immortality doth prove,
> because they seem immortal things to know.
>
> For he, which reason on both parts doth bring,
> doth some things mortal, some immortal, call;

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now, if himself were but a mortal thing,
he could not judge immortal things at all. . . . .

so, when the soul mounts with so high a wing
as of eternal things she doubt can move,
she proofs of her eternity doth bring
even when she strives the contrary to prove [Davies, p. 65].

Let us wade yet deeper: Who can dispute, or once so much as doubt whether the Soule be immortall or no, but he that is capable of immortality? And who can understand what difference is betwixt mortall and immortall, but he is immortall? [Mornay, p. 227.]

If all that is ever in us were transitory and mortall, we should not be so witty to examine the Immortalitie as we be, for of Contraries the skill is the same. If a man were not mortall, that is to say, if he had no life, he could not dispute of mortall life, neither could he speak of the Immortall, if he himselfe also were not Immortall [*ibid.*, p. 231].

And if any man doubt thereof, let him but examine himselfe, for even his owne doubts will prove it unto him. Or if he will stand in contention still, let him fall to reasoning with himselfe: for by concluding his arguments to prove his soule mortall, he shall give judgement himselfe that it is immortall [*ibid.*, p. 239].

THAT THE SOUL HAS NO CONTRARIES

She lodgeth heat, and cold, and moist, and dry,
and life, and death, and peace, and war, together;
ten thousand fighting things in her do lie,
yet neither troubleth or disturbeth either.

Perhaps for want of food the soul may pine;
But that were strange; since all things, bad, and good,
since all God's creatures, mortal, and divine,
since God himself is her eternal food. . . . .

Yet violence, perhaps, the soul destroys;
as lightening, or the sun-beams, dim the sight;
or as a thunder-clap, or cannons' noise,
the power of hearing doth astonish quite;

But high perfection to the soul it brings,
to encounter things most excellent and high
for, when she views the best and greatest things,
they do not hurt, but rather clear, her eye
[Davies, pp. 66–67].

Our bodies do mislike these contraries (such as fire and water), and are grieved by them: but our mind linketh them together without either burning

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or cooling it selfe: and it setteth the one of them against the other to know them the better. The things which destroy themselves through the whole world, do maintaine one another in our minds. Againe, nothing is more contrary to peace than warre is: and yet mans mind can skill to make or maintaine peace in preparing for warre, and to lay earnestly for warre in seeking or enjoying peace. . . . . What can the soule meete withall in the whole world that can be contrary to it? What then? Want of food? How can it want food in the world, which can skill to feed on the whole world? . . . .

The more excellent, and the more sensible the thing is in his kind which the sense receiveth, so much the more is the sense it selfe offended, or grieved thereby. As for example, the feeling, by fire, the taste, by harshnesse, the smelling, by strong savours, the hearing, by hideousnesse of noise, whether it be by the thunder-clap, or the falling of a river, and the sight by looking upon the sun. . . . . But let us see if there bee the like in our reasonable soule. Nay contrariwise, the more of understanding and excellencie that the thing is, the more doth it refresh and comfort our minde [Mornay, pp. 222–23].

ANSWER TO THE OBJECTION THAT THE SOUL IS CORRUPTED IN FOOLS AND IDIOTS[1]

But if a frenzy do possess the brain,
it so disturbs and blots the forms of things,
as fantasy proves altogether vain,
and to the wit no true relation brings; . . . .

but, purge the humours, and the rage appease
which this distemper in the fansy wrought,
then will the wit, which never had disease,
discourse, and judge, discreetly as it ought:

so though the clouds eclipse the sun's fair light,
yet from his face they do not take one beam;
so have our eyes their perfect power of sight,
even when they look into a troubled stream:

Then these defects in sense's organs be,
not in the soul, or in her working might;
she cannot lose her perfect power to see,
though mists, and clouds, do choke her window-light
[Davies, pp. 70–71].

Yea (say they) but yet we see men forgoe their reason, as fools and melancholicke persons. . . . . Nay, thou shouldest say rather, I have see divers which having seemed to have lost their right wits, have recovered them againe. . . . . Therefore of necessity the Soule of them was as sound as afore.

[1] Mr. Bredvold allows this and the following parallel.

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But our Soules which beholde by the body, and by the instruments of the body as it were by Spectacles; and our mind which beholdeth and seeth through his imagination as through a Cloud, is after a sort troubled because the Spectacles were troubled and the imagination besmoaked. After that manner the Sunne seemeth dimmed and eclipsed, and that is but the coming of the Moone or of some Cloudes between us and him. . . . . Take away the impediments, and our eyes shall see cleare: purge away the humours, and our imagination shall be pure, and so our understanding shall see as bright as it did afore [Mornay, p. 237].

THAT THE SOUL RETAINS ITS POWERS EVEN WHEN THE SENSES ARE LOST

So, when the body serves her turn no more,
and all her senses are extinct and gone,
she can discourse of what she learn'd before,
in heavenly contemplation all alone:

so if one man well on a lute doth play,
and have good horsemanship, and learning's skill,
though both his lute and horse we take away,
doth he not keep his former learning still?

he keeps it, doubtless, and can use it too,
and doth both the other skills in power retain,
and can of both the proper actions do,
if with his lute or horse he meet again [Davies, p. 73].

And this ability of understanding may bee likened to a man, which though hee have lost both his hand and his Lute, ceaseth not therefore to be a man still, and to do the true deeds of a man, that is to wit, to discourse of things, to minde them, to use reason and such like: Yea, and to be both a Luter and a man as hee was afore, notwithstanding that he cannot put his Lute-playing in exercise for want of instruments [Mornay, p. 236].

ANSWER TO THE OBJECTION THAT THE SOUL IS NOT IMMORTAL BECAUSE IT RETURNS NOT AFTER DEATH

Fond men! If we believe that men do live
under the zenith of both frozen poles,
though none come thence advertisement to give,
why bear we not the like faith of our souls?

the soul hath here on earth no more to do
than we have business in our mother's womb;
What child doth covet to return thereto,
although all children first from thence do come?

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And, doubtless, such a soul as up doth mount,
and doth appear before her Maker's face,
holds this vile world in such a base account,
as she looks down, and scorns this wretched place;

but, such as are detruded down to hell,
either for shame they still themselves retire,
or ty'd in chains, they in close prison dwell,
and cannot come, although they much desire [Davies, p. 76].

Another saith, If dead mens Soules live still, why come they not to tell us so? and he thinketh he hath stumbled upon a wonderful subtile device. But how doth this follow in reason? There came not any man from the Indies for many yeeres together into our part of the world: Ergo, there be no Indies. . . . . The Soule that is lodged in the lap of his God . . . . forgoeth the desire of these lower things, which to the sight beholding them from above, are lesse than the point of a Needle. On the other side, he that is put in close prison (how desirous soever he be) cannot go out: so the soule which is in the Jayle of his Soveraigne Lord God, hath no respite or sporting time to tell us what is done there. . . . . And in effect what els is all this, but a desiring that some man might returne into his mother's wombe againe, to encourage young babes against the pinches and paines which they abide in the birth, which he would no lesse abhorre then wee do death, if they had the like knowledge of them? [Mornay, pp. 234–35.]

THAT THERE ARE THREE KINDS OF LIFE ANSWERABLE TO THE THREE POWERS OF THE SOUL

For, as the soul's essential powers are three,
the quick'ning power, the power of sense, and reason,
three kinds of life designed to her be,
which perfect these three powers in due season:

the first life in the mother's womb is spent,
where she her nursing power doth only use,
where when she finds defect of nourishment,
she expels the body, and this world she views;

this we call birth, but, if the child could speak,
he death would call it, and of nature 'plain,
that she would thrust him out, naked, and weak
and, in his passage, pinch him with such pain [Davies, p. 79].

In the same person there are three lives continued from one to another: namely, the life of the Plant, the life of the Beast, and the Life of the Man or the soule. So long as a man is in his mothers wombe, he doth but only live and grow: his Spirit seemeth to sleep, and his senses seeme to be in slumber.

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. . . . As soone as hee is come out, he beginneth to see, to feele, to move, and by little and little falleth to the perfect using of his limbes. . . . . But besides all this, we find there a mind, which by the eares (as by windowes) beholdeth the world, and yet in all the world findeth not any one thing worthy to rest wholly upon, mounteth up to him that made it. . . . . To be short, a man is prepared in his mothers wombe to bee brought forth into the world, so is he also after a sort prepared in this body and in this world to live in another world. We then understand it, when by nature it behoveth us to depart out of the world. And what childe is there which (if nature did not by her cunning drive him out) would of himself come out of his Covert, or that cometh not out as good as forlorn and halfe dead, or that if he had at any time knowledge and speech, would not call that death which we call birth, and that a departure out of life which we call an entrance into it? [Mornay, pp. 228–29.]

I do not doubt that Davies used Primaudaye's treatise and that he drew from it liberally in his discussion of the senses and the faculties of the mind. I believe, however, that Davies made a much greater use of Mornay's *Trunesse of the Christian religion* than was indicated by Mr. Bredvold, and that most of the ideas about the soul in *Nosce teipsum* came not from Primaudaye but from Mornay.

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"GOODE LIEF, MY WYF"

When in 1857 it was observed[1] from the 1380 Subsidy Roll for Southwark that Chaucer's Host bore the name of a real innkeeper of Southwark, it was not supposed that the Roll in question[2] would give any more information on the point. Both the Roll, however, and the *Visus Compoti*,[3] which also survives, show that "Henry Bailif [or "Baillif"] de Southewerk" was himself one of the four controllers for the subsidy. That he was the innkeeper is clear, not merely from the fact that although there are four men named *Bailif* in the list, he is the only *Henry*, but also from the fact that of the three other controllers, two were innkeepers.

The Roll gives another bit of information which pointed the way to the conclusion that Chaucer names not only the Host but the Host's wife also. Among the taxpayers is listed one Henry Barber and "Godlef u*xor* ei*us*." The name instantly suggested the famous lines spoken by the Host at the end of the "Tale of Melibeus":

> I had lever than a barel ale
> That goode lief my wyf had herd this tale [B 3983–84].

Could it be that the Host's wife was given the curious name *Godlef* evidently borne by one of her neighbors?

Evidence on this point came unsought during an extensive examination for another purpose of the Feet of Fines for Kent. Between 1327 and 1399, the name *Godlef* or *Godelef*, Latinized as *Godeleva* (once *Godeliva*), occurred no less than thirty times, in all cases but one followed by *uxor*. It appeared only once before 1339–40 and only eight times between 1380 and 1399; but twenty-one times between 1341 and 1376—the very period within which the Host's wife is likely to have been born.[4]

[1] *Notes and Queries*, I, 228; and cf. *ibid.* (1902), p. 97.

[2] No. 184/30. [3] No. 184/32.

[4] Feet of Fines for Kent, Nos.: 151 (5 E. III); 424 (13 E. III); 524 (16 E. III); 772, 775 (22 E. III); 871 (25 E. III); 949 (26 E. III); 1146 (31 E. III); 1346 (35 E. III); 1414 (37 E. III); 1557, 1594 (40 E. III); 1754 (43 E. III); 1801 (44 E. III); 1865, 1879, 1889, 1932 (45 E. III); 1905 (46 E. III); 1995 (47 E. III); 2039 (48 E. III); 2186 (50 E. III); and 122 (3 R. II); 243 (5 R. II); 324 (6 R. II); 778 (15 R. II); 871 (17 R. II); 915 (date torn, R. II); 1025, 1046 (20 R. II).

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These deeds concern almost entirely middle-class persons; and although the name *Godlef* is rare compared with *Alice*, *Agnes*, and *Joanna*, it is far commoner than such familiar names as *Rose*, *Lucy*, *Mary*, and *Anne*.

Although no special search for the name has been completed,[1] the fact that it has hitherto escaped notice in this connection suggests that it was more or less local in its use. It turned up three times —as *Godeleva*, *Godelef*, and *Godlef*—in the Lewisham Court Rolls.[2]

It need hardly be argued that a proper name in line 3984 gives a better reading. It might be added that the New English Dictionary does not quote an example to illustrate the usual interpretation of the line.

In view of the manuscript conditions of the *Canterbury Tales*, it would not be surprising if there were no evidence that some form of *Godlef* was the original reading. It is very surprising, on the other hand, to find that no less than eleven manuscripts write one word instead of two, and that of these, two (Cardigan and Egerton 2726) have the form *Goodleef*, with a capital. Metrically, however, the line demands an unaccented syllable in the word; so it is interesting to find in the Fitzwilliam MS the form *goodelefe;* in Harley 7334, *godeleef;* and in Sloane 1685 an approach to the Latin—*godeleve*.[3] With regard to capitals, Cardigan and Egerton 2726, which capitalize *Goodleef*, capitalize also *Melibeus* and *Prudence*, two lines below; Harley 7334 has small letters for all three names; of the remaining eight manuscripts which have one word instead of the usual two, five write *Melibeus* with a capital and *prudence* with a small letter, and three have capitals for both names.[4]

If the objection is seriously made that in the Subsidy Roll Henry Bailif's wife is named *Christian*, it may be met—less seriously, perhaps—by a group of questions: Was Chaucer bound to use the woman's real name merely because he used her husband's? Would it have been safe for him to do so, in view of his characterization of her?

[1] It is, however, in progress.

[2] 8 Edward II, 16 Edward [II?], and 1 Edward III (see p. 81, below).

[3] Of the remaining six, Adds. 5140 has *godlefe;* Christ Church 152 and Rawlinson 141 have *goodlef;* and Dd. 4. 24, Manchester English 113, *godleef*, and Rawlinson 149, *goodleef*.

[4] Of the total number of manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* (including the two Caxtons), thirty have two words; in thirty-three the passage is known to be missing; and of five which are still inaccessible the evidence is lacking.

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Was he hinting at her real name in his "dear to God" paraphrase? Or had Christian died in the plague of 1382—or from some other disease—and been replaced by a *Godlef?* Or did Chaucer, ignorant or careless of her real name, choose with ironic malice *Godlef* to characterize the woman who came home from church and "ramped" with rage because the neighbors failed to treat her with due respect? The last explanation seems to me the most probable.

However that may be, a certain substantiality is given to the name *Godlef* by an earlier record of a woman of that name who was as "big in arms" as Harry Bailly's wife. It seems that on the Tuesday before SS.Philip and James, 1327, Gerard, the sergeant of the borough of Greenwich, gave information in the court held at Lewisham, that Godlef, wife of John Rule, "drew blood" from Isabella Stevens, and also that the latter retaliated in kind. Inferences may be possible from the fact that Isabella was fined the large sum of sixpence, and Godlef, the more moderate sum of fourpence.[1]

What the record shows is that the name was familiar only a few miles from Southwark and in the very neighborhood where Chaucer himself lived for some years.[2]

In discussing the possibility that Chaucer might be giving the name of the Host's wife in B 3084 I had for the moment forgotten that in D 431 he has the Wife of Bath address her fourth husband as "gode lief"—obviously not a name but an epithet. This is exactly the kind of thing Chaucer does, as many scholars know to their sorrow. No sooner has a theory suggested itself than a little further observation furnishes grounds for disturbing its certainty. The remedy is apparently "theschewing" of all theories or learning Chaucer by heart. Perhaps the latter is the simpler.

It should be observed, however, that although the second occurrence of the expression "gode lief" makes it uncertain whether or not

[1] This material I owe to Professor Manly. The record reads:

"iiij d. Gerardus serviens Borgh de Grenewych venit cum secta sua & presentat quod Godlef vxor Johanni Rule traxit sanguinem de Isabella Steuenes. Ideo predicta Godlef in misericordia per plegium John Codham.

"vj d. Isabella vxor Johanni Steuene traxit sanguinem de Godlef vxore Johanni Rule. Ideo in misericordia per plegium John Leyken" (Court Rolls 181/4).

[2] The name of Godlef's pledge—John Codham—suggests that he came from the village where Chaucer is believed to have had a sister Katherine, married to Simon Mannyng of Codham, near Chiselhurst.

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Chaucer intended to use the name when the Host was speaking, the fact remains that there was such a name and that it seems to have been common in the neighborhood where the Host lived. Whether the proper name grew out of the term of endearment used by the Wife, ironically, of course, or, as I had supposed, from the phrase "dear to God" I have no evidence to show. If the former hypothesis is right, then the double use of *Godelief* and *gode lief* is easily understood as mere coincidence. If the second is right, there is still the fact that the reading of B 3084 is much less awkward with the proper name than with the clumsy insertion of the phrase. But there is no proof which was intended.[1]

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[1] Although *Godelief* is the feminine counterpart of the German *Gottlieb*, I have not found in English any clear case of the name used for a man; and even if cases should be found, it would seem hardly likely that Chaucer would use the name twice, once for a woman and once for a man.

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THE UPSTART CROW

"There is an upstart Crow," wrote Robert Greene, "beautified with our feathers, that with his Tyger's hart wrapt in a Player's hide, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blanke verse as the best of you."[1]

This passage has been of interest to scholars chiefly because of its allusion to Shakespeare, and little attention has been paid to the medieval and classical antecedents of Greene's reference to the upstart crow. It may be of value to approach the subject from this viewpoint, and to try to ascertain the tradition behind Greene's metaphor.

It is likely that Greene was acquainted with such an English proverb as the one in Ray's collection, "If every bird take back its own feathers, you'll be naked."[2]

This, in turn, certainly derived from the traditional fable of the crow decked out in peacock's plumage. Greene, himself, in *Never Too Late to Mend*, refers to "Æsop's crow being pranked with the glory of others' feathers." This fable may have been known to him through current usage, or he may have become familiar with it through some collection such as Caxton's edition of *Æsop's Fables*. Caxton follows the classical version of the story as found in Phaedrus, first century A.D.[3] Here the fable is ascribed to Æsop, though reproduced in verse by Phaedrus. It tells of a jackdaw who finds peacock feathers, tears out his own dull quills, and inserts the bright plumes. He then seeks to mingle with the peacocks, but they drive him off after reclaiming their feathers. The jackdaw, on returning to his own kind, is reproached for his ambition and cast out from the flock.

This form of the story, which we have called the "classical tradition," is retained in the Romulus derivatives of Phaedrus.[4] Marie de France likewise uses this type in her *Ysopet*, which is thought to be indirectly dependent on the *Romulus Treverensis* (Anglo-Latin Romu-

[1] "Groatsworth of Wit," *New Shakespeare Society Allusion Books* (4th ser.), p. 30.

[2] *Handbook of Proverbs* (Bohn ed.), p. 415.

[3] Book 1, Fable 3.

[4] Anonymous Nilant, Romulus Ordinaire, Anonymous Neveleti, the Romulus of Munich, of Berne, and of Florence, and the collections of Vincent de Beauvais, and of Alexander Neckham. For texts see L. Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, Vol. II.

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lus). She claims to be reproducing in French verse the Æsopic fables already translated into English by King Alfred.[1] Scholars have not found proof of such an English collection, but Marie's reference is of value to us in giving assurance that her source, whatever it may have been, also followed the classical tradition in respect to the fable under consideration. In the Anglo-Latin Romulus and Marie's *Ysopet* the jackdaw has become a raven, but in other points these stories follow Phaedrus very closely.

About the time when Marie was writing her *Ysopet*, we find the beginnings of a new tradition in the crow fable. Heretofore the feathers have been *found* by the jackdaw or raven, and they have always been peacock plumes. According to the new form of the story, the feathers are borrowed and the owners are birds of different species. Frequently the eagle is introduced as king, and we have a suggestion of the "Bird Parliament." It is quite probable that the popularity of the Bird Parliament in the Middle Ages affected the form of the crow fable. This new rendering of the story may be called the "medieval tradition" since it is represented by the most important fable collections of this period, with the exception of Marie's *Ysopet*. This type is nearer our thought in the modern phrase, "borrowed plumage." It is also closer to Greene's purpose, for he apparently thought of the young Shakespeare profiting by the help of his brother-playwrights, or perhaps stealing from them, a suggestion which we see in one of the later medieval versions.

The earliest form of the fable in the medieval tradition is to be found in a Bodleian manuscript (Rawlinson C. 22) of the end of the twelfth or early thirteenth century. The fable occurs on page 322 in Article 11, which consists of a collection of Latin *Sententiae variae*. Since this fable is not accessible in print, we take the opportunity to give the text.

Dicitur quod quedam auis absque pennis fuit requisiuit a ceteris auibus bene pennatis ut induerent eam varietate pennarum ꝗ & factum est. Nam unaqueq*ue* dedit ei unam de pennis suis. Postea superbiunt ex varietate pennarum. Dictum est ei a ceteris auibus Unde superbus? Dixit De nobilitate pennarum. Quibus auditis resumpserunt pennas suas & remansit nuda. Anglice Swilch cumes tho the plaþe wel y scapedde. Were ful cuttedde were ho nakedde.[2]

[1] Marie de France, ed. Warnke, *Epilogus*.

[2] I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Carleton Brown, of Bryn Mawr College, for the transcript of this fable.

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Although the Middle English proverb appended to the fable is not entirely clear, its presence indicates that the story was common in the vernacular.[1] The Rawlinson version is peculiar in omitting the name of the bird and in introducing it as naked at the beginning of the story. In spite of these variations, the general outline makes it evident that this account is to be identified as the crow fable.

This fable was popular as an *exemplum* since it made an excellent illustration of the result of pride in acquisitions not really earned. Odo of Cheriton, writing in the first half of the thirteenth century, uses it in both his *Fabulae* and the *Parabolae*.[2] Here we find the insertion of King Eagle, and in the *Parabolae* the motive of the borrowing is given as the desire of the crow to appear well in a beauty contest to be held among the birds. The story as it occurs in Odo's *Fabulae* is typical of the medieval tradition. Hervieux supplies the text in *Les Fabulistes Latins*.

Cornix semel, uidens se turpem et nigram, conquesta est Aquile. Aquila dixit ei quod mutuo reciperet plumas de diuersis auibus. Fecit sic. Accepit de cauda Pauonis, de alis Columbe, et, sicut sibi placuit, de ceteris auibus. Cornix, uidens se ornatam, cepit deridere et inclamare contra alias aues. Venerunt igitur aues, et conquerebantur Aquile de superbia Cornicis. Respondit Aquila: Accipiat quelibet auis suam pennam, et sic humiliabitur. Quo facto, Cornix relicta est turpis et nuda.

Sic miser homo de ornatu suo superbit. Set accipiat Ouis lanam suam, Terra linum, Boues et Capri corium suum, Cirogrilli et Agni suas pelles, et remanebit miser homo nudus et turpis; et ita fiet saltem in die mortis, quando nihil secum afferet de omnibus bonis suis.

Item hoc exemplum ualet contra diuites qui pro multitudine diuitiarum gloriantur; sed Dominus quandoque omnia aufert, et sic humiliantur.[3]

Another fabulist of the Middle Ages, John Sheppey, gives both the classical and medieval traditions in two different stories. We find the classical in the fable entitled "Graculus et Pauo," and the medieval in "Cornicula Superba."[4] The crow fable is distinguished from other medieval versions by the term "cornicula" and the detail of a cloak ("pallium") of feathers instead of quills ingrafted in some way. In this version the other birds do not at first recognize the proud crow when he makes his appearance at the council next year, but he is soon

[1] The Rawlinson manuscript catalogue fails to note the occurrence of English in this fable.

[2] L. Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, IV, 180, 303.

[3] *Ibid.*, 180.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 420, 419.

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discovered and punished as usual. The character of the crow receives more sympathy than is generally accorded him by other fabulists.

In the *Summa Praedicantium* of John Bromyard we find the medieval form of the fable again, this time with emphasis on the evil character of the crow, who now obtains his feathers, not only by borrowing, but by stealing and chicanery. This large and popular collection, compiled about the middle of the fourteenth century, is now difficult to obtain, so a reprint of our fable may be of value. The following text is from the edition of 1586:

. . . sicut fabulae narrant de coruo: sicut breuiter tangitur, Ser. 54. 11. qui vocatus ad festum aquilae cum alijs auibus cum esset niger, & turpis, semper tenuit in conuiuio vltimum locum, quod cum grauiter ferret, cautè, & fraudolenter cogitauit, qualiter posset alijs auibus praeponi, & ab aliquibus auibus pennas furando, ab alijs mutuando, alias circunueniendo multas & multorum colorum pennas acquisiuit, quas sibi inseruit. Quo facto erat auis pulcherrima, & omni die cum rege residebat, & factus inde superbus & cupidus, inimicitias exercebat contra alias aues, & non contentus de plumis, quas ab eis prius acceperat, voluit eas omnino denudare, omnes plumas accipiendo, & rapiendo, quod cum aliae aues viderent inito consilio, coruum inuaserunt, & quilibet accepit pennam suam, & eum nigrum, & turpissimum dimittentes, qui statim eiectus est à regis societate. Sic multi videntes diuites apud potentes honoratos, & ab omnibus anteferri cogitant, quam felices essent, si tales esse possent, & ad istum statum obtinendum congregant omni modo falsitatis. Et reuera si quilibet haberet sua ipsi pauperrimi relinquerentur. Sed in morte omnibus illis pennis spoliabuntur, & ipsi à regis ęternę societate eijcientur in tenebras exteriores.[1]

This version may have been familiar to Greene. Certainly Bromyard's particularly unflattering picture of the crow would be in line with Greene's irritation against the young playwright, who seemed to him to be vaunting himself at the expense of others.

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[1] *Op. cit.* (Venice, 1586), A 12, 35.

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MALVOLIO'S CROSS-GARTERED YELLOW STOCKINGS

The effect of Malvolio's costume upon Olivia, *Twelfth Night*, Act III, is unusual and not to be wholly accounted for by the fact that yellow is "a colour she abhors," and "cross-garter'd a fashion she detests." Nor would her letter and her supposed commendation of this costume have given Malvolio the temerity to speak as he does at their meeting if the cross-gartered yellow stockings had no meaning in themselves.

Four explanations[1] of the significance of Malvolio's dress have been offered: (1) Yellow, especially in stockings, was the court fashion of the time. (2) Yellow signified Malvolio's attempt to appear young. (3) It was the symbol of jealousy. (4) Cross-gartering expressed Malvolio's puritanism.

That yellow was worn at court at the time of *Twelfth Night*, and earlier, could be shown by numerous references: "If you see one," said Balurdo going to court, "in a yellow taffeta doublet, cut upon carnation velure, a green hat, a blue pair of velvet hose, a gilt rapier, and an orange-tawny pair of worsted silk stockings, that's I."[2] The page who has pleaded with Puttotta to accept his master's attention reminds her, "He may in time grow great and a well-graced courtier, for he wears yellow already."[3] When Round Robin and his four fellows made themselves ready to go to court, "on their legs they had fine yellow stockings."[4] "If he go to court, it is in yellow stockings," is part of the characterization of Overbury's "country gentleman."[5] Fynes Moryson wrote:

In the time of Queene Elizabeth the courtiers delighted much in dark colours, both simple and mixt and did often weare plaine blacke stuffes; yet that being a brave time of warre, they with our commanders, many times wore light colours richly laced and embroidered, but the better sort of Gentle-

[1] See Furness, *The Variorum Shakespeare: Twelfth Night.*

[2] Marston, *Antonio and Mellida*, V, i, 81 f.

[3] Marston, *The Fawn*, IV, i, 44–46.

[4] Deloney, *The Gentle Craft* (ed. A. F. Lange), Part II, p. 43 (*Palaestra*, Vol. XVIII).

[5] T. Overbury, *Characters* (ed. Aldington), p. 106.

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men then esteemed simple light colours to be lesse comely, as red and yellow—now in this time of King James his Reigne those simple light colors have beene much used.[1]

Yellow stockings may also have signified youth, the state of a lover or freedom from marriage ties, as suggested by the ballad called "A Merry Jest of John Tomson, and Jackaman His Wife, Whose Jealousy Was Justly the Cause of All Their Strife":

When I was a bachelor
  I led a merry life
But now I am a married man
  And troubled with a wife.

I cannot do as I have done,
  Because I live in fear;
If I but go to Islington
  My wife is watching there.

Give me my yellow hose again,
  Give me my yellow hose,
For now my wife she watcheth me,
  See yonder where she goes.[2]

Burton probably refers to this ballad when he observes:

So long as we are wooers we may kiss at our pleasure, nothing is so sweet, we are in heaven as we think; but when we are once tied, and have lost our liberty, marriage is an hell! Give me my yellow hose again; a mouse in a trap lives as merrily.[3]

Peacham's statement that in "ages of man, yellow signified young age,"[4] lends support to its symbolism of youth.

As a sign of jealousy, yellow is constantly alluded to. A few examples will suffice: "I should wear yellow breeches" is said by a man suspicious of his wife's unfaithfulness.[5]

[1] Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*, IV, 232.

[2] *Roxburghe Ballads*, II, 137. This ballad was sung to the tune of "Pegge of Ramsey." There may be a connection between this fact and Sir Toby's remark (II, iii, 83), "Malvolio's Peg-a-Ramsey." The Islington referred to is one of the north suburbs of London, a favorite place in the sixteenth century for outings. Dairies there supplied refreshment, and "Venus's nuns" were plentiful; hence Jackaman's surveillance.

[3] *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 3. 2. 5. 3.

[4] Henry Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman* (ed. 1661), p. 169.

[5] P. Massinger, *Duke of Milan*, IV, ii, 24.

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For he that's jealous of his wife's being bad
Must have his legs with yellow stockings clad.[1]
Iealous men are eyther knaves or Coxcombes, be you neither.
You wear yellow hose without cause.[2]

Among the rest there was the yellow daffodil, a floure fit for gelous Dottrels, who through the beauty of their honest wives grow suspitious, and so prove themselves in the end cuckold Hereticks.[3]

Greene's use of heretic is interesting since yellow is associated with Jews. The famous Lateran Council of 1215, presided over by Innocent III, passed several laws against heretics. One of these required that Jews and Saracens wear a dress which would distinguish them from Christians. Accounts[4] do not state what the distinction was, but Sandi's *Storia Civile Veneziana* reports:

In Venezia però continuava la misura dei giorni quindeci prescritta dal decreto 1395 e durò per tutto il XV secolo, rinnovatasi anzi dal Senato nel 1496 allorchè vendendosi deluso l'effetto del segnale lettera O sul petto, occultandolo gli Ebrei col mantello o altri modi servendo al religioso fermo oggetto, che con notorj segni fossero i Giudei separati e distintamente conosciuti in luogo dell'O si comandò che portar dovessero nello Dominante, e nei luoghi sudditi berette sul capo in cadavna stagione coperte di giallo, colore cangiato poi nel rosso, di cui sussiste fino adoggidì la legge, benchè con qualche abuso violata.[5]

According to Estienne Perlin, the requirement of the yellow cap was not rigidly enforced, in London at least.[6] Why yellow was chosen to distinguish heretics, traitors, children of Christ's Hospital, and re-

[1] V. S. Lean, *Collectanea*, II, 275. Yellow seemed symbolic of conjugal jealousy only. The story is told of the jealousy of Henry IV of his son, afterward Henry V, "which the prince well perceiving, came to visit his father in his sickness, in a watchet velvet gown, full of eyelet holes and with needles sticking in them (as an emblem of jealousy)" (*Anatomy of Melancholy*, 3. 3. 1. 1). This would seem to indicate that the blue gown was significant. The Italians have an old saying, "Chi porta il giallo, vagheggia in fallo" (Borghini, *Il Riposo*, p. 240). In French "être peint en jaune" is said of a man whose wife has been unfaithful.

[2] Dekker, *Northward Hoe*, I, iii (*Works* [ed. Pearson], III, 14).

[3] Greene, *Quippe for an Upstart Courtier*, in Grosart, *Works*, XI, 213.

[4] Ecclesiastical accounts do not describe the dress; cf. Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica* (Venice, 1843), XXI, 14. But Larousse (*Grand Dictionnaire*) states, without citing authority, that yellow was prescribed.

[5] *Op. cit.*, IV, 439.

[6] "Les Juifs de Londres (Je ne sçache pas qu'ils y'en ait ailleurs en Angleterre) ont peu à peu quitté le chapeau jaune qu'ils étoient autrefois obligés de porter; et presentement ils ne portent aucune marque de distinction" (*Archeologia*, XXIV, 176).

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jected husbands is not clear unless they were considered forsaken outcasts to whom the old Scottish rhyme is applicable: "Green's grief, and yellow's forsaken."[1] Perhaps this symbolism of yellow caused Queen Anne to wear it for mourning.[2] Tawny and black signified grief and mourning:

> Tawny and Black, my courtly colours be,
> Tawny because forsake I am, I weare,
> Black since mine Alba's Love is dead to me.[3]

Does this symbolism account also for the ancient custom that "if the younger daughter in a family be married before the elder, the latter must dance barefoot (or in yellow stockings) at the wedding to avert ill luck and get husbands"?[4]

Yellow was used by others besides outcasts. Hall (1510)[5] describes as an "Alman fashion" a livery entirely in yellow. In 1520 the expense account for the jousts at Guisnes included cost of seventy-two yards of yellow velvet for the knight's apparel and forty-five yards of kersey, white, yellow, and marble for quartered hose for the armorers.[6] In that year six of the Earl of Devonshire's young gentlemen appeared masked in "yellow sattin hosen, shoen and cappes."[7] "The Duke of Suffort's army in France wore coats, cappes, hosen in bleue and yellow."[8] In 1581 at the services at the tilt yard the attendants on Philip Sidney, Grenville, and the Earl of Arundel were appareled in yellow and thirty-one yeomen wore "yellow worsted stockings."[9] These references to war and tournament use of yellow may possibly be explained by: (1) the color in the arms of the family under whose leadership the men appeared; (2) the significance of yellow-legged meaning "courageous," "game."[10]

But all of these suggestions concerning the symbolism of yellow,

[1] C. Chambers, *Popular Rhymes of Scotland;* quoted from Lean's *Collectanea.*

[2] Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 818.

[3] Toft, *Alba* (1598), in Grosart, *Occasional Issues*, XI, 104; cf. Nashe, Spring's Song, "Summer's Last Will and Testament," Vol. III, ll. 182, 183:

> Falangtado, Falangtado, to weare the black and yellow:
> Falangtado, Falangtado, my mates are gone, I'le followe.

[4] Lean, *op. cit.*, II, ii, 382.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 516.

[6] *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, III, ii, p. 1555.

[7] Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 599. [8] Stowe, *Annales*, p. 518.

[9] Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth*, II, 315–17.

[10] Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary;* also Peacham, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

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with the possible exception of its being the courtier's color, are really pointless as far as Malvolio's costume is concerned. They have been reviewed only because they are always cited in this connection. But this list is not the extent of the significance of yellow.[1] It meant happy[2] as well as unhappy love.

Peacham's discussion of the symbolism of colors distinguishes between "pure yellow" and "lemon yellow," the former of which he says "signifies hope; the latter, jealousy."[3]

In the epithalamium composed by Catullus for the marriage of Manlius, Hymen appears in saffron. Jonson may have followed this in his description of the marriage god in *Hymenaei* 1606: "On the other hand entered Hymen in a saffron color'd robe, his under vestures white, his socks yellow, a yellow vest of silk on his left arm." In Jonson's *Tale of a Tub*, II, i, 159, the rustic John Clay wore yellow stockings on his wedding day. When marriage became unhappy Hymen was said "to put off his saffron robe."[4]

Yellow as an indication of mastery of wife seems to be indicated in:

> Ha sarrah, you'll be master, you'll wear the yellow,
> You'll be an over-seer?[5]

But a curious judgment or sentence pronounced in Martial d'Auvergne's "noble parlement of love" is confirmatory of fifteenth-century association of yellow footwear with lovers. The case was that "Trois compaignons d' Amours se complaignent contre trois dames, en cas de saisine et novelleté de ce qu'elles entreprennent plusieurs choses, qui seulement appartiennent aux hommes, et non aux femmes." But the decision was rendered that men could have no greater rights or prerogatives in love than the women. "Et sont les dames en possession et saisine de porter botte fauve, pour l'honneur et amour de leurs amis, ou pied dextre, ou senestre."[6] In another case, a lover

[1] In ecclesiastical symbolism, yellow signifies that clay and dust are elements of the body; that the body will return to dust, and the spirit must not, therefore, be proud. The livery given to servants of bishops seems to have been tawny (Harington, *Nugae-Antiquae*, II, 22). The servants of Winchester wore tawny coats (*I Henry VI*, I, iii, 47). Yellow and red were used at weddings to ward off evil spirits (*Folk Lore*, IX, 125). Laneham's *Letter* concerning the entertainment at Kenilworth mentions red and yellow ribbons on the bridecup (p. 30).

[2] Spencer describes Charissa ("full of great love") as "all in yellow robes arrayed."

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 156.

[4] Marston, *The Malcontent*, III, i, 182.

[5] Wadeson, *Look about You* (Dodsley, *Old Plays*, VII, 474).

[6] *Les Cinquante et un arrêts d'amours* (1460–65; published, 1525); *Le XLIII Arrest* (Amsterdam: Changuion, 1731), p. 406.

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was forbidden to "porter la botte fauve pour l'amour d'elle," i.e., the lady he loved.[1]

That there was a significance in the color of lovers' costumes is shown by Romanello's reply to Charella when she remarks that women in their love affairs "are ever more secret than men are." Romanello sneers:[2]

> You secret! when your dresses blab your vanities?
> Carnation[3] for your points? There's a gross blabber;
> Tawney? heigho! the pretty heart is wounded:
> A knot of willow-ribbons? She's forsaken.

Cross-garters did not present such a complex problem. They may have had their origin in the Anglo-Saxon leg-bandage[4] which was bound about the leg in crisscross fashion from ankle to knee in order to keep the stocking properly extended. The cross-garter of the sixteenth century was, according to portraits and contemporary costume books, a band placed below the knee, crossed or twisted in the back, brought up above the knee, and tied in a bow on the side or front of the leg. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they seem to have been used by persons who desired to present an especially neat appearance—such persons as Puritans,[5] pedants,[6] servingmen,[7] footmen,[8] lovers,[9] and gallants or courtiers. "Greene's Vision" presents a bridegroom dressed by his friends "all new from top to toe, with a paire of greene garters tyed cross above the knee."[10]

What conclusions can be drawn from this array of allusions?

[1] *Le V Arrest*, p. 68.

[2] Ford, *Fancies Chaste and Noble*, III, iii (*Works* [ed. Gifford], II, 278).

[3] Carnation symbolized craft (Peacham, *op. cit.*, p. 156). The many allusions to carnation color in costumes of the sixteenth century are not without significance.

[4] Strutt, *Dress and Habits of the People of England*, Vol. I, Plate XVII. The Ramberg print shows Malvolio's stockings gartered in this way, but the drawing in the British Museum shows only two crosses.

[5] Furness, *Twelfth Night* (ed. *Variorum*).

[6] Maria states that Malvolio is cross-gartered "most villaneously; like a Pedant that keepes a Schoole i' the church "(*Twelfth Night*, III, ii, 75 f.).

[7] H. Porter, *Two Angry Women of Abington* (Dodsley, *op. cit.*, VII, 286).

[8] Overbury, *Characters* (ed. Aldington), p. 135.

[9] Cross-garters must have signified hopeful lovers since rejected lovers did not wear garters: "I was once like thee, a sigher—a crosser of armes, a goer without garters" ("How to Choose a Good from a Bad," *Materiallen*, XXXV, 14). "Well since I am disdain'd, off garters blue." ("Woman is a Weathercock," Dodsley, *op. cit.*, XI, 30), or Rosalind's description, "Then your hose should be ungartered, etc.," in *As You Like It*, III, ii, 400.

[10] *Works* (ed. Grosart), XII, 228.

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Certainly, yellow was not limited to the costume of one type or condition of person. Yellow leg- or footwear characterized boys of Christ's Hospital, yeomen, courtiers, jealous husbands, elder unmarried girls at the marriage of their younger sisters, and lovers. Cross-garters were almost equally impartial in their attachment. But both yellow stockings and cross-gartering are connected with love. A consideration of the evidence in *Twelfth Night* eliminates the probability of Malvolio's costume having any meaning except those of puritanism, courtly affectation, or love. He could hardly have considered that Olivia would admire puritanical insignia. If he had worn them continually as a courtier she would not have been shocked at his appearance. On the other hand, he expressly states: "She did commend my yellow stockings of late, she did praise my leg being cross-garter'd *and in this she manifests herself to my love.*"[1] Malvolio, in view of "such clear lights of favor," therefore considered himself an accepted lover, and appeared before his lady wearing a lover's costume and smiling as he had been enjoined to do. Olivia, at first astonished at the significance of his dress, was outraged by his talk, and concluding that he was insane, had him imprisoned.

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[1] *Twelfth Night*, II, v, 177. Italics mine. This article is not meant to be a complete treatment of various shades of yellow, but simply suggests a few possibilities. It is part of a larger study on the significance of color in costume of the drama from 1533 to 1633.

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MILTON AND THE "*AMINTA*"

Addison remarked of a passage in the fourth book of *Paradise Lost* that "the sweetness of these verses has something in it of a pastoral, yet it excels the ordinary kind as much as the scene of it is above an ordinary field or meadow." In fact, one who had read and written pastoral poetry as had Milton could hardly avoid pastoral reminiscence in dealing with happy rural life of an ideal sort. Hence we may expect to find traces of Milton's reading of pastoral authors in the description of the happy life of Adam and Eve. In addition to the classical pastorals, those of more recent times in the various languages of modern Europe were known to Milton. Among the most famous of these is Tasso's *Aminta*. There is no external evidence that Milton knew and admired this work, though his esteem for the writings of Tasso is obvious. There is every reason to suppose that in later life Milton would still have wished to speak of the *nomen ingens* of Tasso, as he did in the Latin poem addressed to the Neapolitan nobleman, Manso. Even without his Italian journey, Milton had ample opportunity to become familiar with the *Aminta*. It was published at London in Italian in 1591, and in a Latin translation by Thomas Watson in 1585. By 1660 there were three English translations of all or the greater part of the work. In 1592 Daniel included with his *Sonnets to Delia* a translation of the praise of the Golden Age by the chorus at the end of Act I, scene ii:

O bella età de l' oro,
Non già perchè di latte
Se 'n corse il fiume e stillò mèle il bosco;
Non perchè i frutti loro
Diêr da l' aratro intatte
Le terre, e gli angui errâr senz' ira o tosco;
Non perchè nuvol fosco
Non spiegò allor suo velo,
Ma in primavera eterna,
Ch' ora s' accende e verna,
Rise di luce e di sereno il cielo;
Nè portò peregrino

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O merce o guerra a gli altrui lidi il pino.
  Ma sol perchè quel vano
Nome senza soggetto,
Quell' idolo d'errori, idol d' inganno,
Quel che da 'l volgo insano
Onor poscia fu detto,
Che di nostra natura il feo tiranno,
Non mischiava il suo affanno
Fra le liete dolcezze
De l' amoroso gregge;
Nè fu sua dura legge
Nota a quell' alme in libertate avvezza;
Ma legge aurea e felice
Che Natura scolpì: *S'ei piace, ei lice.*
  Allor tra fiori e linfe
Traean dolci carole
Gli Amoretti senz' archi e senza faci;
Sedean pastori e ninfe,
Meschiando a le parole
Vezzi e susurri, ed a i susurri i baci
Strettamente tenaci;
La verginella ignude
Scopria le fresche rose,
Ch' or tien ne 'l velo ascose,
E le poma de 'l seno acerbe e crude;
E spesso in fiume o in lago
Scherzar si vide con l' amata il vago.
  Tu prima, Onor, velasti
La fonte de i diletti,
Negando l' onde a l'amorosa sete:
Tu a' begli occhi insegnasti
Di starne in sè ristretti,
E tener lor bellezze altrui secrete:
Tu raccogliesti in rete
Le chiome a l'aura sparte:
Tu i dolci atti lascivi
Festi ritrosi e schivi,
A i detti il fren ponesti, a i passi l'arte;
Opra è tua sola, o Onore,
Che furto sia quel che fu don d'Amore.

This passage is full of touches that are paralleled in Milton, such as the fruits yielded by the earth without cultivation (*Paradise Lost*, IV, 332; V, 322), the "milkie stream" (*ibid.*, V, 306), the innocent

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serpents (*ibid.*, IV, 346; IX, 520), "th' eternal spring" with its equable climate (*ibid.*, IV, 268; X, 691). All these are possible in *Paradise Lost* without Tasso, and some of them may be found in classical sources. The most striking resemblance to the *Aminta* is found in the connection by Milton of honor with the innocent nakedness of Adam and Eve:

> Nor those mysterious parts were then conceald,
> Then was not guiltie shame, dishonest shame
> Of natures works, honor dishonorable,
> Sin-bred, how have ye troubl'd all mankind
> With shews instead, meer shews of seeming pure,
> And banisht from mans life his happiest life,
> Simplicitie and spotless innocence [*Paradise Lost*, IV, 312–18].

Further, when the naked Eve received the angel,

> no vaile
> Shee needed, Vertue-proof, no thought infirme
> Altered her cheek [*ibid.*, V, 383–85],

and when he is entertained,

> at Table Eve
> Ministerd naked, and thir flowing cups
> With pleasant liquors crown'd: O innocence
> Deserving Paradise! if ever, then,
> Then had the Sons of God excuse to have bin
> Enamour'd at that sight; but in those hearts
> Love unlibidinous reign'd, nor jealousie
> Was understood, the injur'd Lover's Hell [*ibid.*, ll. 443–50].

The word "veil," equivalent to "clothing," is the same as Tasso's *velo;* in this sense, it is true, the word occurs elsewhere in Milton. Eve also wore her tresses *a l'aura sparte*, "disheveled" (*ibid.*, IV, 306, 497). The mingled words and caresses of Tasso are also known in Paradise, for Eve knew that Adam

> would intermix
> Grateful digressions, and solve high dispute
> With conjugal Caresses, from his Lip
> Not Words alone pleas'd her [*ibid.*, VIII, 54–57];

and the "kisses pure" of Adam and Eve

> Imparadised in one another's arms [*ibid.*, IV, 506]

cause the envy of Satan.

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Of a different sort is the invective against women by Thyrsis, when he supposes that the cruel Sylvia has driven Aminta to suicide:

> Oh crudeltate estrema! oh ingrato core!
> O donna ingrata! o tre flate e quattro
> Ingratissimo sesso! E tu, Natura,
> Negligente maestra, perchè solo
> A le donne ne 'l volto e in quel di fuori
> Ponesti quanto in loro è di gentile,
> Di mansüeto e di cortese, e tutte
> L' altre parti oblïasti? [Act III, scene i.]

This is in the tone of two passages in Milton. Adam, in describing his creation, says:

> Nature . . . . on her bestowed
> Too much of Ornament, in outward shew
> Elaborate, of inward less exact.
> For well I understand in the prime end
> Of Nature her th' inferiour, in the mind
> And inward Faculties, which most excell [*Paradise Lost, VIII*, 537–42].

In *Samson Agonistes* (ll. 1025–30) the chorus, in anger against the treachery of Dalila, ask:

> Is it for that such outward ornament
> Was lavish't on their Sex, that inward gifts
> Were left for hast unfinish't, judgment scant,
> Capacity not rais'd to apprehend
> Or value what is best
> In choice, but oftest to affect the wrong?[1]

If Milton is here echoing the *Aminta*, we have one more indication of the Renaissance, as well as biblical and Greek, nature of *Samson Agonistes*. A number of other parallels between Milton's poems and the *Aminta* should probably be referred to common sources.

While Milton doubtless admired and remembered some of the lines from the *Aminta* I have quoted, the most devout believer in the importance of parallel passages can hardly insist that Tasso is Milton's necessary or only source for the lines in question. The theme of innocent nakedness, for example, is developed by commentators on Gene-

[1] The similarity to the passage in the *Aminta* is noted by Percival in his edition of *Samson Agonistes*.

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sis whom Milton is known to have read. Yet while remembering his learned commentaries on the Scriptures, the English poet at the same time treats his earthly paradise in the spirit of a pastoral poet's representation of the Age of Gold. His characters are, however, stronger and more intellectual. *Paradise Lost* is evidently a biblical poem, but is also much more than that, for its author developed it not merely as a biblical and theological student, but also as one who appreciated and sympathized with the less serious literature of the Renaissance and who was able to bring into harmonious combination elements seemingly diverse. Such power for imaginative fusion of a variety of themes from widely separated sources made possible the richness of Milton's poetry and its satisfying reflection of the many-sided life of his age.

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POE'S ATTITUDE TOWARD HIS TALES: A NEW DOCUMENT

Within the last two years three biographies of Edgar Allan Poe have appeared in the following order: *Edgar Allan Poe*, by Joseph Wood Krutch; *Israfel: The Life and Times of Edgar Allan Poe*, by Hervey Allen; and *Edgar Allan Poe, the Man*, by Mary Phillips. Each of these works, and especially the first two, contribute much that is new and valuable to the study of Poe. But Allen and Krutch, it seems to me, lean too heavily on the now fashionable "psychological" method of biography. They explain away all of Poe's own explanations of his methods of composition,[1] and are able to see in every detail of his writing some conscious or unconscious expression of his inner life. They see in his heroes an autobiographical picture; his unearthly heroines are explained in the light of his own love affairs; his use of cruelty shows his own sadism; his interest in insanity and premature burials shows the morbid quality of his mind.[2] In brief, his short stories, as well as his poems, are the mirror of his own life.

An unpublished Poe letter, now in the Huntington Library, throws some new and important light on this question.[3] This letter, dated April 30, 1835, was written by Poe to T. W. White, the owner of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, in reply to a letter in which White had criticized Poe's "Berenice," which he had just accepted for publication.

It will be remembered that in 1833 Poe, by winning the prize offered by a Baltimore newspaper for the best short story, had come out of the obscurity which had engulfed him after his expulsion from West Point.[4] His position was desperate. John Allan had refused to send him money; he was without employment, supported by his almost poverty-stricken aunt, Mrs. Clemm. Naturally, he was seeking

[1] See Krutch, *op. cit.*, pp. 98 and 113, and Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 612–13.

[2] See Krutch, *op. cit.*, pp. 75–87, 124–27, and Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 371, 388, 445, 458, and 508.

[3] Permission to quote from this letter has been granted by the Huntington Library. One quotation from the letter appears in Mary Phillips' *Edgar Allan Poe*, and one in F. L. Pattee's *The History of the American Short Story* (New York, 1923).

[4] For the best discussion of Poe's life during this period see Allen, *op. cit.*, chap. xv.

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to find some way to relieve this trying situation. He had found that he could not live by poetry.

John P. Kennedy, a Baltimore literary man and one of the judges of the committee which awarded Poe the *Baltimore Saturday Visiter* prize, had become interested in Poe and his work, and had done much to help him. Poe had submitted to the contest, not only the winning tale, "The MS Found in a Bottle," but also a collection of tales which Kennedy had recommended to the publishing-house of Carey, Lee and Carey. When this company returned the manuscript, Kennedy advised Poe to send some of his work to his friend White. This was done, and "Berenice" appeared in the April *Messenger*.[1]

Poe begins his letter to White by tactfully admitting the validity of the editor's criticism:

> A word or two in relation to Berenice. Your opinion of it is quite just. The subject is by far too horrible, and I confess that I hesitated in sending it to you, especially as a specimen of my capabilities. The tale originated in a bet that I could produce nothing effective on a subject so singular, provided that I treated it seriously.

After this somewhat dubious account of the origin of "Berenice," Poe launches into the real explanation of the story. He writes: "The history of all magazines shows plainly that those which obtained celebrity were indebted for it to *articles similar in nature to Berenice*,"[2] and then modestly adds, "although, I grant you, far superior in execution." Poe continues somewhat rhetorically: "You ask me in what does that nature consist," and then answers, "In the ludicrous heightened into the grotesque; the fearful colored into the horrible; the witty exaggerated into the burlesque; and the singular heightened into the strange and mystical." One sees in this definition an example of Poe's ability to analyze, to reduce to a formula, a form of literary expression. Has a better description of the Poe tale ever been written? And it is important to notice that, far from claiming any originality in the manufacture of the formula, Poe definitely states that it was arrived at from the study of tales found in popular magazines.

[1] It has generally been assumed that Poe sent to White, if not the entire collection of his tales, at least several specimens. But from the tone of the letter referred to and from the fact that only "Berenice" is mentioned, it would seem that White was not familiar with other works of Poe. For the usual view see the following biographies of Poe: Gill (New York, 1877), p. 72; Ingraham (London, 1880), I, 114; Harrison (New York, 1903), I, 116; Lauvrière (Paris, 1904), p. 84; Woodberry (Boston, 1909), I, 109; Allen, p. 365.

[2] The italics are Poe's.

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Poe then mentions four examples of "similar" tales. They are "The Man in the Bell," by Thomas Maginn; "The Confessions of an English Opium Eater," by De Quincey; and "Monos and Daimonos" and "A MS. Found in a Madhouse," by "no less a man than Bulwer."

A detailed examination of these articles and of their relation to Poe's tales would be out of place here; fortunately, a few words will show sufficient relation for the purpose of this paper. "The Man in the Bell"[1] records the minute sensations of horror experienced by a man locked in a belfrey of ringing bells. "Monos and Daimonos"[2] tells the story of a man who hates society and who, in attempting to flee from it, is followed by the man he especially hates. He kills him, but the murdered one then forever walks by the side of his murderer. Of "The Confessions of an English Opium Eater"[3] it is only necessary to say that when first published it was regarded as a tale of horror and not as a personal narrative.

Although Poe speaks of "A MS. Found in a Madhouse" as "of the London New Monthly" and "by . . . . Bulwer," no article by this title has been found; neither the *New Monthly Magazine* nor the collected works of Bulwer contain any tale which suggests it. *Godey's Lady's Book* for August, 1833, however, contains "A Maniac's Story" which is supposed to be a manuscript found in a madhouse, and is a tale of exotic love, murder, and madness.[4] The title, the date, and the fact that *Godey's* was a popular magazine makes it just possible that this is the story referred to. Certainly it is an "article" of the class Poe is talking about.

Poe might have extended his list of examples indefinitely. Even a casual study of the early nineteenth-century English and American magazines yields hundreds of such tales.[5] Premature burials, murders

[1] *Blackwood's Magazine*, X, 373 ff.

[2] *New Monthly Magazine*, XXVIII, 387 ff.

[3] *London Magazine*, IV, 293 ff. and 353 ff.

[4] This tale, bearing the signature "AE," reads like a burlesque of a Poe story.

[5] The following list contains a few examples from the better-known magazines before 1833. From the *Dublin University Magazine*, "The Rivals" (II, 84), "My Uncle's Manuscript" (II, 513), "The Spectre of the Log Hut" (IV, 556), and "The Unknown" (II, 250); from *Frasier's Magazine*, "The Unearthly Witness" (II, 171) and "Who Murdered Beglie" (IV, 623); from *Blackwood's Magazine*, "The Metempsychosis" (XIX, 511), "The Last Man" (XIX, 284), "The Man with a Nose" (XIX, 154); from the *London Magazine*, "The Haunted House" (VI, 63) and "The Doomed Man" (VIII, 306); from the *New Monthly Magazine*, "Fanny Vane" (XLIV, 273) and "Precept and Practice" (XLV, 305); from *Godey's Ladies' Book*, "The Merchant's Clerk" (III, 67), "The Suicide" (IV, 19), "The Dance of Death" (IV, 11); from *Knickerbocker's Magazine*, "The Proselyte" (I, 378) and "The Spectre Fire Ship" (III, 36).

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committed under strange circumstances, men driven to destruction and madness by torturing consciences, morbid neurotic heroes, and unearthly and insane heroines abound. In the light of these tales, Poe's phrase, "articles similar in nature to Berenice," can be well understood.

But Poe is not certain of what White may think of this type of article, and suggests:

> You may well say that all of this is in bad taste. I have my doubts about it. No one is more aware than I that simplicity is the cant of the day, but take my word for it no one cares for it in their hearts. Believe me also, that in spite of all people may say to the contrary there is nothing easier to be than extremely simple.

Two other passages in the letter are of the greatest importance in helping us to determine the attitude of Poe toward his tales. One of them is as follows: "But whether the articles of which I speak are in bad taste is of little purpose. To be appreciated you must *be read*[1] and these things are sought after with avidity." Again, toward the end of the letter, he says that he hopes to furnish White with a "tale a month, no two alike in matter or manner," and that "the effect— if any—will be estimated better by the circulation of the magazine than by any comments on its contents." He allows that "Berenice" "approaches the very verge of bad taste," but promises that he will not be "so exaggerated" again.

Here Poe states his position very clearly. He has observed that in the popular magazines of the day a certain type of tale holds an important place. He has analyzed the type and can write such "articles" on demand. What the critics say of them matters very little so long as the magazines containing them sell. He might have added that he, a young and not widely known poet without means of support, hoped by this means to make a living.

It is to be noticed that never once in the letter does Poe say positively what he thinks of the artistic merit of the narratives with which he offers to supply White, and with which he was to supply many other editors. Probably the best account of just what he did think of it is to be found in his "Loss of Breath" and "How to Write a Blackwood Article." In the former he had, three years before writing

[1] The italics are Poe's.

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to White, written a burlesque on this type of tale. In the latter, he ridicules not only two of the very tales he had held up to White as models, but the very type itself which he had been writing for five years and was to write for ten years more. He singles out for special satire "The Man in the Bell" and "The Confessions of an English Opium Eater." And what is even more significant, he pokes fun at "Buried Alive," a tale of premature burial—though he was later to write "The Fall of the House of Usher" and "The Premature Burial," tales dealing with the same subject.[1]

The conclusions seem inescapable. Poe deliberately set out to appeal to the magazine-reading public of his day by giving it exactly the type of tale already popular; he did not take the trouble even to invent new situations, using those already used by other writers. And although he lavished on his tales excellent workmanship and beauty of language, it cannot be doubted that he, at times at least, regarded them as nothing more than means of making a living. He even satirized the thing he was doing while he was doing it.

It would seem, then, that the greatest care should be used in reading into Poe's use of horrible and morbid situations and details a reflection of the horror and morbidness of his own mind. If the use of horror in fiction can be taken as an indication of horror in the mind of the author, then most of the tale-writers of the first half of the nineteenth century were verging on insanity.

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[1] It is strange that so few critics of Poe have attached importance to these two articles. Neither Krutch nor Allen mentions "How to Write a Blackwood Article"; "A Loss of Breath" is referrred to once by Allen. Fred Lewis Pattee, *op. cit.*, pp. 115–41, gives the most intelligent discussion of these articles and of their relation to Poe's work.

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REVIEWS

Orígenes del español; estado lingüístico de la península ibérica hasta el siglo XI. Por R. Menéndez Pidal. (Revista de filología española.—Anejo I.) Madrid: Imprenta de la Librería y Casa Editorial Hernando (S.A.), 1926.

It is a singularly happy circumstance that the year which marked the appearance of the monumental *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal* should have witnessed also the publication of the distinguished scholar's most notable contribution to the field of Spanish and Romance philology. The *Orígenes del español* is an epoch-making work not merely for the light which it casts on the early development of Spanish but also because of its contribution, both explicit and implicit, to our knowledge of the processes through which Vulgar Latin developed into the various vernacular forms in the Romance territory.

In his Introduction, Menéndez Pidal states briefly his purpose; it is "to bring what was formerly a sort of prehistory of Spanish into the realm of true history." This he has achieved, partly through the use of new documents, partly through the application to his problem of materials already available, including, in addition to the documentary evidence, the study of the toponymy of the peninsula and of the fragmentary evidence offered by Arabic and Mozarabic sources.

A part of the new documentary material Menéndez Pidal now publishes as the opening section of his study. It includes a new collection of one hundred and forty-five glosses of the tenth century from a manuscript of San Millán, the *Glosas emilianenses;* a carefully edited presentation of both text and glosses of another manuscript, of which the latter had been published by Priebsch as the *Glosas silenses*, also of the tenth century; and a collection of twelve hitherto unprinted documents from Leon, Castile, and Aragon, ranging from 938 to 1097 in date. It is interesting to note in this connection Menéndez Pidal's explanation of the paucity of documents during the twelfth century which reveal Romance forms. In the notarial documents of the tenth and eleventh centuries he finds an abundance of vernacular evidence; by the beginning of the thirteenth century the vernacular speech has begun to replace Latin in these texts. The documents of the twelfth century are written entirely in Low Latin. He would attribute this sudden change to the coming into Spain at the end of the eleventh century of the Benedictine monks of Cluny (Bernard de Sédirac was made abbot of Sahagún in 1080 and archbishop of Toledo in 1086). The Benedictines not only introduced into Spain their French script, replacing the old Visigothic script, but through their schools trained a new

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generation in a better understanding of Latin, a process of purification which was presently revealed in the Latin of scribes and notaries. And thus, for a century, the current of popular speech finds no reflection in the written documents of the time.

In addition to the documents printed in the present volume, Menéndez Pidal has also utilized a large body of unpublished material from the archives of Spain, including the documents which Señor Navarro Tomás is to publish in the second volume of the *Documentos lingüísticos* from the kingdom of Aragon. These, together with the texts already available in cartularies and municipal or private collections, provide him with a body of material sufficient to trace the general lines of the development of preliterary Spanish.

The body of the work is divided into two main parts: grammar and a geographical, historical survey which he entitles, "Regions and Periods." In a closing section he discusses some of the general conclusions which may be drawn from his study.

The part devoted to grammar does not propose to offer an exhaustive survey of the whole subject. In the various sections devoted to the symbols employed, to phonetics, to morphology and syntax, and to lexicology he treats only of those phenomena on which his materials cast some new and interesting light. But in spite of its eclectic character, the variety and extent of his contribution is so great that it is impossible to offer even an analysis of the content. Briefly we may say that here, for the first time, is scientifically demonstrated the process of phonological development from Latin into Spanish which scholars have hitherto accepted as a hypothesis.

It will not be amiss to cite a few examples of problems which the author has now clarified. The section on the symbols used to express the new, non-Latin sounds is of interest not merely because it shows how great was the uncertainty of the scribes in their effort to represent the new palatal or sibilant sounds, but because it makes clear that the orthography stabilized in the time of Alfonso el Sabio is not an invention but rather the outgrowth of a long process of experimentation during the earlier centuries. In his discussion of the symbols used to represent the *j*, as in *consejo* (p. 65), and in other passages in the book (pp. 60, 77, 285, 518, etc.), Menéndez Pidal refers to the sound as *ž* (voiced prepalatal fricative), although in one passage (p. 288) he calls it either *ž* or *ǯ* (voiced prepalatal explosive). All the evidence would seem to point to the explosive character of the sound. The preference of the early scribes for *gg* as a symbol (*conceggo*) can have only this interpretation, for while a single *g* might have been fricative, as in *gerrare*, a double *g* must have been explosive. Even more convincing is the testimony of the Mozarabic texts cited by the author on page 288; for here we find that the sound is represented only by Arabic *gim*. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Pedro de Alcalá in his *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua araviga* (ed. 1505, f. a iiij r°) finds *gim* still an exact equivalent of *j* or *g*(*e*, *i*). And even later in the century the *j* was an equivalent of Italian *gi*.

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In the section devoted to phonology, of particular note is the treatment of the diphthongs *ai* and *au*, for here we may see spread out the whole history of the evolution of a phonic group from Latin into its modern forms. And what is most striking in this demonstration is that although the chronology of the different words or types may vary, though in some cases the process of development may be arrested by forces of traditionalism or conservatism, the basic law of this evolution remains identical in all parts of the peninsula. To the history of the development of the open vowels, *ǫ* and *ę*, Menéndez Pidal brings much new material and also presents an ingenious theory to explain the phonetic process. Briefly, his theory is that articulatory exaggeration of the stressed vowel produces a division of the vowel into two elements, the first tense and tending to rise, the second relaxed and hence obscured and tending toward a position dissimilated from the first element. The sequence, then, in the development of *ǫ* would be *ǭ* > *ǫǫ̇* > *ꞷǫ̇* > *ꞷą̇* > *ꞷą́* > *ꞷą̇́* > *ꞷę́* > *ꞷǫ́*, or *ꞷǫ́*. Throughout the series, the stress remains on the second, relaxed element and Menéndez Pidal reaffirms his belief that in general the forms in *ue* in the *Poema de mio Cid* and in the *Auto de los Reyes Magos* were pronounced *uó*. The chief weakness in the theory is the difficulty of explaining the initial step, for emphasis does not necessarily produce a descending diphthong. Is it not possible that the explanation should be sought in the mechanical difficulty of holding a long vowel in the mid-position without some support for the tongue and the resultant reaching for a *point d'appui* by that basic physiological process which always anticipates an articulatory difficulty?

In his discussion of initial *f*, Menéndez Pidal ranges himself with those who believe that the substitution of *f* by *h* is a phenomenon arising from the lack of an *f* in the Cantabrian dialects. This phenomenon, he believes, was one not common to the general Spanish domain, but was propagated, along with other Castilian peculiarities, in the general spread of that dialect. His general presentation of the problem is convincing, but it is hard to accept his analysis of the chronology of the process. If we find forms such as *Ormaza* (1092) or *Ormazola* (1107), in which the *h* has already been lost, it hardly seems probable that the initial *f* in literary texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was still a symbol for the sound *f*. In the opinion of the present writer, the symbol *h*, as used by the scribes of the earliest literary period, did not represent an aspirate but was merely a sign to indicate a following vowel or a hiatus. When Juan Ruiz writes *herren* it is an indication that he pronounces the word *erren;* the spelling *fazer* means that he says *hadzer*. The Old Castilian forms derived from French or Arabic with an initial aspirate point to the same conclusion. Spellings such as *fonta* (Fr. *'honte*) or *fata* (Arab. *'atta*) would be unintelligible unless *f* were already the symbol for the aspirate. The use of *h* to represent the aspirate is probably not earlier than Antonio de Lebrija.

One of the most brilliant sections in the book is the study of the history of the combinations *-mb-*, *-nd-*, *-ld-*, and *-nt-*, for here the author has given the first scientific demonstration of the preservation of the peculiarities of an

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Italic dialect in a specific Romance district, establishing the influence of Oscan phonology in the region about Huesca.

The second part of the study, on "Regions and Periods," reassembles the materials on the basis of geographical and historical grounds. The different sections on Mozarabic Spain, the kingdom of Asturias and Leon, the Navarro-Aragonese region, and the county and kingdom of Castile trace the story of the political events which determine the spread of each of the dialects through conquest and colonization. It is little short of astonishing to discover how Mozarabic, or Gallician, or Basque colonists left their marks in the toponymy of the ever advancing "Extremadura." To most readers the account of a special kind of Vulgar Latin, the vehicle of archaicizing Mozarabic scribes in Leon, a language lying between the Low Latin of the time and the vernacular speech, will provide a revelation in speech history.

The section on geographical-chronological principles suggests materials for the establishment of the dialectic frontiers of the peninsula, including a number of maps to illustrate the boundaries of typical phonological phenomena. From these considerations and from the study of the historical materials the author is able to demonstrate how the Castilian dialect, the most progressive of all the dialects, spreading southward in a widening band, split the peninsula.

El gran empuje que Castilla dió a la reconquista por Toledo y por Andalucía y el gran desarrollo de la literatura y cultura castellanas trajeron consigo la propagación del dialecto castellano, antes poco difundido, el cual, al dilatarse por el Sur, desalojando de allí a los empobrecidos y moribundos dialectos mozárabes, rompió el lazo de unión que antes existía entre los dos extremos oriental y occidental e hizo cesar la primitiva continuidad geográfica de ciertos rasgos comunes del Oriente y del Occidente que hoy aparecen extrañamente aislados entre sí.

More clearly than ever before the *Orígines del español* lays before us a picture of the obscure processes through which a modern language is formed. We catch a glimpse in it of words and phrases, remnants of an older speech, which for a season struggled on in daily use, only to be dropped aside and replaced by other forms. We see phonetic principles clashing with no less imperative principles such as analogy or popular etymology. We watch the conflict between the learned tendency of the educated classes and the simplifying tendency of the mass. Here are scribes, anxious to show their learning, and by a process of "ultra-correction," writing *otorcat*, or *sapiento*, or *audie die*. It is the fluid period, out of which was crystalized, a few centuries later, the sturdily established Castilian of the reign of Alfonso el Sabio.

With equal clarity Menéndez Pidal's study establishes the truth, that whatever may be the history of the individual word, however important may be modern methods of dialectic study, there remains, after all, but one satisfactory approach to the study of language, the historical method, for only thereby may we achieve that perspective which permits us to discern the larger truths and fundamental processes by which speech develops. To that

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study the present volume makes a noteworthy contribution. It is regrettable that the book does not contain an index or glossary which would make readily accessible the vast body of new and interesting forms which it contains. But both in its details and its general deductions it stands as the most important contribution to the knowledge of linguistic growth which has been made in our time. It opens the way to new and fruitful study.

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Recherches sur la technique de Balzac: Le retour systématique des Personnages dans la Comédie humaine. By E. PRESTON. Preface by MARCEL BOUTERON. Paris: Les Presses Françaises, 1927. Pp. 286.

Nearly forty years ago there appeared from the pen of two "fanatics" one of the most curious documents ever contributed to the cult of Balzac. I mean the *Répertoire de la Comédie humaine*, the work of Cerfberr and Christophe. This book contains the *état civil* of over two thousand figures which people the novels of Balzac—merely this; a *table de matières vivante*, as Paul Bourget strikingly calls it; a somewhat fantastic reminder of the gigantic proportions of the "Human Comedy," and a *Who's Who* of sorts for the student of Balzac.

Ethel Preston, in her study of the reappearing characters of Balzac, has not been content merely to revise or correct the *Répertoire*. She has simplified the materials which enter into its composition; she has then presented them in a thoroughly scientific and a most readable fashion. But she has done more than this, for she points out the fact that Balzac, in his employment of reappearing characters, created a new fictional technique, and gave thereby an unquestioned realistic solidity to this work, which is its chief glory. Because she has done this, Miss Preston has added a distinctly new and illuminating chapter to Balzac criticism.

Her problem is one of Balzacian technique: a study of the mechanism involved in handling these reappearing figures. After all has been said, Miss Preston is really uncovering one of the secrets of that great vitalism which is stored in the "Human Comedy." She has confined her study to the 460 characters which appear in more than one novel, tracing the life-histories of the important ones, and demonstrating quite convincingly how Balzac overcame technical difficulties and introduced reappearing figures whose psychological and chronological identities were always excellently preserved. I am pleased that Miss Preston insists upon the originality of this fictional scheme. One who is today accustomed to the similar methods of Trollope, Zola, Galdós, Galsworthy, or Proust, might overlook the fact that Balzac was the pioneer in this matter of technique. I am also grateful to the author of this study for insisting upon Balzac's absolute lack of conscious effort in adopting the scheme. He refers to it in the most general and matter-of-fact terms; he seems never to have been conscious of instituting a fictional novelty. The possessor of

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great inventive gifts, controlled by equally amazing intuitive gifts, Balzac set out to create a unified picture of contemporary society which would rival reality itself. Once launched upon his task, and determined to *surprendre le sens caché dans cet immense assemblage de figures, de passions et d'évènements*—it would never have occurred to this "historian of manners" that a Lucien Chardon, or a Rastignac, their ambitious dreams, or their failures, should hold the reader's attention for one "chapter" of his "Comedy," then fade from sight never to return. And the destinies of these young provincials are woven, naturally, into the finer texture of Balzac's Parisian pattern, through a score of novels, so that they may be viewed, now episodically, again merely fragmentarily; so that when we merely glance over the shoulder of the Duchesse de Maufrigneuse as she turns the leaves of her album of *erreurs*, we see unmistakably Eugène, or Lucien, figures whom we have known, whom we shall meet again.

Miss Preston has studied the technique of reappearing figures necessarily from an angle. To trace the evolution of such a scheme from its inception, to show the gradual development of Balzac's world from manuscript through successive proofs and editions, would have been a task greater than Balzac's own. The reappearances have therefore been caught at the moment of sharpest intensity: at the peak of Balzac's activity, during the corrections which were made for his first edition of the "Human Comedy." Perhaps the most instructive page in this study is a chart which displays the rapid development of Balzac's method after *le Père Goriot* in 1834, through *César Birotteau* (1837) with its 104 reappearing characters, through *les Illusions perdues* (1837) with 116 figures, to *Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes* (1838) with 155 recurring characters. A glance at this chart informs one also of the formidable proportions of such a procedure, and the care which must have been exercised in weaving these figures together into a true pattern.

Another valuable portion of this study is the fifth Appendix, a sort of schedule of readings wherein the novels of Balzac are listed chronologically according to their action. This strict adherence to chronology leads, however, to strange combinations. I do not agree with all of the arrangements; I suppose no Balzacian would agree to Miss Preston's list or to my emendations. In any event, I notice that Miss Preston places the works from the first date of action rather than from the date of the main action. One instance: *la Rabouilleuse* is fourth on her list, embracing the years 1792–1839; yet the main action of this novel does not begin until 1822. Other works—*l'Auberge rouge*, for example, the action of which is narrated at some later time—should perhaps be listed according to the date of their action, not according to the date of their narration. Miss Preston has complicated this problem by listing such works twice; thus seven titles are repeated in her Appendix. She has omitted *l'Interdiction* through oversight; and she has omitted (probably intentionally, because Balzac did not complete the work) *le Député d'Arcis*, yet she includes *les Petits Bourgeois*.

Originally written as a doctoral thesis at the University of Chicago, Miss

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Preston's book, I am happy to discover, bears witness on many a page to the stimulating presence of the greatest of all Balzacians: E. Preston Dargan.

The study is well printed, and is singularly free from errors. I can discover only one misprint: the name of the *Duc de Rhétoré* is misspelled on page 72.

Glancing once more through the closing chapters, I wonder if any person today has read the "Human Comedy" with Miss Preston's thoroughness. I am struck also by that singular fascination which the "world" of Balzac has always held for its readers. Is this not a real world which has been chronicled rather than a novel-cycle? Under this new "spell," which Ethel Preston has transmitted to me, I take up again my favorite novel, and I read how that strange group sat about the breakfast table one morning, watching M. Eugène de Rastignac receive his money from the postman: Mme Couture and M. Poiret, Mlle Michonneau, Victorine, and the medical students, and the hairy-chested Vautrin. In the background hovers the heavy, unhealthy figure of Mama Vauquer, avidly watching her "paying guests." And I wonder whether Miss Preston, who has herself come so completely under the spell of Balzac, might not some day reconstruct for us the figure of the non-appearing Monsieur Vauquer!

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Francesco Petrarca, L'Africa. Edizione critica per cura di NICOLA FESTA. *Edizione nazionale delle opere di Francesco Petrarca*, I. Florence: Sansoni, 1926. Pp. lxxvi +298.

The publication of this volume, the first in the *Edizione nazionale delle opere di Francesco Petrarca*, is doubly notable. It gives us the first reliable text of a famous work, and it initiates the long-promised complete critical edition of the works of Petrarch.

The National Edition as a whole, I am informed by Professor Vittorio Rossi, the chairman of the Commission for the Edition, is to consist of nineteen volumes, as follows:

I. *Africa*, ed. by N. Festa.
II. *Epistolae metricae* and minor Latin poems, ed. by E. Bianchi; *Bucolicum carmen*, ed. by a successor to the late E. Pistelli.
III–IV. *De viris illustribus*, ed. by R. Morghen.
V. *Rerum memorandarum libri IV*, ed. by Morghen.
VI. *Secretum*, ed. by E. Carrara; *De vita solitaria*, ed. by P. Rajna; *De ocio religiosorum*, ed. by F. Ermini.
VII–VIII. *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, ed. by M. Casella.
IX. Invectives and *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia*, ed. by Rajna.
X–XII. *Epistolae de rebus familiaribus*, ed. by V. Rossi.
XIII–XIV. *Epistolae rerum senilium*, ed. by Rossi.
XV. Other prose letters, ed. by Rossi.

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XVI. Psalms, orations, *marginalia*, ed. by R. Sabbadini; the documents regarding Petrarch, ed. by P. Fedele.
XVII. *Canzoniere* and *Trionfi*, ed. by A. Schiaffini.
XVIII. *Rime estravaganti*, ed. by G. Mazzoni.
XIX. Indexes.

The several volumes will appear not in the order of their numeration, but in the order in which they are made ready. It will probably be many years before the edition is complete. The editors are scholars who are unwilling to work otherwise than thoroughly, and their editorial tasks are, as a whole, much more than ordinarily difficult.

Though report as to the *Africa*—itself jealously guarded—appears to have been the main basis of Petrarch's early literary fame, and though he considered it throughout his life as one of his two main works, he never achieved a definitive version. It is evident that his autograph, now lost, contained double readings, signs for correction, and lacunae, and that it was illegible in some places. He never allowed the MS to be copied during his lifetime.

After the death of Petrarch in 1374, Coluccio Salutati wrote repeatedly to the literary executors, requesting that a copy of the poem be sent to him, and offering to prepare it for publication. Not until 1377, however, did he receive a copy; and even then, apparently, he was told that the preparation for publication would be done in Padua. He nevertheless made a considerable number of marginal notes, intended, apparently, for editorial use.

In 1378 a copy, still extant (C), was written by the Florentine monk Tedaldo della Casa. This copy reproduces the marginal signs by which Petrarch himself had indicated lines which he intended to improve, and was probably made directly from the autograph. Three other MSS (B, K, R) are derived from Tedaldo's copy, apparently without contamination.

The Paduan executors finally commissioned Pier Paolo Vergerio to prepare the poem for publication. He worked on the basis of the autograph, which he seems to have followed faithfully. In dealing with doubtful passages, he utilized various suggestions, among them, in all probability, some made by Coluccio. One of the existing MSS, W, is possibly Vergerio's autograph: if not, it is at least very close to it. The extant MSS of the *Africa* not yet mentioned, twelve in all, appear to reflect the work of Vergerio; but all of them except M (if I read aright Festa's *stemma* and his genealogical statements, which come short of perfect clarity and completeness) appear to have undergone further influence of the work of Coluccio, and present significant variations. M itself varies from W in many readings.

Festa's task was, then, the re-establishment of a text known to be itself imperfect, through the use of MSS all of which bear traces of early attempts at the perfecting of the text. The result is necessarily doubtful in many cases; but the *apparatus criticus*, with its careful argumentation, supplies all the significant variants, and the decisions reached in individual cases seem to me

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notably reasonable and wise. I am impressed, however, somewhat more than Festa seems to have been, by the excellence of the readings of M; and am inclined to suggest that the scribe of M may have had access to a form of the work of Vergerio prior to and less modified than the form preserved in W. This would be possible even if W is in the hand of Vergerio.

The last previous editor of the *Africa*, Corradini, knew but seven MSS of the poem. Festa achieved the complete collation of sixteen MSS existing in ten different cities in five different countries, and an adequate control of the only other complete MS (P), which is virtually identical in text with one of those collated. He has made careful and judicious use also of the fragmentary MSS and of the scholia to be found in several MSS.

I believe Festa to be mistaken in questioning (pp. xlii–xliii) the authenticity of the *Versus pro Africa*, written after the death of Petrarch and attributed to Boccaccio. Their authenticity was first questioned by Corradini. Four of his six objections, it seems to me, were completely answered by Hortis. His remaining objections are, first, that some of the lines of the poem are faulty in prosody, and, second, that the poem is not mentioned by Coluccio. Faulty verse, however, is amply instanced elsewhere in the Latin poetry of Boccaccio;[1] and the fact that the poem is not mentioned by Coluccio has no evidential significance. Festa, in renewing the challenge, adduces two considerations. The first is that the author of the *Versus* is guilty of an *ingenuità quasi infantile*, unworthy of Boccaccio, in that the *Africa*, addressed as a daughter of Petrarch, is, in the body of the *Versus*, urged to flee from the home of Petrarch in disobedience to her father's will, while at the end of the poem Petrarch, directly addressed, is urged to favor the flight. This does not seem to me unduly ingenuous—it is simply an appeal from an earth-bound Petrarch to a Petrarch newly gifted with heavenly insight. And even if it were an *ingenuità quasi infantile*, other cases could be found among the inventions of Boccaccio as poet. Festa's second consideration is that the *Versus* contain phrases which imply a direct knowledge of the *Africa*. He cites eleven cases, not all of which are impressive. The clear imitation of *Africa* I 1 proves nothing, since this line, as Festa himself points out in another connection (pp. xxxv–xl), was known to several friends of Petrarch, including Boccaccio, as early as 1362. Furthermore, as Festa points out in that same connection, Boccaccio, in a letter of 1362, "dice di aver veduta l'Africa e tiene a far credere di conoscerla bene." Again, the *Versus* do not appear to indicate any more extensive knowledge of the *Africa* than do the *Metra incitatoria* of Coluccio, which were written before the death of Petrarch. Finally, as Festa himself notes, the brief summary of the *Africa* contained in the *Versus* includes one element which is quite inconsistent with thorough knowledge of

[1] See A. Hortis, *Studj sulle opere latine del Boccaccio* (Trieste, 1879), p. 68; G. Körting, *Boccaccio's Leben und Werke* (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 690–91; O. Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde* (Brunswick, 1902), p. 73; and G. Lidonnici, in his edition of the *Bucolicum carmen* of Boccaccio (Città di Castello, 1914), p. 14.

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the *Africa*. There is then, it seems to me, no sufficient reason for questioning Boccaccio's authorship of the *Versus pro Africa*.

It is pleasant to note that Festa makes grateful use of one American study, W.P. Mustard's article on the *Africa* in Volume XLII of the *American Journal of Philology*.

The book is splendidly made in respect to paper, page-proportion, typography, and illustration.

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Contributo alla critica di me stesso. By BENEDETTO CROCE. Bari: Laterza, 1926. Pp. 80. Lire 6.50.

Cultura e vita morale: intermezzi polemici. By BENEDETTO CROCE. Seconda edizione, raddoppiata. Bari: Laterza, 1926. Pp. 322. Lire 22.

Neither of these volumes is altogether new. The brief autobiography, written in 1915, has already appeared in translations, English, French, and German; it is now published for the first time in Italy, where it was originally privately printed in 1918. Of the other book, half is a new edition of the volume of *Intermezzi polemici* which appeared in 1913, half is a *nuova serie* of similar brief sketches almost all reprinted from *Postille* in *La critica*.

The *Contributo alla critica di me stesso*, written when its author was in his fiftieth year, treats mainly of the intellectual aspects of his life through those five decades, and of the influences which, in Croce's own opinion, went to form his thought. In this respect it naturally invites comparison with the intellectual autobiography (written at an earlier point and to rather different ends) of that other Italian philosopher, no admirer of Croce, who had heard himself at thirty dubbed *Un uomo finito*. Croce's intellectual recollections, like Papini's, open with a childhood craving after books. Like Papini, Croce has nothing to say of any woman (save for a brief mention of his mother); doubtless because he, too, feels the feminine influences on him to have been intellectually nil. With this, however, the resemblance ends.

The present slender volume is valuable primarily as an index of certain facts, notably (for example) in breaking down the apparently baseless tradition of Croce's Hegelianism as a family influence from that uncle Bertrando Spaventa whom he hardly knew. It contains incidentally one or two brief significant generalizations, such as that (p. 57) on the essential impermanence of all theories and all systems. But it is, in essence, simply a summary of events in the life of its author to assist those who wish to study his ideas; and as such briefly and adequately it fulfils its task. We read the book with interest and profit, and with only one regret: the tone, at times, we wish might be a little different. Thus, when the author tells us how a few months' study of economics made him the superior of professional economists in debate (p. 35); when he notes his "intelligenza sveglia e sicura di quasi tutti i principali prob-

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lemi sui quali si sono travagliati i classici filosofi" (p. 39); when he cites "un servigio che ... rendevo alla cultura italiana ... " (p. 44); or when he writes "potrei riempire molte e molte pagine col dar notizia della divulgazione ottenuta dai miei libri in Italia e fuori, delle discussioni che hanno levate e ... dei molteplici lavori che hanno suscitato nei varî campi percorsi dal mio pensiero ... " (p. 71).

Turning to the other volume, we find the *nuova serie* of polemic sketches, academic and political, to be, as we expected from the nature of the first part printed thirteen years ago, of very varying weight. The twentieth (and last) passage in the book, *Il dovere della borghesia nelle provincie napoletane*, stands out clearly among the rest. It is an address delivered in 1923 at the opening of a local public library dedicated to the memory of an eager young scholar who had fallen in the battle of the Piave. Urging (on those whose time and circumstances permit) the study of local history and antiquities, well conceived, serenely executed, it gives a sense of sudden calm after the stormy censures which have filled so much of the other nineteen sketches. Two or three others, we hasten to add, are also free from the polemic. *Degli studî eleganti* (xi) starts out with a happy idea, partly akin to that of *Il dovere della borghesia* ... , the cult of lost traditions; then it turns, rather abruptly, to approve a new provision by the Ministry of Education. Another calmer chapter (xix) contains a discussion of intellectual internationalism, occasioned by a study of Karl Vossler's *Die romanischen Kulturen und der deutsche Geist*. In the paper *Sull'insegnamento religioso* ... (x), too, we find calm logic and directness in a rather unexpected championing of religious instruction in the schools. But the other sixteen chapters are all less direct and less serene. One of them (xii), returning to the subject of the tenth, argues with elaborate paradox that this provision for Catholic instruction in the elementary schools is essentially a Protestant provision. Others show a logic still more curious. There is a defense of the ineffectual pre-war days in Italy on the ground that "tutto ciò che abbiamo ... di buono è stato prodotto o preparato in quel tempo ... , sia pure disordinata nell'aspetto e talvolta nel fatto" (p. 285). *Post hoc ergo propter hoc* the argument here would seem to be; and space as well as time provides its puzzle when we read (p. 214): "Tornando alla filosofia (dalla quale ... non mi sono allontanato). ... "

Occasional lapses such as these, however, trouble us far less than does the readiness with which from time to time the controversy grows invective. "Un tessuto di dicerie, sogni, e asserzioni" (p. 231);[1] "chi pretende di esser così, forma una pretesa ridicola" (p. 236); "la loro e scetticismo esteriore e volgare, che niente serba e su niente progredisce" (p. 237); "mere vacuità e stupidità" (p. 248); "stupidissima" (p. 261); "movimento ... gridatorio e piazzaiuolo" (p. 269); "questa infermità, questa fissazione, questa ottusità" (p. 293); "cretinismo filosofico" (p. 294); "odiosa, noiosa o ridicola, in quanto prende

[1] This whole passage (with its quite unnecessary mention, under a deliberately transparent veil, of a great scholar-editor whom Croce much dislikes) is itself a mere undemonstrated assertion.

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modi solenni e tenta innalzarsi al sublime" (p. 301); "irriflessione e ... vanità pedantesca ... feconde di ogni sorta di stoltezze e stravaganze" (p. 305); and so following. "Procuriamo di esercitare severa vigilanza e spietata critica su quanti nel campo degli studî introducono tendenze politiche ..."; so says Croce himself in one of his finer chapters (pp. 308–9). We close the volume trusting that he will continue to develop the admirable scholarly side of his researches; hoping that he will steadily reduce the political and invective aspect of his controversies.[1]

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Pearl. Edited by SIR ISRAEL GOLLANCZ, LITT.D., F.B.A. Oxford: Humphrey Milford, 1921.

In the recent reissue of his edition of *Pearl*, Sir Israel Gollancz has thoroughly revised the text, notes, and glossary. In doing so, he has shown a commendable willingness to reject ideas which he had formerly proposed and to adopt new ones offered by other scholars or devised by himself. In his usual felicitous way, he has made many ingenious suggestions and explained many difficult passages (e.g., ll, 565,681, 1193). Two splendid interpretations (in ll. 41,217) he has derived from Professor Craigie. Further, most of the emendations now in the text are either surely right or probable, cases where the scribe obviously erred and a slight correction restores the author's words. In line 154, however, the change of *wo* to *woþe* is not necessary, since the former makes satisfactory sense. In line 786, inserting *fowre* makes the metre clumsy. Could not the poet use a "round number"? In line 1007, *sarde* does alliterate, but the manuscript reading *rybe* is supported by the fact that the Authorized Version of the Bible in the source of this passage translates *sardius* as "ruby." Similarly, in line 1015, changing *gentyleste* to *tryeste* amounts to rewriting the text. Finally, in line 1186, *stykeȝ* need not be changed to *strykeȝ;* see *O.E.D.* under "stick," *v.*, meaning No. 6. The most improbable emendation is that of *blose* to *wose* in line 911. In the first place, *wose* does not alliterate as *blose* does; in the second, it is not found elsewhere in Middle English. *Blose* is pretty certainly a real word, which will turn up some time.

The following notes bear on details of greater or less moment. Line 51, *denned* probably means "took shelter," "made a den," rather than "resounded" (*O.E.D. s.v.* "denn," *v.*). The rhyme requires *e*, not *i* (which a word derived from OE *dynian* would have), and the intransitive use of a transitive verb would not be alien to the poet's speech habits. Line 123, *bylde* is probably a figurative use of *build* rather than a descendant of OE *bieldan*. If, in line 139, Osgood's derivation of *deuyse* be accepted (see also *O.E.D.* "divise," *sb.*), it is not necessary to transpose *myrþeȝ* and *mereȝ;* translate: "I supposed the water was a division (or boundary) made by streams between mirths," i.e., the water separated the dreamer (who was in a state of happiness because of what

[1] Both these volumes, we should note, are mechanically well-nigh perfect, excellent in the type and paper characteristic of Laterza. One lone misprint is apparent: a superfluous *che* in p. 236, l. 14, of the *Cultura e vita*.

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he saw) from the "mirth" on the other shore. Line 149: for *stote*, *O.E.D.*, citing this line, gives the meanings "stand still, halt, stop" instead of "stumble." In line 197 Sir Israel rightly tries to make sense out of the manuscript reading, but he does not meet Osgood's point than *amice* is not used of a garment worn by a woman. Perhaps his understanding of the word is right; or perhaps the scribe had before him *biys*, misread the *b* for *v* and wrote *u* instead of *v*. In line 215, the editor must have overlooked the obvious meaning "collar" for *color*, proposed by Professor Cook (*Modern Philology*, Vol. VI [1908]) and accepted by Professor Schofield (*P M L A*, 1909). This understanding of the word gives perfect meaning to the passage, which otherwise it is almost impossible to comprehend. In line 226, Sir Israel does not mention the etymology and meaning for *sauerly* suggested by Professor Menner, in his *Puriety*, page 72. (Menner's edition of *Purity* perhaps had not reached him before this edition of *Pearl* went to press.) In line 277 the alliteration suggests that *geste* is "jest," i.e., "speech," rather than "guest." This understanding of the word makes lines 277, 278 say the same thing, but such tautology is not improbable. In line 290 the punctuation is reasonable, but perhaps the line should be regarded as one question: "Why do ye men talk idly as if ye were mad?" In any case *borde* here does not mean "jest." Line 439, *pray* may mean "prayer" (see *O.E.D.*) and be subject of the verbs. Such an interpretation makes better sense here than "prey." Line 462, Professor Gollancz himself seems to realize the difficulty of understanding *myste* as *myȝte*. See *O.E.D.*, *s.v.* "myste," *sb.*,[2] where the meaning "mystery" is given: compare *Times Literary Supplement*, May 18, 1922. Line 560, isn't *agrete* simply the past participle of *agree?* Line 1028, *O.E.D.* derives *repayre* (citing this passage) from OF *reparer*, with meaning "adorn, ornament." Line 1041, for a long time I have thought that *whateȝ* may be a mistake for *hateȝ;* Mr. E. H. Tuttle, in *Modern Language Review*, XV, 298, has made the same suggestion. Line 1086, is it possible that *freuch* is merely a mistake for *frech*, the regular spelling of "fresh" in this poem?

Concerning the general plan of the edition, it is perhaps not proper to offer adverse suggestions, since an editor has a right to plan a book to suit himself. The majority of modern scholars, however, would prefer to have in the introduction a definite summary of the views of those who have written about the poem. For instance, Schofield's interpretation of the poem deserves more space than a mention in a footnote, not only because of its intrinsic worth, but because recent publications indicate that it is exercising important influence. Whether Schofield was entirely right or not, his theory as to the genesis of the poem led him to emphasize what was evidently the poet's main purpose in writing: the discussion of certain theological problems. Whether the initial impulse to write was due to the death of a two-year-old daughter or not, the poem as it was eventually constructed is a debate on certain doctrines of religion. Further, most scholars would like in footnotes (as in the *Belles Lettres* series) the readings and emendations of all those who have worked on the text, and in the notes a discussion of the more important of their suggestions and opinions.

J. R. HULBERT

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Aucassin et Nicolette: Chantefable du XIIIe Siècle. Éditée par MARIO ROQUES. "Classiques français du Moyen Age," 41. Paris: Champion, 1925. Pp. xxxvi+98. Fr. 7.

Not all the texts included in this useful and inexpensive series obviously belong in a list of "classics"; it is stretching matters to include Charles d'Orléans and Françoys Villon, "the first modern French poets," in a medieval library, while some ten of the fifty-four issues are in the field of Provençal studies (see MODERN PHILOLOGY, XXIII, 492). But in the case of the famous *cantefable*, no such doubts or animadversions are possible: the work is medieval, it is French, and it is a real classic.

M. Roques's edition is exhaustive. The language, music, and possible sources of the tale are studied, the extensive bibliography is reviewed with valuable comments, while the glossary is the most detailed hitherto published. The unique MS has been scanned anew and reproduced with the most scrupulous regard for even the inattentions of the copyist; thus we have *farre* for *faire*, *luiés* for *liués*, *so* for *sor*, *missen* for *missent*, even *laiscié* for *laisciés* (correctly elsewhere), and the blunder *ariis for ariés*. It may be questioned whether at times this extreme solicitude does not cast a real and needless obstacle in the way of the study and enjoyment of the masterpiece. As for the glossary, notable progress is made in the new definitions of *waumonné*, *prime*, *mar*, *asis*, etc.; on the other hand, the definitions of *engien* ("moyen"), of *traire* 39.12 ("tirer"), of *gehir* ("dévoiler"), and of *regreter* seem rather colorless. As to the last, see my note to *Roland*, v. 1512. This verb, in the form *regrater* (as in Crestien), reappears in Middle English in the meaning "to hawk about the streets," "to cry for sale"; cf. Chadwick, *Social Life in the Days of Piers Plowman* (1922), pp. 63, 66, and Schopp, *Exeter Costumal* (1925), pp. 25, 29, 41, where the editor renders *regrater* by "to retail."

The crux of long standing, *corset* (21:8) is rendered "corsage," "partie ajustée du bliaut." To this the objection is that the dainty effect of the uninterrupted series of diminutives is spoiled; unless, indeed, M. Roques accepts *corset* as the diminutive of *cors*, "bodice"; see now Eunice R. Goddard's *Women's Costume in French Texts of the XIth and XIIth Centuries* (1927), page 102, where *cors* is well attested in that sense. Suchier's *cors net* was one of his less fortunate emendations, but his objections to a modern "corset" may have been well founded, and it is to be noted that E. R. Goddard found no example of *corset* in the sense of "bodice." It is difficult to accept *argoit* (2:5) as the impf. 3 of *ardoir*, in spite of a ps. sbj. *arge;* rather, as (*g*) and (*j*) may interchange (cf. *dongon*, *donjon*, 39:21, 25), *argoit* may be for *arjoit*, and this for *arioit*, from *arier*, *harier*, Eng. "harry," a verb well attested (and without *h-*) in the Picard region.—As to the *viel antif* of 1:2, it still remains a mystery, though possibly not a hopeless one.

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DOCUMENTS AND RECORDS

RECENTLY DISCOVERED CHAUCER DOCUMENTS

I. CHAUCER'S DEBT TO JOHN CHURCHMAN

Among the bundles of K.R.Writs (E. 202/78 and 83)[1] there were found recently three documents which show Geoffrey Chaucer in a situation of which nothing hitherto has been known. These writs were issued between April 16 and June 4, 1388—a time in which the only known fact about Chaucer has been the transfer of his annuities to John Scalby.

The first writ reads as follows:

Ricardus dei gratia Rex Anglie & Francie & Dominus Hibernie Vicecomitibus London' salutem Precipimus vobis quod venire faciatis coram Baronibus de scaccario nostro apud Westmonasterium hac instanti die sabati proxima post festum sancti Georgij Johannem Wodhere Dier' de Caunterbiry ad respondendum Johanni Chircheman Ciui london' vni Collectorum magne custume nostre in portu Ciuitatis london' de lxx li quas ei debet & iniuste detinet Precipimus eciam Vobis quod venire facias [*sic*] coram prefatis Baronibus nostris ad diem & locum predictos Robertum Noon Dier' de Caunterbury ad respondendum prefato Johanni Chircheman de Ciiij^{xx} xvj li quas ei debet & iniuste detinet Et venire faciatis ibidem Galfridum Chauucer Esquier ad respondendum prefato Johanni Chircheman de lxvj s viij d quas [*sic*][2] ei debet & iniuste detinet vt dicit Et Ricardum Kypsot de Gildeford' Dier' ad respondendum prefato Johanni Chircheman de lxx s quos ei debet & iniuste detinet Et Thomam Sprot ad respondendum prefato Johanni Chircheman de lxx s quos ei debet & iniuste detinet quominus predictus Johannes Chircheman nobis satisfacere valeat de debitis & compotis que nobis debet ad scaccarium nostrum predictum ad graue dampnum ipsius Johannis Chircheman vt dicit sicut rationabiliter monstrare poterit quod inde respondere debet Et habetis ibi hoc breue Teste L de Allerthorp' apud Westmonasterium xvj° die Aprilis anno regni nostri vndecimo

DENTON

Endorsed

Johannes Wodhere Robertus Noon Galfridus Chauucer Ricardus Kypsot & Thomas Sprot infrascripti nichil habent in ballia nostra per quod possunt attachiari nec sunt inuenti in eadem

Responsio Willelmi Venour & Hugonis Fastolf vicecomitum

Ideo Octabis Trinitatis pro Johanne Wodhere Roberto Noon & Galfrido Chauucer preceptum est vicecomiti Kancie & pro Ricardo Kypsot & Thoma Sprot preceptum est vicecomiti Surrie

The second writ gives additional information as follows:

[1] Temporary numbers.

[2] Perhaps thought of as five marks; hence the feminine.

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Ricardus [etc.] Vicecomiti Kancie salutem Quia Vicecomites Ciuitatis London' retornarunt ad scac [carium nostrum] apud Westmonasterium die sabati proxima post festum sancti Georgij vltimo preteritum quod Johannes Wodhere Dier' de Caunterbury Robertus Noon Dier' de Caunterbury & Galfridus Chauucer Esquier nichil habent in ballia sua per quod possunt attachiari nec sunt inuenti in eadem et testatum est per[1] . . . . nostram quod predicti Johannes Robertus & Galfridus latitant in ballia tua tibi precipimus quod capias predictos Johannem Robertum & Galfridum vbicumque inuenti [fuerint] in dicta ballia tua Et eos saluo custodias Ita quod habeas corpora eorum coram Baronibus de Scaccario nostro apud Westmonasterium in Octabis sancte Trinitatis [etc.][2]. . . . .

Endorsed

Johannes Wodhere Dier' & alij infra capiendi non sunt inuenti in ballia mea post aduentum huius breuis

Per WILLELMUM GYLDEFORDE[3]

The third writ carries the process a little further:

Ricardus [etc.] Vicecomiti Kancie salutem Precipimus sicut alias quod capias Johannem Wodhere [Dier' de Caunterbury Robertum] Noon Dier' de Caunterbury & Galfridum Chauucer Esquier vbicumque inuenti fuerint in ballia tua Et eos saluo custodias Ita quod habeas co[rpora eorum coram Baronibus de] Scaccario nostro apud Westmonasterium in Octabis Sancti Johannis Baptiste predictum videlicet Johannem [etc.]

T' Pynchebek apud Westmonasterium iiij^{to} die Junij anno regni nostri vndecimo[4]

Although the final interpretation of these documents must be left until all reasonable sources of further information have been searched, even now certain probabilities and possibilities are suggested. It seems probable that the debt was for unpaid customs duty, and possible that Chaucer may have been associated with a group of dyers in the importation of woad or some other dye. On the other hand, the association of his name with theirs on the writs may be merely chronological. It seems most probable that he was then living in Kent, since the sheriff of Kent was twice directed to produce him, but whether he was actually away at the time or twice evaded the serving of the writs cannot at present be determined. Although this kind of writ was a commonplace occurrence in those days of slow payment and casts no reflection whatever on Chaucer's honesty, it is interesting to find that the third summons emanated from the newly appointed chief baron himself, Thomas Pynchebek. If the affair became exasperating to the poet, it might explain the malice in the portrait of the Serjeant-at-Law; at least, it shows that Chaucer had to do with the man whom Professor Manly has shown to be a likely original for the portrait.

EDITH RICKERT

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[1] Illegible and partly torn.

[2] From this point the writ, as far as it is legible (it is badly faded and torn), exactly repeats the language of No. 1, except that it concerns only the three men named in it. The place where the date should be is torn off.

[3] Above the signature is written apparently an order for the third writ.

[4] The indorsement is the same, minus the order for another writ.

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II. CHAUCER AS CONTROLLER

In connection with the Chaucer research now being carried on by the University of Chicago, Miss L. J. Redstone has recently found in the Public Record Office, among the Exchequer (K.R) Bille, a memorandum of the form of oath for the controller of petty customs in Chaucer's time. Although it is undated, it occurs in the bundle for 1376 and reads (with the contractions expanded):

vous Jurrez qe vous frez continuele demeure [then above the line, with a caret: en propre persone ou par suffisante depute pur qi vous vuilliez respondre] en le port de Loundres & suruerrez les charges des biens qe paieront petite custume & en qanqe en vous est ne soeffrez qe nostre seignur le Roi eit damage ne perde illoeqes & qe loial accompt eit rendrez & des issues des dites custumes loialment respoundrez saunz fauxme ou fraude faire en nul point si dieu vous eide & ses seintz.

This form is shorter and simpler than the corresponding oath in English, dating from Elizabethan times, published by the Chaucer Society, and it gives us the very words heard by Chaucer when he took office. Especially interesting is the addition, in a smaller, different hand, allowing the use of a deputy.

Miss Redstone also found two memoranda concerning Chaucer's deputies at different times. The first reads (with contractions expanded):

Geffrey chaucer conterollour de le Wolkeye en le Port de loundris par lauis [then above, with a caret: & assent] du conseil nostre sire le Roy a constitut Richard baret de estre soun lieutenaunt en loffice auant dite de le xvj Jour de maii lan du Roy Richard le Primer Juqez a sa reuenue a loundris

As this appointment was made less than a fortnight before Chaucer set out for Italy, and as a Richard Baret had been successively controller of petty customs, deputy alnager, troner, and pesager, in London and Middlesex, and in 1377 had been made custodian of the custom-house on the Wool Quay, it is evident that Chaucer made careful provision for his work during his absence. As the "Bille" include, besides the memoranda of clerks, many turned in by the persons concerned, it is possible that we have on this strip of parchment some of Chaucer's own writing. It is not the same as the signature on the document in the P.R.O. Museum, doubtfully ascribed to him. But whether he wrote the memorandum or not, it almost certainly passed through his hands.

In view of the discussion whether Chaucer in 1374 was controller for both customs or for the wool custom only,[1] it should be noted how he is described in the memorandum.

Another memorandum, for Michaelmas, 1386, shows that Chaucer's deputy in the petty customs then was not the Henry Gysores who succeeded him in office, December 14, 1386, but William Lamborne, a London draper.

JOHN M. MANLY

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[1] Cf. *Life Records*, IV., Nos. 81, 82, and the article by Samuel Moore in *Modern Philology*, Vol. XVI.

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DR. WHARTON'S TRANSLATIONS OF GRAY'S LATIN POEMS

It has long been known that Dr. Thomas Wharton, of Old Park, Durham, earlier of Pembroke College, Cambridge, was one of Gray's most regular correspondents and intimate friends. It has not previously been known that he translated into English verse three of Gray's Latin poems. A manuscript copy of these came into my possession several years ago in a copy of the second edition (1775) of Mason's *Life of Gray*. It is addressed on the outside: "To the Right Honble The Countess of Harcourt," and below this, "with Mr Wharton's respectfull Compts." It contains the translations which I give below.

I have been unable to find any mention of these verses in Gray's letters or in *The Harcourt Papers*.[1] Mitford, in editing Gray's letters in 1816, examined Dr. Wharton's papers but makes no mention of such a translation, nor does Tovey, in his account of Wharton in the Preface to his *Letters of Thomas Gray*,[2] know anything of it.

George Simon Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham, later (1777) second Earl Harcourt, was a friend of Gray's from 1757 on,[3] and it is probably to his wife that the MS is addressed.[4] In this case the title "Countess" dates it between 1777 and Wharton's death in 1794.[5] She was intimate with many literary men of the day, including Walpole, Mason, Whitehead, and Stonehewer, and dabbled in poetry herself.[6] When the translation was originally made is impossible to say. Two of the poems were sent in letters to West, but not published until they appeared in Mason's *Life* in 1775. The third was written in the album of the Grande Chartreuse in 1741. Gray had been intimate with Wharton since his first Cambridge days and may have shown him the poems in question at any time, but I can find no record of his having done so.

I now give Dr. Wharton's English versions of the three poems. The Latin texts may be found in Gosse's edition of Gray's *Works* (I, 174, 177, 182) and in Mason's *Life*.

BARBARAS AEDES ADITURE MECUM

(To West, 1738)

West! on the wing with me to fix
  Where dwell Debate and wordy War;
Where Cunning hatches all her tricks;
  Where boils the bustle of the bar:

[1] Ed. by E. W. Harcourt, Oxford, [n.d.].

[2] Ed. by D. C. Tovey, London, 1900.

[3] Tovey, *op. cit.*, I, 330. I am indebted to Professor J. W. Draper for his assistance and opinions in the matter of the probable relations of Harcourt to Gray and Wharton. [The translations are not referred to in Northup's *Bibliography of Thomas Gray*.—EDITORIAL NOTE.]

[4] The wife of the first Earl Harcourt, whom Gray did not know, died in 1765. See Cokayne's *Peerage*.

[5] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, *s.v.* Gray.

[6] See *The Harcourt Papers*, Vol. VII, *passim*.

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Ah, sweeter far it is to lye
  Reading, or building careless rhyme
Beneath an oaks broad canopy,
  Regardless of the flight of Time!

For oft full many a mile I roam
  Wrapt in poetick fancies deep,
Tho' dews unwholesome warn me home
  And Night upon my ramble creep:

Then wandering, to my raptur'd eye
  Each hillock seems the Delphic mountain;
Each nameless brook that babbles by
  To me is Aganippe's fountain:

And me the frolick nymphs of spring
  Have seen (and as they watch'd me, laugh'd)
What time each sweet that Zephyrs bring
  From violet banks my nostrils quaff'd,

At dawn upon the grassy side
  Reclin'd, where waters as they play
At every little stone divide
  And murmuring cling with short delay.

Then little cares engaged my mind
  While yet the opening year was young;
Soon as each cloud the western wind
  From Heaven's resplendent cope had flung:

Nor yet such leisure, nor my walk
  (Tho' summer fade and scowl the sky)
Quit I, nor Clytie on her stalk
  Observes the Daystar more than I.

For Him when rising he distills
  Fresh life on Nature, dumb and cold,
And proudly cloaths the eastern hills
  In robes of purple and of gold,

I mark, still scattering in his way
  Effulgence o'er th' ethereal plain;
And Him, when with a milder ray
  He tints the western cliffs of Spain,

Ev'n till on his expiring beam
  Steal imperceptibly the shades
Of Eve; till dies his latest gleam
  And all the yellow landscape fades.

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Ah! how thrice happy should I think
  Myself, if such a lot were mine;
Like him in quiet thus to sink—
  But not like him again to shine.

I envy but the silent hour
  Shorn of his beams when low he lyes:
Ah! not when in meridian power
  His chariot rolls along the skies.

MATER ROSARUM

(To West, 1740)

Oh Parent of the blooming rose
For whom the genial Zephyr blows,
With whom, begirt with nymphs and loves
And hailed by songbirds, Venus roves—
Tell me, beneath what cooling shade
In indolence, but musing, laid,
Slumbers my West, his lyre unstrung?
Or what high theme his raptur'd tongue
Recites in some Pierian grot,
Me and my wanderings all forgot
In Tusculums recesses chill
Or o'er Palladian Alba's hill?
Be witness, ye o'erarching pines
Whose trunks beside at ease reclines
Old Faunus with the Satyr throng;
And ye, whom Anio, roll'd along
Precipitous, full oft has scar'd—
How oft his name has Tibur heard,
And Esulae's delightful grove,
And caverns which the Muses love!
For me the Latin nymphs have oft
Seen on the margin dank and soft
Where the Venusian Bird his plume
Would lave in dew, and then resume
The song, that had a power to still
The rustling bough, the murmuring rill:
And yet (the Muses thus ordain)
The neighboring bays the song retain—:
Nor that I grate upon the lyre
Harsh numbers, let my West admire;
For vales like these and such a spring
Compell me, all unus'd, to sing.
Here hang beneath each cluster'd leaf
Phoebean dreams ('tis worth belief)—
The brook, the very air's Parnassian,
And all around is Inspiration.

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OH TU, SEVERI

(Written in the Album of the Grande Chartreuse, 1741)

Oh Power! whatever name beneath
Thou Worship of this place austere
Thou lov'st that Prayer her vow should breathe
(For sure in solemn grandeur here
O'er woods untam'd and tumbling tides
No secondary God presides;
And far more awfull than in fanes
Where Art in gorgeous state too prodigally reigns,
Where Life in marble seems to glow
And colors from the canvas rise,
We feel in yonder alpine brow,
Yon groves that mock th' enquiring eyes
And in the roar of yonder flood,
The present majesty of God)
All hail! in local rites addrest,
Oh, to a wearied youth vouchsafe unwearied rest!

Yet to my wish if Fate deny
This solitude exempt from strife
In sacred silence to enjoy,
And whirl me back again to life—
Oh give my happier age to dwell
Quiet in some sequester'd cell;
Safe snatch me from the busy scene,
The cares, the hopes, the joys, the intercourse of men.

LEICESTER BRADNER

BROWN UNIVERSITY

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VOLUME XXV NUMBER 2

November 1927

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MODERN PHILOLOGY

A *Journal* devoted to research in
Modern Languages and Literatures

THE UNIVERSITY *of* CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

The Cambridge University Press, *London;* The Maruzen-Kabushiki-Kaisha, *Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Fukuoka, Sendai;* The Commercial Press, Limited, *Shanghai*

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Modern Philology is published quarterly by the University of Chicago at the University Press, 5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill. ¶The subscription price is $4.00 per year; the price of single copies is $1.00. ¶Orders for service of less than a half-year will be charged at single-copy rate. ¶Postage is prepaid by the publishers on all orders from the United States, Mexico, Cuba, Porto Rico, Panama Canal Zone, Republic of Panama, Dominican Republic, Canary Islands, El Salvador, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru, Hayti, Uruguay, Paraguay, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Samoan Islands, Balearic Islands, and Spain. ¶Postage is charged extra as follows: for Canada and Newfoundland, 15 cents on annual subscriptions (total $4.15), on single copies, 4 cents (total $1.04); for all other countries in the Postal Union, 25 cents on annual subscriptions (total $4.25), on single copies 6 cents (total $1.06). ¶Patrons are requested to make all remittances payable to The University of Chicago Press in postal or express money orders or bank drafts.

The following are authorized to quote the prices indicated:

For the British Empire: THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, Fetter Lane, London, E.C. 4, England. Yearly subscriptions, including postage, £1 1*s*. 6*d*. each; single copies, including postage, 5*s*. 3*d*. each.

For China: THE COMMERCIAL PRESS, LTD., Paoshon Road, Shanghai. Yearly subscriptions, $4.00; single copies, $1.00, or their equivalents in Chinese money. Postage extra on yearly subscriptions 25 cents, on single copies 6 cents.

Claims for missing numbers should be made within the month following the regular month of publication. The publishers expect to supply missing numbers free only when losses have been sustained in transit and when the reserve stock will permit.

Business correspondence should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.

Communications for the editors and manuscripts should be addressed to The Managing Editor of MODERN PHILOLOGY, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Entered as second-class matter July 13, 1903, at the Post-office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on July 15, 1918.

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

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MODERN PHILOLOGY

VOLUME XXV *November 1927* NUMBER 2

THE CHAUCER OF SPENSER AND MILTON

The purpose of the present note is twofold: first, to urge a Chaucerian source for Spenser's "Blandamour"; and, second, to identify the edition of Chaucer known to and used by Milton and to explain Chaucerian forms in certain passages in Milton's prose and verse.

I. "BLANDAMOUR" AND "PLEYNDAMOUR"

In his *Observations on the Fairy Queen* Thomas Warton comments upon the name "Blandamour" as follows:

B. iv. c.i. s.xxxii

His name was Blandamour.—There was an old romance which celebrated the atchievments of Blandamour; which Spenser might have seen. If not, he probably drew the name from this hint of Chaucer,

> Men speken of romances of pris
> Of Horne-child, and of Ipotis,
> Of Bevis, and Sir Gie,
> Of Sir Libeaux, and Blandamoure.[1]

Now quite regardless of such allegorical or other interpretation as Spenser may have intended to place upon the character who bears this name; whether by some sort of etymologizing Spenser may have intended a connection with the adjective "bland," it would seem that Warton was correct in thinking that Spenser drew the name "Blandamour" from the character mentioned in *Canterbury Tales*, B2090 and known today as "Pleyndamour."

[1] Warton, *op. cit.* (London, 1754), pp. 135–36. *Idem* in 1762 and 1820 edd.

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Although the Six-Text edition offers variants here,[1] none are especially close to the Spenserian "Blandamour." Turning, however, to the printed editions one finds, from that of the elder Thynne in 1532 to Stow's in 1561, only "Blaindamoure," "Blayndamoure."[2] This form is obviously close to Spenser's "Blandamour," and since there is no reason to suppose that Spenser knew anything but the editions current in his day,[3] "Blaindamoure" of these editions may well be regarded as his source.

"Blandamour" in Warton's quotations from *C.T.*, B2087–90 (*cit. supra*) is interesting in its exact agreement with the form occurring in Spenser, and is explained by the fact that Warton took his quotation either from Speght's second edition (1602) or the reissue of the same in 1687; in these, and only in these, is the spelling "Blandamoure."[4]

Warton, then, seems to be right and, like Spenser, appears to have known only the spelling of "Pleyndamour" with "B." Why Spenser altered "Blaindamoure" (the form in editions current in his day) to "Blandamour" (the form only in editions of the *Canterbury Tales* issued after the appearance of Books IV and V of the *Fairy Queen*) can perhaps not be definitely determined. He may have adapted "Blaindamoure" to the Latin *blandus;* he may have misread the ain of Stow and of certain earlier editors as an; he may conceivably have known a MS in which the reading "Blandamour" actually occurred.[5] But this is mere speculation, in the course of which one naturally asks why the Chaucer editions of 1602 and 1687 print "Blandamour." Was the editor influenced by Spenser?[6] Do both

[1] To wit: "Pleyndamour," "Playndamour," "Plendamour."

[2] In referring to the "printed editions" I mean the editions cited here and below, accessible to me in the Harvard College Library: Thynne (1532), in Skeat's facs. ed., p. 189, "Blayndamoure"; Thynne (no date—see E. P. Hammond, *Manual*, p. 119) printed by Toye, fol. lxxiii^r, "Blayndamoure"; *ibid.*, printed by Petit, fol. lxxii^r, "Blayndamoure"; Stow (1561—two variant issues, with and without cuts, respectively), fol. lxx^v, "Blaindamoure." Pynson (1526), sig P iii, reads Playndamour. The error, introduced by Thynne, was not corrected until Tyrwhitt's ed. over two centuries later. The edition of 1561 is the latest to come in question since Books IV and V of the *Fairy Queen* (those in which "Blandamour" is mentioned) were published in 1596. The University of Chicago photostats show that Caxton 1 and 2 have "playndemour."

[3] I. e., printed edd. *vs.* MSS.

[4] 1602, printed by Islip and by Bishop, fol. 67^r; 1687, fol. 125^r. In 1721 Urry (p. 146) reverts to "Blaindamoure." In 1775 Tyrwhitt corrects to "Plaindamour," the form of the Six-Text ed. and of Skeat, Koch, etc. The edition of 1598 (Speght) has "Blaindamoure," fol. 70^v.

[5] But no such MS is known to me.

[6] On this cf. Skeat's suggestion (*infra*) on possible Miltonian influence on Tyrwhitt.

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Speght and Spenser derive from a common (unknown) original with "an" instead of "ain"? Or is this agreement a mere coincidence? I cannot pretend to answer these questions.

II. MILTON'S CHAUCER

1. *The Commonplace Book*

So far as I am aware, no copy of Chaucer's works owned by Milton is known to exist; yet it is possible to identify the edition of Chaucer in which Milton read, from which he quotes, and to which he refers in the course of his writings. On page 191, line 7, of Milton's *Commonplace Book*[1] one reads under the heading "Nobilitas": "See Chaucer wife of Baths tale fol. 36 and Romant of ye Rose fol. 118."

There are numerous editions of Chaucer which Milton might have owned and to which he might have referred,[2] but only in Speght's second edition (1602) do the references given above lead us to pertinent passages. In this edition folio 36^{r} and 36^{v} includes *C.T.*, D1054–1279, and especially D1109–24 (fol. 36^{r}), the famous passage on "gentillesse" beginning: "But for ye speake of such gentlenesse." Similarly, folio 118^{r} and 118^{v} includes the *Romaunt*, verses 2012–2239, and especially the pertinent verses (2187–98, fol. 118^{v}):

> But understond in thine entent,
> That this is not mine entendement,
> To clepe no wight in no ages
> Onely gentle for his linages. . . . .

If one consults other printed editions, these folio numbers lead one in no case to the passages on "gentillesse." Milton is certainly referring to the edition of 1602 here as well as in the two following references: "Paupertas. . . . . See Chaucer. no poverty but sin. wife of Baths tale. p. 36."[3] Here Milton has in mind the passage on poverty, probably the verses beginning "And there as ye of povertie me repreve,"[4] which, in the 1602 edition, appear on folio 36^{v}. "De liberis educandis. . . . . Chaucer speaking of feasts, and revells and daunces such things maken children for to be too soon ripe and bold as men may see, which

[1] *A Commonplace Book of John Milton.* Reproduced by the autotype process . . . . under the direction of the Royal Society of Literature, 1876.

[2] E.g., those listed on p. 130, n. 2, above.

[3] *Commonplace Book* (*ed. cit.*), p. 150.

[4] *C. T.*, D1176 ff.

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is full perillous &c. doctor of Phis. tale. fol. 58."[1] On folio 58[v] of the 1602 edition one reads:

> Such things maken children for to bee
> Too soone ripe and bold, as men may see:
> Which is full perillous. . . . .[2]

From the following observations it is further evident that the readings of the 1602 edition explain several details of Chaucerian influence upon Milton and enable one to revise certain impressions of his treatment of Chaucer.

2. *Of Reformation Touching Church-Discipline in England*[3]

In the tract, *Of Reformation Touching Church-Discipline in England*, published in 1641, Milton twice finds occasion to refer to Chaucer. In the first instance[4] he quotes the familiar lines:

> Full sweetly heard he confession
> And pleasant was his absolution
> He was an easie man to give pennance.[5]

In a note *ad loc.*[6] the editor, Mr. Hale, remarks: "Note that Milton has modernized Chaucer's text." The passage as quoted by Milton is, to be sure, modernized, but the modernization is not Milton's; for this had already taken place in the edition of 1602 where one may find the identical words and spellings—with one insignificant difference, "pennaunce" instead of Milton's "pennance."[7]

Further on in Book II of the same work[8] Milton cites as Chaucer's the supposititious *Ploughman's Tale*, Part II, stanza 28, and Part III, stanza 1.[9] On this allusion to "Chaucer," Mr. Hale notes,[10] "Milton is

[1] *Commonplace Book* (*ed. cit.*), p. 111. [2] *C.T.*, C67–69.

[3] References are to the convenient and accurate edition by W. T. Hale, *Yale Studies in English*, Vol. LIV (1916), verified against a copy of the 1641 ed.

[4] *Ed. cit.*, pp. 35–36. [5] *C.T.*, A221–23. [6] *Ed. cit.*, p. 137.

[7] Mr. Hale surely did not have this single slightly archaic spelling in mind.

[8] *Ed. cit.*, p. 44.

[9] *Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (ed. Skeat), VII, 169, vss. 693–708. In quoting, Milton makes the following alterations in his 1602 text, writing "sometime" for "somtime"; "lordship" for "lordeship"; "proud" for "proude"; "defend" for "defende"; "folks" for "folkes"; "amend" for "amende"; "Moses" for "Moyses"; "law" for "lawe"; "preists" for "priestes"; "held" for "helde" (OE *healdan*); "Lordships" for "Lordshippes"; "embrace" for "enbrace"; "sheep" for "shepe"; "keep" for "kepe"; "doubt" for "dout." In vs. 697 Milton has rather unsuccessfully tried his hand at emendation: in the 1602 ed. (and Skeat) the verse reads, "So of this Realme is in dout" (Likewise this realm [England] is in jeopardy). Milton alters "in" to "no," thus destroying the sense.

[10] *Ed. cit.*, pp. 149, 150.

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wrong," and then goes on to a brief account of how the *Ploughman's Tale* came for a time to pass as Chaucerian. One can only observe that in the 1602 edition this tale occurs within the *Canterbury Tales* where it immediately precedes the *Parson's Tale;* it was obviously regarded by Milton as genuine.

3. *Il Penseroso*

Everyone is familiar with the verses in *Il Penseroso* (vss. 109–15) in which Milton would evoke the author of the half-told *Squire's Tale:*

> Or call up him that left half told
> The story of *Cambuscan* bold
> Of *Camball* and of *Algarsife*
> And who had *Canace* to wife. . . . .

Is it by chance alone that Milton's fancy was caught by the unfinished character of this tale to make it thus the focus of his felicitous allusion to Chaucer? It is scarcely to be doubted that he knew, or knew of, the uninspired continuation by his father's friend, John Lane, or the fancifully inadequate treatment by Spenser in the *Fairy Queen.*[1] Both may have influenced him here, but there is yet another likely stimulus.

In the 1602 edition, Stow distributed his "arguments" to Chaucer's poems from their earlier (1598) position at the beginning of the volume to a conspicuous position (in roman type) at the beginning of the respective poems.[2] The "argument" to the *Squire's Tale* (fol. 22^{v}) runs as follows:

> The King of Arabie sendeth to Cambuscan King of Sarra, an horse and a sword of rare qualitie: and to his daughter Canace a glasse and a ring, by the vertue whereof shee understandeth the language of all foules. Much of this Tale is either lost, or else never finished by Chaucer.

May not this emphasis upon the unfinished character of the tale—combined with other influences—have been a prominent factor in catching Milton's attention?

In connection with this same passage in *Il Penseroso,* let us pause for a moment on the proper names that occur there: "Camball," "Algarsife," and "Canace" are close enough to the standard spellings,[3]

[1] IV, ii, 30 ff.

[2] See E. P. Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

[3] By standard spelling I mean those spellings adopted from the best MSS by Skeat for his edition.

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but "Cambuscan" is sufficiently different from "Cambinskan" ("Cambynskan")[1] of Skeat's Oxford edition and of many MSS to warrant inquiry into the source of Milton's form. The answer is to be found in the black-letter editions, all of which—including Milton's of 1602—have "Cambuscan," "Cābuscan."[2]

"CAMBUSCAN," "CAMBIUSCAN," AND "CAMBINSKAN"

Milton's source for "Cambuscan" is clear, and what follows may be regarded as a digressive note upon Chaucer's form of the name.

Skeat and the Six-Text edition print "Cambinskan"[3] for Chaucer's form of "Gengis-Khan." Is this correct? That is, is this what Chaucer originally wrote? Against "Cambinskan" adopted by Skeat there is much to be said. First and foremost there is the reading of Ellesmere[4] which Furnivall thought "*more like* Cambyuskan *all through*"[5] and which Koch prints as "Cambyuskan" in his edition of the *Canterbury Tales* based upon this MS.[6] Furnivall likewise queried Hengwrt, F12. In his edition just mentioned, Koch notes the reading "Cambiuskan" in the Cambridge University Library MS Dd. 4. 24; while in the Cardigan MS (of the Dd.-group) and in Trinity College Cambridge MS R. 3.3 the form is "Cambuscan."[7] Finally, Thynne on Speght testifies to the existence of MSS known to him in which the spelling "Cambiuscan" occurred.[8] The MS evidence, headed by Ellesmere, is accordingly fairly strong for "Cambiuskan."

[1] *C.T.*, F12, 28, 42, 58, 266, 345, and 661.

[2] Skeat, *Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, III, 471 n., notes this identity but draws no inferences; nor is the point brought out in any of the many editions of *Il Penseroso* which I have consulted.

[3] Though Furnivall queries both Ellesmere *passim* and Hengwrt at *C.T.*, F12.

[4] *C.T.*, F12 *et passim*.

[5] Furnivall's side-note to F12 in Six-Text ed. In his note to *C.T.*, F12, Skeat passes rather lightly over this comment of Furnivall.

[6] J. Koch, *Geoffrey Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales"* ("Eng. Textbibl.," [Heidelberg, 1915], No. 16, p. 199). Koch retains this spelling in his revised edition of Hertzberg's *Geoffrey Chaucers Canterbury-Erzählungen* (Berlin: Stubenrauch, 1925), pp. 287 ff. On the basis of careful examination of the Manchester University Press 1911 facs. ed. of Ellesmere, I observe (Vol. I, last 15 pp.) that *u* and *n* are often alike, a *u* sometimes resembling an *n*, and vice versa. But in "Cambiuscan" in F12, 28, 266, 345, 661, the letter in question is as clear cut a *u* as a *u* ever is; in F58 it may be a *u* or an *n*, while in F42, on the other hand, it is equally clearly an *n*. The weight of numbers favors the reading *u*.

[7] For the Cardigan reading I am indebted to Mr. F. N. Robinson, of Harvard University, and for that in MS Trin. Coll. R. 3.3 to University of Chicago photostats.

[8] Francis Thynne, *Animadversions*, etc. ("E.E.T.S.," No. 9) (rev. ed. F. J. Furnivall, 1875), p. 54, and cf. n. 1.

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In further support of the theory that the spelling with *u* was Chaucer's and not a scribal error is the fact that the name "Camiuscan" (<Ghengis Khan) is found a century before Chaucer's time in the *Itinerarius* (or *Liber peregrinationis*) of Frater Ricoldus de Montecrucis (Ricoldo di Montecroce, †1309).[1]

Were the direct source of the *Squire's Tale* at hand, the problem would be greatly simplified, but as it is, may one not better assume that "Cambiuskan"—etymologically more likely (<Ghengis Khan) and preserved in the various MSS cited above—was Chaucer's form, and that "Cambinskan" reflects a widely perpetuated scribal error.

4. *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus*

In Section I of the *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence*, published anonymously in 1641, Milton finds occasion to cite a number of Chaucerian proper names:

> Remember how they mangle our Brittish names abroad; what trespasse were it, if wee in requitall should as much neglect theirs? and our learned *Chaucer* did not stick to doe so, writing *Semyramus* for *Semiramis*, *Amphiorax* for *Amphiaraus*, K.[ing] *Sejes* for K.[ing] *Ceyx*, the husband of *Alcyone*, with many other names strangely metamorphis'd from true *Orthography*, if he had made any account of that in these kind of words.[2]

Besides showing that Milton read Chaucer with considerable attention to detail, the spellings of the above-listed proper names further illustrate certain characteristic features of Milton's Chaucer and enable us in some instances to determine the particular poem from which Milton drew the name in question.

a) *Semyramus*.—Chaucer alludes thrice to Σεμίραμις: in the *Parlement of Foules* (vs. 288), in the *Legend of Thisbe* (*Leg.*, vs. 707), and in the *Man of Law's Tale* (*C.T.*, B359), but in Milton's edition of 1602 the spelling "Semyramus" appears only in the *Parlement* (fol. 234^{v}); in the *Legend* it is "Simiramus" (fol. 188^{r}) and in the *Man of Law's*

[1] The *Itinerarius* is edited by J. K. M. Laurent in his *Peregrinatores medii aeui quatuor* (Leipzig, 1864; 2d ed., 1873) from MS. Wolfenbüttel, No. 40. In the *Itinerarius*, IX, 2 (1st *ed. cit.*, p. 119), one may read *Magnus Chan, cuius nomen Camiustan;* but the *t* is no doubt but an instance of the common scribal error for *c*. Skeat comments on the *Itinerarius* in his note to *C.T.*, F12.

[2] *Op. cit.* (ed. 1641), p. 6, and inexactly transcribed in *Prose Works of John Milton* (Bohn ed), III, 46.

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Tale "Symyram" (fol. 18^{v}). Thus we may feel sure that he is quoting, so to speak, from the *Parlement.*

b) *Sejes.*—Κήυξ appears in two poems: in the *Book of the Duchess* (vss. 63, 75, 142, 220, 229, and 1327) and in the *Man of Law's Prologue* (*C.T.*, B57). Where did Milton find the spelling "Sejes"? Not in the *Man of Law's Prologue;* for in all black-letter editions preceding Milton the familiar line "In youthe he made of Ceys and Alcion" appears as "In youth he made of sixe all alone."[1] But in verses 63 and 75 of the *Book of the Duchess* in the 1602 edition (fol. 227^{v}) one finds "Seies,"[2] the form used by Milton (with the typographical variation of *j* for *i*).

c) *Amphiorax.*—Chaucer mentions Αμφιάραος four times, and in Skeat's edition as follows: *Anelida and Arcite*, 57 ("Amphiorax"), *Wife of Bath's Tale* (*C.T.*, D741, *idem*) and in the *Troilus*, II, 105, and V, 1500 (*idem*). Milton did not find the offensive spelling in *C.T.*, D741 where (1602 ed., fol. 34^{v}) the "correct" spelling, "Amphiaraus," occurs; but he may have had in mind either the *Anelida* or the *Troilus*, where "Amphiorax" is the reading on folios 243^{v}, 149^{r}, and 180^{r}, respectively.

Thus the foregoing quotation furnishes definite and rather interesting evidence of Milton's somewhat close familiarity with the *Parlement* ("Semyramus"), with the *Book of the Duchess* ("Sejes"), known of course to Milton as *The Dreame of Chaucer*, and with either the *Anelida* or the *Troilus* ("Amphiorax").[3]

F. P. MAGOUN, JR.

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[1] So in 1602 (fol. 17^{r}); *idem* in 1598 and 1561. In the 1542 ed. the verse runs "In youthe he made of syxe al a lone"; in Thynne's undated ed. and in 1532, *idem*, with "sixe" for "syxe."

[2] Elsewhere in this edition the spelling is "Seis" (fols. 227^{v}, 228^{r}, and 233^{r}). The spelling "Seies" would not alone suffice to define Milton's obligation to the 1602 ed. In the editions of 1532, 1542, and Thynne's undated ed., the only spelling is "Seys," but in that of 1561, we find "Seies" (vs. 63), "Seyes" (vs. 75), elsewhere "Seis" (vss. 142, 229, 1327), and "Seys" (vs. 220), and in 1598 "Seies" (vss. 63, 142, 229), "Seyes" (vss. 75, 220), and "Seis" (vs. 1327). In connection with the spellings "Seies," "Seyes," it is perhaps worth suggesting that their appearance in the edd. of 1561 and following are due to a conflation with MS Fairfax 16 (or a like MS) which (Skeat, *Works*, I, 279) reads "Seyes" in vss. 63 and 75.

[3] Very likely the more popular and more admired *Troilus*.

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SOME ADVERBIAL FORMATIONS IN OLD NORSE

I. Adverbial Formations of the Type *ár-deg-is*, "Early in the Day"

The question as to the origin of this type of adverbial substantive formation requires an explanation of the irregular genitive ending *-is* with resultant *i*-umlaut of the radical vowel of the substantive (cf. *samma dags*, "the same day," but *ár-deg-is*, "early in the day").

Since the ending *-is* in *ár-deg-is* corresponds to the *i*+*s* of the genitive singular of the long neuter *ja*-stems (cf. *byrði*:*byrði-s*), it is possible that the original genitive form *-dag-s* was remodeled to *-deg-is* after the type *byrð-is* (the end syllable *-is* being felt as the genitive singular ending).

With a view to testing the correctness of this hypothesis I offer in the following a fairly complete list of adverbial formations in *-is*, arranging them under two heads: (*a*) *-is* belonging to long neuter *ja*-stems and therefore of primary origin, and (*b*) *-is* attached to other substantive stems and therefore of secondary origin.

a) primary formations in *-is*; long neuter *ja*-stems

1. *byrði*, "board": gen. *byrði-s; út-*, *inn-byrði-s*, "overboard, on board."

2. *hverfi*, "circle": gen. *hverfi-s; um(b)-hverfi-s*, "round about."

3. *sinni*, "time": gen. *sinni-s; marg-*, *opt-sinni-s*, "many times, often times." We also have a form *sinn* (*a*-stem): gen. *sinn-s*, but there is nothing to prevent our assuming that the form *-sinni-s* is primary, i.e., the gen. sing. form of *sinni*.

4. *-streymi*, "current": gen. *-streymi-s;* found only in *and-streymi-s*, "against the current."

5. *týni*, "common farm *or* homestead": gen. *týni-s; sam-týni-s*, "on the same homestead."

6. *-viðri*, "wind, weather": gen. *-viðri-s;* found only in *for-viðri-s*, "before the wind."

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b) SECONDARY FORMATIONS IN *-is;* STEMS OTHER THAN LONG NEUTER *ja*-STEMS

All these formations show secondary *j*-umlaut of the radical vowel except those containing the radical vowel *e*.

1. *dagr*, "day": gen. *dag-s; ár-deg-is*, "early in the day."

2. [*for*]-*berg*, "projecting rock": gen. *-berg-s; for-berg-is*, "downhill."

3. *brekka*, "slope, hill": gen. *brekk-u; for-brekk-is*, "downhill."

4. *fang*, "grasping": gen. *fang-s; bráđ-feng-is*, "in great haste"—regular formation *bráđa-fang-s*.

5. *fótr*, "foot": gen. *fót-ar; jafn-føt-is*, "on equal footing."

6. *hǫnd*, "hand": gen. *hand-ar; bráđ-hend-is* (> *brađ-end-is*), "suddenly."

7. *hœll*, "heel": gen. *hœl-s; and-hœl-is*, "backward, crossly, perversely." In the sense of "crossly, perversely," *and-hœl-is* may represent a primary formation, i.e., the genitive singular form of *and-hœl-i*, "monstrosity, perversity."

8. *kaup*, "bargain": gen. *kaup-s; ó-keyp-is*, "gratis."

9. *land*, "land": gen. *land-s; útan-lend-is: er-lend-is*, "abroad"—regular formation *útan-land-s*, "abroad."

10. *leiđ*, "way": gen. *leiđ-ar; á-, af-, heim-leiđ-is*, "on the right, wrong path, homeward," etc.

11. *skeiđ*, "course": gen. *skeiđ-s; af-skeiđ-is*, "out of the course, astray."

12. *sól*, "sun": gen. *sól-ar; and-søl-is*, "against the sun."

13. *spánn*, "target": gen. *spán-ar: and-spœn-is*, lit. "opposite the target," i.e., "directly opposite."

14. *stund*, "period of time": gen. *stund-ar; sjald-stund-is*, "seldom."

15. *tíđ*, "time": gen. *tíđ-ar; sam-tíđ-is*, "at the same time."

16. *vegr*, "way": gen. *veg-ar; fram-veg-is*, "further," *tví-veg-is*, "twice."

17. *ár*, "oar": gen. *ár-ar; and-œr-is*, lit. "against the oar," i.e., "crossly, perversely."

Grimm suggests[1] for the origin of the ending *-is* in this latter type of formation (which I have designated as "secondary formation")

[1] *Gramm.*, III, 93, 132–33.

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two alternative explanations,[1] viz., that the ending *-is* is due either (1) to a genitive singular *is*-ending of a corresponding adjectival *ja/jô*-stem, or (2) to a genitive singular *is*-ending of a corresponding substantive neuter *ja*-stem.

Neither of these two alternatives seems to me at all convincing. Grimm is in either case forced to postulate forms which, so far as we know, never occurred. In the first place, we have no adjectival forms of the genitive neuter singular ending (strong) in *-is* (but always in *-s*). Then again, it is not necessary to postulate for any of these secondary formations a neuter *ja*-stem (with genitive in *-is*). The simplest explanation is to assume that in such adverbial formations the syllable *-is* plus the umlaut of the radical vowel was borrowed by force of analogy from the long neuter *ja*-stems; i.e., long substantive neuter *ja*-stems (whose genitive singular ended in the syllable *-is*) had established a pattern for substantive adverbial formations, which pattern was followed by other substantives[2] whose genitive singular form did not end in the syllable *-is*.

How could Grimm explain, e.g., the form *ár-deg-is?* This word is clearly a substantive formation like *dags;* it cannot go back to an adjectival *ja/jô*-stem nor to a substantive neuter *ja*-stem, for in this case the form would have been **-deg-s* not *-deg-is*. The form *-deg-is*, however, may easily be explained as an analogical formation after the modal of the type *byrđ-is*, etc.

Furthermore, Grimm makes no attempt to explain the absence of umlaut in those secondary formations which contain the radical vowel *e*. Of this type we have the following examples: (2) *for-berg-is* (*for-berg*), "downhill"; (3) *for-brekk-is* (*brekka*), "downhill"; and (16) *fram-veg-is* (*vegr*), "further."

In all these examples we see that the adverbial formation preserves the literal meaning of the substantive: *for-berg-is* means "down-

[1] Cf. p. 132: "Es ist folglich anzunehmen, dass der bildung des adv. die composition entw. eines adj. (vgl. oben s. 93) oder eines neutr. zweiter decl. vorausgegangen sei, wodurch der gen. auf *is* und der umlaut gerechtfertigt werde." In regard to the type of adjective to which he refers, he says (p. 93): "Die dem mhd. widerhæres, widersinnes fast analogen altn. adv. auf *is* (andhæris, andstreymis u.s.w.) wären adjectivischer natur und hier aufzuzählen, wenn sich erweisen liesse, dass ihnen adj. zweiter decl. zu grund liegen, z.b. andhærr, andstreymr, deren gen. nicht *s* sondern *is* gehabt hätte. diese vollere flexion könnte nun das adv. bewahrt haben."

[2] For a similar transference of the genitive singular ending in substantive adverbial formations cf. Ger. *nacht-s* where the *-s* was borrowed from *tag-s* (cf. OHG *tag-es*: *naht-es*), similarly *andrer-seit-s*, *besten-s*, etc.

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hill" (*-berg*); *for-brekk-is*, "down *hill, slope*" (*brekka*); and *fram-veg-is*, lit. "forward on the *way*" (*veg-*) (cf. *annars veg-ar*, "by another way"). This fact shows that the substantives in question were in these secondary formations still closely associated with the original independent word and thus escaped the influence of the umlaut. It will be noted that these formations in question all denoted direction, and in the idea of direction the notion of the original independent substantive was evidently not yet obscured in the linguistic consciousness. This was not true to the same extent when the adverbial formation acquired a derived sense or when the semantic development of the adverbial formation deviated from the basic sense of the independent substantive. To be sure, the form *tví-veg-is*, "twice," is used in a derived sense and thus deviates somewhat from the original sense of *veg-*, "way," but this formation has simply followed the pattern of *-veg-is* in *fram-veg-is* where the literal sense of the word still obtains.

Secondary formations in *and-*, "against, opposite," occur quite frequently. Although all these compounds denote direction, just as do the compounds with *for-*, I find that in each case there is a derived sense which tended to obscure association with the original independent substantive. Of secondary adverbial formations compounded with *and-* we have the following examples: (13) *and-spæn-is* (*spánn*: *spán-ar*, "target"), lit. "opposite the target," i.e., "directly opposite"; (17) *and-ær-is* (*ár*:*ár-ar*, "oar"), lit. "opposite, against the oar," i.e., "crossly, perversely"; and (12) *and-søl-is* (*sól*:*sól-ar*, "sun"), "against the sun" but also used in the derived sense of "unluckily" and practically synonymous with *and-ær-is* and *and-hæl-is*,[1] both of which are used in this sense.[2]

It is safe to assume that in the case of *and-spæn-is*, "directly opposite," and of *and-ær-is*, "crossly, perversely," the sense of the original independent substantives, respectively *spánn*, "target," and *ár*, "oar," was entirely lost. As for *and-søl-is*, "against the sun," which preserves the original sense of the independent substantive *sól*, we may assume that the derived sense of "unluckily," whereby the word became associated with *and-ær-is* and *and-hæl-is* (both of which con-

[1] The independent substantive *hæll* (<**hâhilaR*), "heel," from which *and-hæl-is* is derived already contained the umlauted vowel.

[2] Cf. Cleasby-Vigfûsson, under *and-sælis*.

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tain the umlauted radical vowel), favored the umlauted form of the radical vowel.

The absence of the analogical *j*-umlaut in these secondary adverbial formations has to do not with the nature of the radical vowel (*e*) but with the matter of association with the original un-umlauted vowel of the independent substantive. The circumstance that the exemption from umlaut was confined to the vowel *e*—I have found no other vowel exempted—is to my mind merely fortuitous.

II. *ǫðru-vísi*:*-vís*:*-víss*:*-vísu*:*-vísa*, "OTHERWISE"

It is evident that for the various forms of *-vís-*, which occur as the second member of this adverbial compound, we must postulate two originally distinct substantives, namely, *vís*, neut. *a*-stem, and *vísa*, fem. *ôn*-stem.[1]

In regard to these various forms of *-vís-*, Fritzner (*Ordbog*, under *vís*) says: "*Vís*, *vísa*, *vísi*, *vísu* forekommer som et tilsyneladende neutralt Substantiv." This statement is misleading (if not incorrect) since it assumes, e.g., that the form *-vísu* (fem. *ôn*-stem) represents an "apparently neuter substantive" on the ground that *ǫðru* is the neuter (dat. sing.) form of the adjective. According to Fritzner's implication, we might further assume that the forms *-víss* and *-vís* are both "apparently dative" forms on the ground that the adjective *ǫðru-* is in the dative case.

The fact is that we have here to do with a type of adverbial compound whose first member has become fixed, resulting in a lack of grammatical agreement between the adjective of the first member and the substantive of the second member; cf., e.g., *hversu*, "how" < *hvers -ug* < *hvers* (gen.) *-veg* (acc.), and German *aller* (gen.) *-wegen* (dat.), "everywhere."

From the fixed form of our adjective *ǫðru-* (dat. sing. neut.) we may conclude that this form grew out of its usage in the combination *ǫðru-vís-i* (dat. sing. neut.) in which grammatical agreement was preserved (cf. the synonymous phrase *at ǫðrum kosti*, "otherwise"). It is not necessary to explain the lack of grammatical agreement in the case of the other forms of *-vís-* which occur in this combination; it

[1] Cf. OHG *wîs(a)*, OE *wîse*, both meaning "way, manner."

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will be necessary only to explain these forms in their adverbial usage as case forms of the substantives *vís* and *vísa*.

The various forms derived from *vís* are easily explained; viz., *-vís-s* (adv. gen., *ǫđru-vís-s* = *annars kostar*, "otherwise"), *-vís* (adv. acc.; cf. *braut*:*brott*, acc. "away").

The form *-vísu* may be explained as the accusative of *vísa*, parallel to *-vís*. The form *-vísa* is not so clear; it cannot in this adverbial usage represent the nominative form *vísa* although the form coincides with that of the nominative. Since the whole phrase *ǫđru-vísa* has an adverbial force, I explain the form *-vísa* as derived not from *vísa* but from *vís* (acc. of neut. *a*-stem) plus the adverbial suffix *-a* (<Goth. *-ô*) as in *víđa*, "far, widely," i.e., *ǫđru-vís-a* means lit. "otherwisely." This explanation of the form *ǫđru-vísa* seems to me the only possible one in view of the fact that the form *-vísa* here cannot represent the nominative singular form *vísa* and does not occur in the oblique cases.

III. *-vet-n-a*:*-vit-n-a* As the Second Member of Compounds with Indefinite Force

The form *-vet-n-a* (*-vit-n-a*) with inorganic *-n-* (instead of **vetta*[1]: **vitta*,[1] gen. plur. of *vettr*, "thing") occurs as the second member of such compounds as *hvar-vet-n-a*, "wherever, everywhere"; *hvat-vet-n-a*, "anything, whatsoever," etc. The word *-vetna* lends to the adverb (or pronoun) an indefinite sense and may therefore be treated here under the head of adverbial formations (cf. *-ki* [adv.] in *hvat-ki* = *hvat-vetna* or Ger. *auch* [adv.] in *was auch* = ON *hvat-vetna*).

Since we should expect the regular forms *-*vetta*:*-*vitta* without *-n-* instead of *-vet-n-a*:*-vit-n-a*, the question under discussion is as to the origin of the inorganic *-n-* in the genitive plural form. This *-n-* must be inorganic since the history of this word does not show any forms which could go back to a PG root with an *n*-suffix appearing in the genitive plural form (cf. Goth. *waíhts* cons. stem > *i*-stem = ON *vettr* [*véttr*:*vœttr*]).

The following attempt to explain this inorganic *-n-* in *-vet-n-a* (*-vit-n-a*), while not offered as a conclusive proof, may perhaps be worthy of serious consideration.

[1] Cf. Noreen, *Aisl. Gramm.*[4], § 110, 1.

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I suspect that the *-n-* in *-vet-n-a*:*-vit-n-a* is due to the influence of the adverbial suffix *-na* in such formations[1] as *hér-na*, "here"; *þar-na*, "there"; *svá-na*, "so"; *gær-na*, "yesterday"; *nú-na*, "now," etc. This adverbial suffix seems to have had an intensive demonstrative force (cf. *hér-na*, "right here"; *svá-na*, "just so," etc.). It was, furthermore, not confined to adverbial expressions but could be attached to any kind of word or even to a phrase which the speaker wished to emphasize (cf. *eigi* ***þér-na***, "not to *you*"; *þat hefi ek* ***spurt-na***, "I have *just* heard that"). In the latter phrase the matter of time is emphasized, i.e., "I have heard that *just now*."

Now, it is possible that in the form *-vet-n-a* (*-vit-n-a*) we have a case of substitution of *-vet-na* in place of the original, phonetically correct form *-*vett-a*, the adverbial suffix *-na*, by reason of its intensive force, being substituted for the genitive plural ending *-a*. The word *-vett-a* emphasized the indefinite force of *hvat-*, *hvar-*, etc. (i.e., "what-*ever*," "where-*ever*") and the suffix-particle *-na* (in place of the gen. plur. ending *-a*) simply served as a further intensive to this indefinite force, just as it serves as an intensive, e.g., to the pronoun ***þér*** (*-na*) or to the time element in *hefi ek* ***spurt*** (*-na*) as quoted above.

The form *-vet-na* (*-vit-na*) finally established itself over the form *-*vett-a* (*-*vitt-a*) with the result that the syllable *-na* was no longer felt to be the adverbial suffix *-na*[2] but the genitive plural ending with inorganic *-n-* derived from a substantive stem as in *veg-na*[3] (*vegr a*-stem, "way").

A parallel in support of the contention that an adverb with intensive force may acquire an indefinite force by association with a pronoun (or adverb) of indefinite force may be seen in the German emphatic adverb *auch*, "also, even." When associated with a pronoun (or adverb) of indefinite force *auch* likewise acquires an indefinite force (cf. *was auch*, *wo auch*, "whatever, wherever"). Similarly, the intensive adverbial suffix ON *-na* in conjunction with the indefinite *-*vett-a*>*-vet-na* acquired an indefinite force, i.e., it served to

[1] Cf. Fritzner, *Ordbog*, under *-na*.

[2] In a similar way the adverbial ending *-a* in *ǫdru-vís-a* (see II) may have been felt as the substantive ending *-a* (nom. sing.).

[3] For the explanation of the inorganic *-n-* in *veg-n-a*-see Grimm, *op. cit.*, III, 35, 266.

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intensify the indefinite force of this word (cf. *hvat-*, *hvar-vet-n-a*[1] = Ger. *was auch, wo auch*).

Since there seems to be absolutely no basis for assuming that the *-n-* in *-vet-n-a* has its origin in the substantival *n*-suffix (as in *veg-n-a*), the explanation given above seems to me worthy of consideration, at least until a better one can be found.

IV. THE INTENSIVE PREFIXES *afar-*:*afr-*, *ofr-*

Alongside *af-* we find the forms *afar-*:*afr-*, and alongside *of-*:*ofa* the form *ofr-* used as intensive prefixes; e.g., *af-*, *of-drykka*, "drunkenness" (cf. Goth. *af-drugkja*, "drunkard"): *afar-auđigr*, *-breiđr*, *-fagr*, "very rich, broad, fair"; *afr-yrđi*, "insolent words"; *afr-hendr*, "very strong"; *ofa-fé*, "a vast amount of money": *of-*, *ofr-hiti*, "excessive heat": *ofr-ǫlvi*, "excessively drunk," etc.

Since the adverbial forms *af-*, *of-*, and *of-a* are readily identified with corresponding forms in the other Germanic languages, the question under discussion here is as to the origin and nature of the longer forms *afar-*:*afr-* and *ofr-*.

The form *af-* is obviously identical with Gothic *af* and WG *af* (OE *æf*, OS *af*, OHG *ab*), "away from," and as an intensive prefix evidently signifies "away from [the normal, what is usual]," hence "excessive(ly)."

The form *af-ar-* may therefore be considered as the comparative form of *af-*, meaning "*farther* away [than usual from the normal]," and hence serves simply as a strengthened form of the intensive *af-*.

The suffix *-ar* may be derived from the IE comparative suffix *-er-* which appears in the comparative of *adverbs* denoting place,[2] and therefore there is no reason why ON *af-ar-* should not be identified with Gothic *af-ar*,[3] "after"; OHG *av-ar*, "again, against" > NHG *aber*.

[1] Cf., on the other hand, the genitive form *vætt-a* in the phrases *ekki vætt-a* (*vættanna* with suffixed article), "nothing at all"; *nǫkkut vætt-a*, "something or other." From the form *vætt-a* (gen. plur.) in these phrases we may assume that the form [*hvat-*], [*hvar-*]*vet-na* goes back to a genitive plural form -**vett-a*. In the former cases *vætt-a* was still felt as a substantive, whereas in the case of [*hvat-*], [*hvar-*]**vett-a* this genitive plural form was no longer felt as a substantive in connection with the first element of the compound (*hvat-*, *hvar-*) but as an adverbial formation. We find that the adverbial suffix *-na* was most often added to adverbs, and on this ground I explain its presence in the case of *-vet-na* over against the form *vætt-a* in the substantival adverbial phrases quoted above.

[2] Cf. Kluge, *Urgerm.*, § 290; Heusler, *Aisl. Gramm.*[2], § 113.

[3] According to the traditional view, however, ON *af-ar-* is not identical with Goth. *af-ar* but with Goth. *abr-*[*s*], "strong"; OE *eaf-oð*, "strength," from a PG root **ab*, "strong" <IE **op* (cf. Lat. *op-us*); see Fick, *Vgl. Etym. Wtb. der indogerm. Sprachen*[4], p. 16, under

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But how is the shorter form *afr-* to be explained? Since the forms *af-* and *of-*: *of-a*[1] are synonymous we might explain the form *afr-* as due to the force of analogy with *ofr-*, but the form *ofr-* still remains unexplained.

The form *of-*, "up, over" = Gothic *uf* < IE **upó* (Gk. *ὑπό*, Lat. *sub*), evidently signifies as an intensive "over [what is normal]." Just as the regular comparative form of *af* is *af-ar*, so the regular comparative form of *of* is *of-ar*, which actually occurs as an independent adverb meaning "higher up" (contrary to the case of *af-ar-*, which occurs only as a prefix). The ON form *of-ar* is obviously identical with Gothic *uf-ar*, OHG *ob-ar*, OS *oþ-ar*, OE *of-er* > NE "over" (cf. ON *af-ar-* with Goth. *af-ar*, OHG *av-er*, etc.).

In the case of both ON *af-ar-* and *of-ar* the comparative suffix *-ar* (< IE *-er*) appears, as in the case of all adverbs[2] denoting direction; cf. *inn*: *inn-ar(r)*, *út*: *út-ar(r)*, *suðr*, "south": *sunn-ar(r)*. On the other hand, adverbs denoting intensity of degree, such as "little," "much," "very," "well," etc., regularly form their comparatives by means of the suffix *-r*(< -**iz*) (cf. *lítt*: *minn-r*; *mjǫk*: *meir(r)*; *heldr*, "rather"; *vel*: *betr*, etc.).

Now, it is possible that in order to differentiate the independent adverb *of-ar* from the intensive prefix **of-ar-*, the form of the prefix **of-ar-* was reduced to *ofr-* after the model of the intensive adverbs (as mentioned above) but without the resultant i-umlaut because of association with the positive form *of-*.

That the form *-ofr* is not a survival of IE conditions but represents a subsequent, specific ON development is supported by the fact that the cognates of ON *of-ar* are used without a similar reduction as an intensive prefix in both Gothic and West Germanic (cf. Goth. *ufar-fulls*, OE *ofer-hygd*, OS *oþar-hugd*, OHG *obar-lût*, etc.).

In the case of the prefix *afar-* we have no corresponding *independent*

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abra; Falk and Torp, *Norw.-Dän. Etym.* Wtb., I, 38, under *avl* I; Feist, *Etym. Wtb. der got. Sprache*, p. 1, under *abrs*. In none of these works is the relation of the form ON *af-ar* to *afr-* discussed. It is evident that ON *af-ar-* cannot be identical with Goth. *abr-*[*s*], since ON *-ar* is not consonant with Goth. *-r*. On the other hand, if ON *afr-* is a phonetically correct form identical with Goth. *abr-*[*s*], the form *af-ar-* still remains unexplained.

[1] With ON *of-a* cf. OE *uf-e-*, OHG *of-a*.

[2] Adjectives denoting direction form their comparatives in -**iz* > *-r*, but this is not true of the corresponding adverbs; with the adverbial comparative forms given in my text cf. the corresponding adjectival formations: *of*: *ef-ri*, *inn*: *inn-ri*, *út*: *ýtri*, *sudr*: *syð-ri*.

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adverb, so that here there was evidently no reason for differentiating the form of the independent adverb (denoting the idea of direction) from that of the prefix (denoting the idea of intensity).

If the foregoing explanation of the form *ofr-* be correct, then the synonymous form *afr-* may be explained as an analogical reduction of the regular form *afar-* after the model of **ofar-* > *ofr-*.

V. THE ADVERB *áđr*, "SOONER, BEFORE"

The difficulty in the way of explaining the adverbial form *áđr*, "sooner, before," consists in the fact that the comparative sense of the word is not consonant with the form.[1]

If the final *-r* in *áđ-r* represents the comparative ending *-*iz*, then we should expect the resultant *i*-umlaut, i.e., **œđ-r* (cf. *nœ-r* < **nâhw-iz* <Goth. *nêhw-is*).

Again, if the *-đr* in *á-đr* represents an IE comparative suffix *-ter-*, we should expect this suffix to appear as *-đar*[2] (i.e., **á-đar*) and not as *-đr*.

In view of these facts and because the form *áđr* corresponds[3] to the positive adverbial formations OE *ǽdr-(e)*, OS *âdr-(o)*, "early," we must conclude that the ON form *áđr* is not a comparative but a positive formation (identical with the West Germanic forms) which originally, as in West Germanic, had a positive sense ("early") but later acquired a comparative sense. The problem seems to me, therefore, fundamentally a semantic one, in which the form of the word plays the decisive part.

We have in Old Norse a positive adverbial formation *áđ-an*, "a while ago, just a little before." Because of the meaning of *áđ-[an]* it is probable that this *áđ-*, "early," is identical with the *áđ-* in *áđ-r*, "earlier." In this case the final *-r* in *áđ-r* still remains to be explained.

[1] Cf. Heusler, *op. cit.*, § 468: "Begrifflich gleich ae. *ǽr*, ad. *ǽr*, got. **airis* 'eher,' aber lautlich angelehnt an **áþra* =as. *âdro*, ae. *ǽdre* 'fruh.' "

[2] Cf. the form *hva-đar-r*, "which of two" =Goth. *hwa-þar* (Sk. *ka-tará*, Gk. *πό-τερος*, Lat. *u-ter*); see Kluge, *loc. cit.*; Heusler, *op. cit.*, § 113. The fact that IE *-ter-* becomes *-đar* in ON renders impossible Fick's proposed etymology of ON *áđr* (*op. cit.*, p. 3, under *air*) from **airþr*, comparative form of **air* (> ON *ár*, "early"). Besides, Fick must here also account for the loss of the first *-r-* in **airþr*.

[3] Except for the addition of the adverbial suffix the ON and WG forms correspond sound for sound: ON *á* =WG *â* (<PG *ê*), ON *đ* =WG *d* (<PG *d*), and ON *r* =WG *r*. That the adverbial suffix *-*ô* =ON *-a* does not appear in *áđr* is immaterial, since adverbs occasionally appear in stem form in ON; cf. *nóg*, *all*, *lang*, *slík*, etc.

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Be this as it may, it is possible, nevertheless, that the form *áđ-r* (which originally had a positive sense) came to be felt as a comparative of *áđ-[an]* and therefore acquired a comparative sense, i.e., "earlier, before."

It would be easy enough to identify the final *-r* in *áđ-r* as an adverbial comparative ending, especially of the type *mi-đr*, *sí-đr* (both of which, like *á-đr*, end in *-đr*), were it not for the fact that *áđr* shows no *i*-umlaut of the radical vowel, which regularly occurs with the comparative suffix *-r*. However, if we turn to the synonymous adverb *snimma*:*snemma*, "early," we find the same radical vowel for both positive and comparative forms as in *áđ-*:*áđ-r*. The phonetically correct comparative form of *snimma*:*snemma* is *snimr*, but alongside of *snimr* we find *snemr*, an analogical formation from the positive form *snemma*. If *snimr*, "earlier," could be the comparative form of *snimma*, and *snemr*, "earlier," could be the comparative form of *snemma* (both comparative forms with the same radical vowel as in the positive), then it is not unreasonable to assume that likewise the form *áđr* (without *i*-umlaut of the radical vowel) could be felt as the comparative form of *áđ-[an]*, hence the comparative sense "earlier, before." This seems all the more likely inasmuch as the original positive sense of *áđr*, "early" (=OE *ǽdr-e*, OS *âdr-o*) was already represented by the forms *ár* (<Goth. *áir*) and *snemma*:*snimma*.

This circumstance may also explain why we have no form **áđ-*, "early," corresponding to *áđ-an*, "a little before," i.e., because **áđ-* had already been displaced by the forms *ár* and *snimma*:*snemma*, "early."

On the other hand, the comparative form of *ár* (i.e., **œr-r*=OE *ǽr*, OHG-OS *êr*) was already displaced by *áđr*, *snimr* (*snemr*), *fyrr*, etc.

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STUDIES IN THE *FORNALDARSǪGUR NORÐRLANDA*

II. THE HERVARAR SAGA

4. The Constituent Parts of the Saga

A. THE INTRODUCTION

There have already been several attempts to analyze this saga: to explain the origin and relation of its diverse parts. It is characteristic of its obviously Icelandic authorship that it deals with a number of generations and like many of the *fornaldarsǫgur* it is clearly enough a composite of materials not originally related one to another. If one adopt at the outset the purely mechanical method of horizontal division by generations, the result would be about as follows: (1) the genealogical introduction, including the story of the origin of the sword Tyrfingr; (2) the sons of Arngrímr and the battle of Samsey; (3) the valkyrie Hervǫr; (4) the whole career of Heiðrekr; (5) the battle between Goths and Huns; (6) the genealogical connection with the line of Swedish kings.[1] From general experience with Icelandic sagas one may readily surmise that (6) is of no importance to the saga, and that (1) can probably also be detached without great damage, though the sword Tyrfingr has been carried through the whole and has thus assumed an importance which led Sharovolski to speak of the saga in its entirety as the story of the sword Tyrfingr. The career of Heiðrekr undoubtedly occupies the center of interest, and it is from this point of view appropriate enough that the last editor of the saga[2] has preferred to call it the "Heiðreks saga," though it is not necessary that a title be descriptive, but only that it serve as an adequate means of identification. Even the story of Heiðrekr itself has much the appearance of being composite: the riddle contest is, for example, one thing and the wise counsels are apparently another. Also in other respects one may have to supplement here and there the horizontal division indicated above, but it roughly covers the case well enough to serve

[1] This is already Heinzel's division, *Sitz.-ber. phil.-hist. Cl. kaiserl. Akad. Wiss. zu Wien*, CXIV (1887), 438 ff.

[2] Jón Helgason in publications of "Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur" (Copenhagen, 1924–25).

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at least as a working arrangement. The latest treatment of the composition of the saga, that of Kemp Malone,[1] may seem at first glance to differ somewhat, but will prove, I think, on closer obversation not to be wholly inconsistent.

If one attempt to characterize the parts a little more closely, (1) is mythological or quasi-mythological, (2) is legendary with its scene in Scandinavia, but pre-Icelandic, (3) is again mythological, (4) is a gathering about the hero of motifs which belong elsewhere, as is more or less characteristic of the Icelandic *fornaldarsaga*, (5) is again legendary, Germanic but non-Scandinavian in its scene and source, (6) is genealogical-historical, corresponding to a well-known tendency of the Icelandic saga author or historian.

Any study of the saga's composition must take into consideration the relation of the different versions, and may, on the other hand, be reasonably expected to shed some light on their relation one to another, so far as this is not already cleared up. In his new edition Helgason has in general accepted my earlier results as to the independent position of U and has furnished the first critically adequate print of this version. His Introduction shows with what care and thoroughness the editor worked, and is itself a very considerable contribution to our knowledge of the saga. The editor raises no express point of disagreement with my results, but in two particulars we were perhaps not completely in accord. The first is in connection with his diagram on page lxxxiv illustrating the relations of the three saga-versions. Assuming that a connecting line between b and H had here fallen out in the printing, we should be left in agreement as suggested on page lxvi. The c would then stand only for the possibility that Haukr in writing H had a third manuscript before him, besides those of the U and R class, a possibility I had taken into consideration, though I am disposed to doubt that he did have such a manuscript. In the other point, that Helgason tends to favor R as closer the original Hervarar saga[2], he may well be right, but further test is desirable.

To begin with the first in order of the parts of the saga—the introductory matter connected with the acquisition of the sword Tyrfingr—we are at once confronted with a maximum difference of the U and R versions, in that R contains very little and U very much. Here

[1] *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. Amer.*, XL (1925), 769 ff.

[2] See his p. lxxxv.

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Helgason (p. lxi) has committed himself to the assumption that the shorter version is essentially the original one or lies closer to it. Such a relation is conceivable enough, as is for that matter also the contrary. In the case of different Old Norse versions of the same saga the shorter is undoubtedly likely to prove the older, but the assumption that this is uniformly so would be a dangerous one, and in the Hervarar saga itself is not borne out in the case of the H version. For the Hervarar saga this much may at once be said: the U version has a learned or quasi-learned beginning. The reference to old books, the account of the coming of the *Tyrkjar* and *Asiamenn* from the East with Odin at their head, the making of Odin the starting-point of the genealogy, the geographical fixation of the territories of the giants and of human beings, these are all the kind of features that one finds in such works of learning as the Ynglinga saga at the outset of the *Heimskringla*. It is apparent enough that the same interest is here in question as in the list of Swedish kings at the close of U. R lacks any evidence of this interest at the beginning, and it is perhaps fair to assume that it never contained the list of Swedish kings at its now lost end. Without immediately jumping at the conclusion that R is in all respects the original and U a learned or quasi-learned revision, let us consider the whole saga in the light of this fundamentally important fact.

At the very beginning of U (and H) the location of Jǫtunheimar corresponds with the usual Old Norse conception that it lay somewhere to the northward (or eastward), that is, in the region of cold.[1] Characteristic for the Hervarar saga is the fairly definite placing of Jǫtunheimar, which corresponds with the generally euhemeristic treatment of supernatural things in the introductory part of the version U (and H). It lies definitely north of Hálogaland, that is, in Northern Norway, in Finnmǫrk according to H, which is possibly the original reading, though it might also be a geographical correction of Haukr. The reference to Gandvík (the White Sea) instead in U may be due to a copyist's error or alteration. On the other hand, U is probably correct in having the giants intermarry with the inhabitants of Mannheimar[2] rather than those of Ymisland, as in H. The Ymis-

[1] The location of Jǫtunheimar is discussed by Schoning in *Dødsriger i nordisk Hedentro* (1903), pp. 9 ff.

[2] Mannheimar is here of course the abode of men, not Sweden. See also Helgason, p. lxii.

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land occurring between Jǫtunheimar and Hálogaland was explained by Gíslason[1] as no land of the giant Ymir, but as containing the adjective *ýmiss* and meaning then "the mixed land," the land showing a mixed population, due to the intermarriage of giants from the north with human beings from the south. That meaning must certainly have been in the mind of the author of this part of the saga (though he does later connect Ymir with Ymisland), and shows again his rationalizing tendency. It is a similar tendency that made *Asiamenn* out of the gods (*æsir*) and accordingly put Odin at the head of the *Tyrkir* (or *Tyrkjar*) *ok Asiamenn* in their migration into Scandinavia, a conception shared by the Hervarar saga with several other Old Norse sources.[2] Heusler gives in this connection little consideration to the Hervarar saga, speaking of the Fas. version which contains it as a late one, while neither of the manuscripts H and R has the allusion to *Tyrkjar ok Asiamenn* with Odin at their head. Of the three versions it does, as a matter of fact, occur only in U, and there twice, the reason for its non-occurrence in H being certainly not clear. It is conceivable that the U version did not originally contain it, but that it was added later, so that it now appears in the two paper manuscripts (u and b) of this version which are preserved.[3] This is however not in accord with what we have hitherto ascertained as to the character of the U-version manuscripts and may be regarded as unlikely. The alternative is that Haukr in writing the H version simply left out this statement in both places. A motive for doing so could be found in his tendency to abbreviate generally, and the statement is of course not indispensable.

The placing of Guðmundr in Jǫtunheimar is probably explicable by the tendency after the introduction of Christianity to make giants out of supernatural beings of the older time. It is doubtful that he was originally conceived of as a giant, but he must at one time have occupied an important place in Old Norse myths or legends and was doubtless treated in now lost alliterative poems.[4] Various allusions to

[1] "Om Navnet Ymir" (*Vid. Selsk. Skr., 5 Rke., hist.-fil. Afd.* [4B], XI, 450 ff.), 1874.

[2] Heusler, "Die gelehrte Urgeschichte im altisländischen Schrifttum," *Abhandl. kgl. preuss. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.*, III (1908), 13 ff.

[3] Helgason, *op. cit.*, p. lxii.

[4] Heinzel devoted to him a considerable digression in his treatise upon the *Nibelungen* legend, *Sits.-ber. phil.-hist. Cl. kaiserl. Akad. Wiss. zu Wien*, CIX (1885), 697 ff.).

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him in Old Norse sources are all of relatively late date and give little or doubtful information as to what the original story may have been, nor is this of great moment for his appearance in the Hervarar saga. That his homestead is in it called Grund is of little consequence; the name is not uncommon in such capacity and merely indicates that the homestead thus named lies upon relatively level ground, which could in this case be inferred from the more important Glasisvellir. That the Þorsteins saga bœjarmagns has Grundir as his *herað* and the Bósa saga has raised the Grundir to still greater importance as a separate land co-ordinate with Risaland, etc., shows presumably secondary relation to the Hervarar saga, in which Grund as a place-name in connection with Guðmundr probably originated. Except in Saxo Grammaticus the location *á*[1] *Glasisvǫllum* is always associated with his name and must have belonged with it from the beginning. There is some variation in its spelling as in the Hervarar saga, where U has *Glæsisvellir*, while H has *á Glasisvǫllum*. With H agrees the Nornagests þáttr and in part of its cases as printed the Helga þáttr Þórissonar. Otherwise the latter þáttr, as also regularly the Þorsteins saga bœjarmagns and the Bósa saga, have the vowel *æ* instead of *a*, agreeing with our U. The *æ* is evidently due to confusion with words containing *glæsi-* and cannot be original. *Á Glasisvǫllum* is a metrically correct half-verse alliterating with Guðmundr, while the long *æ* would be objectionable. There is also the evidence of the Eddic Glasir, Glasislundr, which as has often been recognized must stand in some relation to it and regularly has *a* instead of *æ*. That the Glasisvellir is conceived of as a *herað* is again characteristic of the rationalizing tendency of the author of the U version. Ódáinsakr is mentioned in other Old Norse sources, but nowhere else in any connection with Guðmundr, and it is reasonable to suppose that the combination does not go back beyond the author of U, who was manifestly influenced by the similar ideas of prolonged life and immortality associated with the two names Glasisvellir and Ódáinsakr. As a matter of fact, he does not himself take the responsibility for locating Ódáinsakr in the realm of Guðmundr, but ascribes it to the "heathen," which suggests that Ódáinsakr may have been to him an exotic conception (Elysium), as appears to be the case elsewhere in Old Norse literature. Various authors have tried to make

[1]Or *af*; *á* is doubtless the original.

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out of Ódáinsakr an original Norse or Germanic conception,[1] but without credible results. Particularly does Olrik's attempt to read out of Saxo's corrupt form of the name a secondary variant[2] represent a futile overrefinement of philological method. Saxo confirms the conclusion that it was an exotic conception, not only by his complete misunderstanding of the name and its significance, but by expressly emphasizing the fact that it was exotic (*nostris ignotum populis*). The statement that after his death Guđmundr was deified justifies the inference that he was originally a deity, not a giant, which accords better with what we learn of him here and in other sources.[3] If so, it is however strange that he is not known definitely among the Old Norse gods, nor does the name Guđmundr suggest a god's name. The natural explanation would be that it is a secondary name of some otherwise well-known god. His wisdom would point to Odin, the god of many aliases, and it is a question worthy of consideration whether Guðmundr á Glasisvǫllum is not a name under which Odin appeared in some adventure not recorded in its original form. That Glasir is according to the Snorra Edda the name of the grove extending before the gates of Valhǫll would accord well enough with this identification. Such identification need not have been in the mind of the author of the U version of the Hervarar saga, who uses Odin later for other genealogies, but at the same time it is to be noted that Odin does appear again in the saga under another alias, namely, *Gestr enn blindi*, and with the same attribute of wisdom as Guđmundr and his son Hǫfundr. Hǫfundr does not occur elsewhere in Old Norse as a personal name, but is a perfectly transparent appellative, meaning in the first place "author" and secondly "judge," the last as applied to the son of Guđmundr in the Hervarar saga. It has already been fairly clearly recognized that Hǫfundr is only a manifestation of Guđmundr himself, so by Heinzel,[4] who notes the statement of the Þorsteins saga boejarmagns that both father and son of Guđmundr besides their normal names were also called Guđmundr, as were all the kings of Glasisvellir.[5]

[1] Cf. Neckel, *Walhall* (1913), pp. 66 f., and Bibliography on p. 124.

[2] *Kilderne til Sakses Oldhistorie*, II (1894), 158 f.

[3] Already N. M. Petersen, *Haandbog i den gammel-nordiske Geografi* (1834), p. 239, suspected that Guđmundr may have been a god; Much appears to identify him with Baldr (*Zeits. f. deut. Alt.*, LXI [1924], 99).

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 705.

[5] See also Malone, *op. cit.*, p. 777.

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The introduction into the saga of the well-known sons of Arngrímr also called for a genealogy of Arngrímr, which is accordingly carried back to a second Arngrímr, a giant, quite as Starkaðr in later accounts was given an ancestor Starkaðr, likewise a giant. The Arngrímr of U must here be correct as against the Hergrímr of H, Hergrímr being in both versions the name of his son. Of the consorts of Arngrímr I and Hergrímr, Áma is perhaps a typical giantess' name, occurring a number of times, as does also the corresponding masculine Ámr, in the Snorra Edda. In the case of Ǫgn álfasprengir the by-name is so unique that one is inclined to suspect that the bearer may have played some part in older legends, even in those treated in alliterative verse. It can hardly have any other meaning than "destroyer of elves," as noted by Jónsson[1] and Lind,[2] or less likely "pursuer of elves," and is masculine in form. There is a parallel in the *þursasprengir* as by-name of a Þórir mentioned in the *Landnámabók*.[3]

It is through his hostile relation with Hergrímr that Starkaðr has been brought into the saga. This relation is attested by a verse of the Víkarsbálkr preserved in the Gautreks saga. It is in fact only the Gautreks saga that matches at all closely what is told of Starkaðr in the Hervarar saga and that in such a way that the latter appears not to have borrowed from its prose statements, but on the contrary the Gautreks saga must have the statements in question from the Hervarar saga or at most from a common source with it. This is clear from the fact that these statements of the Gautreks saga are not entirely consistent with its other material upon Starkaðr, to such a degree in fact that its author created for them a new Starkaðr, grandfather of the usual one. But the giant Starkaðr of the Hervarar saga is not the grandfather, but the familiar Starkaðr himself, become a giant in popular tradition.[4] Already Saxo was familiar, possibly through his Icelandic source, with this tradition of Starkaðr as a giant, for he speaks definitely of it. The by-name *áludrengr* (with or without capital *á*) applied to Starkaðr in the Hervarar saga (U and H) and in the corresponding statement of the Gautreks saga is obscure enough

[1] *Aarbøger for nord. Oldk. og Hist.* (1907), p. 275.

[2] *Norsk-isl. personbinamn från medeltiden* (1921), p. 3.

[3] Compared already by Uhland (*Schriften*, VI, 104; original publication date, 1836).

[4] That there was only one Starkaðr was correctly emphasized by Svend Grundtvig, *Udsigt over den nordiske Oldtids heroiske Digtning* (1867), pp 68 ff.

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to be of considerable interest; it is quite possible that it goes rather far back. Already the author of the U version of the Hervarar saga tried an explanation of it, locating the hero at the time covered by the story near waterfalls called Álufossar (*bjó þá við Álufossa*). This name has been identified with an Ulefoss in Telemarken, Norway,[1] but that such meaning could not have been contained in the original *áludrengr* was rightly emphasized by Bugge.[2] Even so recent an author as Olrik[3] still finds in the by-name a mythological significance, making a water-sprite, a sort of Fossegrim, out of Starkaðr, but that is utterly remote from what is known of this hero, and does not at all correspond with the use of *drengr*. Bugge's idea[4] that the *álu-* is a mistake of some sort for *ála-* and that the by-name should be read *Áladrengr*,[5] characterizing Starkaðr as a follower of Áli (enn frœkni), would at least correspond with his relations to that person as told in some sources and would fit entirely the use of *drengr*. In so far it deserves the preference over any other explanation of the by-name that has yet been given. Still it is not absolutely convincing. That Eið by the upper fall is mentioned as the scene of the duel between Starkaðr and Hergrímr is hardly of so much importance for geographical localization as considered by Munch and Peterson, who found Ulefoss in Telemarken associated with an Eid (Munch; Eidfoss further distant, Petersen) in close proximity. As a matter of fact it was a fairly common place-name, being merely an appellative that designated a place in a water-course made impassable by a fall or rapids, a place requiring a carry. If the author can be supposed to have been familiar with an Old Norse *ála*, still represented in Norwegian dialects by *åla*, meaning "a deep channel in a water-course," he could easily have evolved the names Álufossar and Eið in attempting to explain the by-name *áludrengr*, and a latter-day effort to locate them definitely would be to no purpose. Even if the author did have in mind the Norwegian locality identified by

[1] Munch, *Samlede Afhandlinger*, I, 74 (reprinted from 1836), and later in *Norske Folks Historie*, I, 1 (1852), 257; it goes back to N. M. Petersen, *Haandbog i den gammel-nordiske Geografi* (1834), p. 241.

[2] *Norrøne Skrifter af sagnhistorisk Indhold* (1873), p. 351.

[3] *Dansk Heltedigtning*, II (1910), 180; this goes back to Uhland, *Mythus von Thor* (1836), pp. 176 f.

[4] This goes back to Svend Grundtvig, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

[5] *Áladrengr* does actually occur in one manuscript of the Gautreks saga, but the fact is probably of no significance.

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Munch and Petersen, it would be only parallel with the other cases of euhemeristic geography of the author of U and have no further significance for the original meaning of *áludrengr*. That H lacks these place-names is apparently an omission of no great consequence, as it has here cut down the narrative to the bare essentials.

The abduction of Álfhildr of Álfheimar by Starkaðr is peculiar to the Hervarar saga (and Gautreks saga) and may have no older legendary status. One finds here again in U the usual rationalizing tendency in that Álfheimar is located geographically correctly between the Gautelfr and the Raumelfr, though the reference to the special beauty of the people of Álfheimar is to be understood as applying to the elves, whose abode was also designated Álfheimar. That Álfr appealed to Thor in connection with the abduction of his daughter and that Thor killed Starkaðr may in the same way have its origin in the Hervarar saga, though told also in the Gautreks saga, but there are other older sources representing Thor as having inflicted injury upon Starkaðr,[1] so that this episode of the Hervarar saga must at least have been suggested by older traditions of opposition between Starkaðr and Thor. Álfhildr and her family play no further part in the saga, except that the daughter of Álfhildr becomes the mother of the second and more important Arngrímr. The account of the family of Arngrímr is however suddenly interrupted by the introduction of Sigrlami, who is brought in as a son of Odin entirely without connection with the preceding genealogies. It is with Sigrlami that version R begins; it does not make him out to be the son of Odin and later introduces Arngrímr also without ancestors, so that one is at any rate tempted to believe that all of this genealogical refinement of U (followed by H) is secondary, and in this respect at least R may represent the older form of the saga. Still that is not an inevitable conclusion.

To defer further discussion of the matter of Arngrímr and his sons, Sigrlami belongs obviously to the story of the acquisition of the sword Tyrfingr. This story forms a mere introductory episode of the saga, in fact is again really lacking in R or rather abbreviated to a statement that the sword had been obtained from the dwarfs together with a description of its properties. Here one might be tempted to think of R as a secondary account which felt no call to give the introductory mat-

[1] Mentioned by Olrik, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

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ter in detail, but wished to hasten to the substance of the main story, but such inference is not necessary either. R undoubtedly has the advantage in presenting but a single person, Sigrlami, while U (followed by H) ascribes the adventure to his son Svafrlami, Sigrlami being then here again merely of genealogical interest. The names Sigrlami and Svafrlami are not otherwise known in Old Norse, except as Ǫrvar-Odds saga confirms the *Svafrlami* of U (and H), but are in their rarity of interest. *Sigrlami* is a very transparent word-compound and would apply to a person not victorious; the first element of *Svafrlami* occurs in only a few other names and is not certainly identified, even the length of the *a* being in doubt. A list of the sons of Odin in the "Brot um fornan átrúnaðr"[1] has a name *Óþinlami* which is on the face of it impossible and may contain some sort of corruption of our *Sigrlami* or *Svafrlami*. The function of this family line in the saga is twofold: first, genealogically to provide an ancestry for Eyfura, wife of Arngrímr; second, to carry the story of the fateful sword Tyrfingr. But the genealogical connection is hardly older than the Hervarar saga; i.e., other sources which know of Eyfura as wife of Arngrímr do not know of Sigrlami or Svafrlami as her father.[2] This tends to confirm the other evidence that the story of the gaining of the magic sword did not have an original organic connection with the events of the Hervarar saga before they were combined to form the saga. This connection is however present in R no less than in U. The story of the gaining of the sword is discussed especially by Sharovolski,[3] who gives a greater list of parallels than had been assembled hitherto, but without new results. In fact, he is inclined to see the episode as made up of current Old Scandinavian ideas without further significance. The closest correspondence is still with the story of the swords made by the two dwarfs Alius and Olius in the "Ásmundar saga kappabana."[4] The essential features are that dwarfs, working under compulsion, forge swords with remarkable properties, but in revenge for their ill treat-

[1] *Snorra Edda*, II, 636.

[2] Cf. Malone, *op. cit.*, p. 776.

[3] *Skazanie o mečě Tyurfingě*, III (1906), 79 ff. This volume of Sharovolski on the Hervarar saga has failed to reach the general channels of Old Norse scholarship, but it is an admirable piece of work and by far the richest commentary on the Hervarar saga in existence.

[4] Detter, *Zwei Fornaldarsögur*, pp. 81 ff. The names Alius and Olius are Latinized forms of the familiar Old Norse names Áli and Óli and Detter's suggestion of Alius and Unus (p. xlvii) is hardly to the point.

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ment invoke a curse upon them. That such a conception was very common in Old Norse is shown not only by actual cases of it, but, as Sharovolski points out, by still other cases in which it is emphasized that certain swords did not have curses (*álǫg*) resting upon them. Detter[1] has probably on the whole correctly deduced an Old Norse story of a sword made by a dwarf or dwarfs with the curse of brother-slaying upon it, which has in the Ásmundar saga so affected the Hildebrand legend as to change its conflict between father and son to one between brothers.[2] This deduction seems, at any rate, illuminating for the Hervarar saga, where in the U version the sword is made by dwarfs, cursed by them, and becomes the instrument with which Heiðrekr kills his brother Angantýr. In R there is no curse and Angantýr is not slain with the sword. Perhaps then the author of the U version inserted this familiar motif in the Hervarar saga, where the R version, which is then nearer the original, did not contain it. However R already has the sword made by dwarfs and has already interwoven it through the whole series of events, so that the addition of U would be but a slight one, and the alternative interpretation that U retains the essentials of the sword story more faithfully and is therefore nearer the original Hervarar saga is by no means excluded. That the three contemptible deeds (*níðingsverk*) to be perpetrated with the sword according to U (and H) are hard to identify has long been noted.[3] With recognition of this difficulty not much is gained except a confirmation of the otherwise clearly apparent loose construction of the saga as a whole. It may be noted in passing that three is a typical number, and attention has already been called[4] to the three *níðingsverk* prophesied by Thor for Starkaðr in the Gautreks saga. R is undoubtedly more consistent without this point, but such inconsistencies may conceivably have occurred in the original saga. As to the other properties of the sword, Sharovolski has clearly shown that they are severally associated with various other Old Norse swords, and the fact that U and R do not agree upon them is then of no great importance except as emphasizing the considerable difference of the two versions and the

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. xlviii f.

[2] Schück, *Uppsala Universitets Årskrift* (1918), II, Progr. 3: 2, pp. 18 ff., has further developed the motif of the brother-conflict.

[3] So by Heinzel, *op. cit.*, 426 f.

[4] For example, by Grundtvig, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

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relative unimportance of these sword-characteristics. That the sword required the death of a human being every time it was drawn from its sheath is the feature common to both U and R and accordingly to be inferred for the original saga, but even it seems to have been forgotten occasionally by the author. It is itself, as has long been noted, characteristic of Dáinsleifr, the sword of Hǫgni of the *Hjaðningavíg*,[1] and also, as pointed out by Sharovolski, of the sword of Bǫðvarr bjarki in the Hrólfs saga kraka.[2] These sword-properties may perhaps however be of value to us in judging the relationship of the two versions U and R. The property common to both of demanding a human life every time it was drawn from its sheath is in R associated with good qualities solely, i.e., it is itself to be understood as one of the things which go to make up the excellence of the weapon; it was to the owner's advantage that it should be as deadly as possible. The same is true of this property as applying to the other swords noted above. That it is then in U associated with things disadvantageous to the owner must be a secondary development, whether through a simple misunderstanding or a more humane attitude. This seems to me convincing evidence that the curse upon the sword does not belong originally to the Hervarar saga, but was one of the additional features worked in by the author of the U version. This would mean that Schück was entirely wrong in ascribing fundamental importance to this sword-story for the composition of the saga.

That the sword Tyrfingr does not originally belong to the several diverse episodes which have been combined in the Hervarar saga is clear enough, generally recognized and developed at length by Sharovolski. This is not however to be taken as meaning that it does not belong to the Hervarar saga from its original composition. As a matter of fact it is common to both versions and an important part of the mechanism for combining the otherwise unrelated materials. Its name Tyrfingr evidently has its origin in the Hervarar saga itself, as it is not mentioned elsewhere except in the related episode of the Ǫrvar-Odds saga, which may have taken it from the Hervarar saga. Even in the Ǫrvar-Odds saga it is identical with the personal name of one of the sons of Arngrímr in the same episode, and one is inclined to suspect that it is in the Hervarar saga somehow borrowed from this person,

[1] *Snorra Edda*, I, 434. [2] Ed. Jónsson, p. 60.

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his name not appearing in the latter saga. Certainly the various etymologies that have been suggested[1] seem unnecessary, as most of the other Old Norse sword-names are fairly transparent in meaning and it is an entirely parallel formation (Tyrfingr from Torfi) to the Ylfingr from Ulfr.[2]

U contains a few other names not found in H, such as Heiðr, Gylfi, Þjazi, and Fríðr, but they appear to be of no special significance in this context and their omission in H need not detain us either.

If we may close here the discussion of the introductory part of the Hervarar saga, the conclusions that may safely be drawn from it alone are not wholly unimportant, even if not in all respects conclusive. Its evidence, subject to subsequent confirmation, strongly favors the claim of R to greater faithfulness to the original saga, while U seems to show the work of a learned hand, or a literary hand which aspires to appear learned. As to H, there is nothing to indicate that it does not go back in this part entirely to U;[3] that is, the assumption of a third version from which it may have drawn is quite unnecessary. The sword Tyrfingr evidently does not go back beyond the composition of the original Hervarar saga and was there constructed out of current Old Norse sword-matter as a means (apart from the genealogical one) of binding together literarily a series of unrelated materials. That the author was not wholly consistent and careful in his use of this binding agent is characteristic enough of the manner of the *fornaldarsaga*-author to cause us no surprise and leave us in no doubt that the Hervarar saga as a literary product does not go back beyond the thirteenth century, probably not beyond the second half of it, when the *fornaldarsaga* as we know it seems to have been in style.

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[1] See Kahle, *Indogerm. Forsch.*, XIV (1903), 209; Much, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, XLVI (1902), 321 f.

[2] Kahle, p. 210, where he refers further to the parallel formation of the German sword-names Mímungr, Míminc, Welsunc.

[3] Except that it has later added some sword-properties from R.

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AN UNNOTED ANALOGUE TO THE *PARDONER'S TALE*

In his treatise "Of Dragons" in *The History of Serpents*,[1] Edward Topsell has interpolated into his translation of Gesner an anecdote that must take its place among the analogues to Chaucer's *Tale of the Pardoner*. Since this story has been overlooked by investigators and contains interesting variations of the older narrative, I call attention to it here.

Although Topsell informs us that "as I haue heard, the whole story was printed,"[2] nevertheless he points to oral tradition as sanction for the anecdote at the outset: "I haue heard this credible storie from men of good worth and reputation, happening about some twelue yeeres agoe, vpon the Westerne-Seas, vpon the Coastes of England."[3]

An old fisherman and his two servants had laid their nets but at midnight had caught no fish. At that hour, however, a "fire-drake" (the meteor *Draco volans*) appeared where they waited. Frightened at this bad omen, the old man wished to lift the nets and depart, but was persuaded by his less superstitious servants to remain. The fire-drake then appeared a second time, circling the ship and hovering over the nets, so frightening the three of them on this occasion that they resolved not to tarry. The nets, however, stuck fast at one place and, remembering that a ship had been wrecked in that same spot the day before, they attacked them with grab-hooks. Freed, the nets brought up a chair of beaten gold.

Revived somewhat in spirits at first, new fears soon assailed the old fisherman

> . . . . lest a storme should fall and lay both it and them, the second time in the bottome of the Sea. . . . .
>
> For behold the Deuil entred into the harts of his two Servants & they conspired together to kill the old-man their Maister, that so betweene themselues they might be owners of that great rich chayre, the value whereof (as they conceiued) might make them Gentlemen, and maintaine them in some other Country all the dayes of their life.[4]

[1] Edward Topsell, *The History of Serpents* (London, 1608), pp. 153 ff. The analogue referred to does not occur in Gesner's *Historia animalium*.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 171. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 170. [4] *Ibid.*

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Accordingly, one dashed out the brains of the old man, the other cast him into the sea, and they sailed for the coast of France. At three or four o'clock of the following afternoon they espied a port of Brittany. Here a man-of-war hailed them to come and show what they were, but they refused and continued to make for land. Shots and a long-boat were sent after them, and in the ensuing struggle one of the servants was slain, the other mortally wounded. Before dying, however, the latter cast the chair overboard and related the story of the crime.

The resemblances to Chaucer's narrative are immediately apparent —the underlying motive of avarice, the number of characters concerned,[1] the deliberate plotting of two toward the murder of the other, and the deaths of the three.[2] Above all, the insistence on the warning character,[3] Canby's x factor,[4] in the shape of the *Draco volans*, recognized as such by the fisherman and, in fact, Topsell's excuse for interpolating the story, is noteworthy.

Important elements of the old theme, however, either are lacking or have become greatly changed. Thus the old fisherman must be assumed as honest, any deliberate intention on his part toward the murder of his servants being absent. Accordingly, the poison motif is excluded, and the outside agency introduced as responsible for the death of the two conspirators is a complete change in the narrative.

Such decidedly non-literary variations point effectively to the truth of Topsell's assertion that it is a "credible storie" and that undoubtedly long ago in the spacious days Fate staged a crime on the high seas patterned after the literary drama of a still older time.

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[1] One thousand and one in the Buddhist original; five hundred in the Tibetan version; six in Kipling's *The King's Ankus;* four in the Kashmiri version and Coryat; three in the Persian, all the Arabian, the Italian *Miracle of St. Antonio*, the *Libro di Novelle*, Chaucer and Jack London versions; two in the *Cento Novelle Antiche* version; indefinite in the *Morlini Novellae* version. Three, however, is the most common number. (References: *Originals and Analogues* ["Ch. Soc. Pub."], pp. 130–34, 418–30; G. L. Kittredge, "Coryat and the *Pardoner's Tale*," *Modern Language Notes*, XV, 385–87; Rudyard Kipling, *The Jungle Book* (New York, 1897), p. 214; W. Wells, "A New Analogue to the *Pardoner's Tale*," *Modern Language Notes*, XL, 58–59, where I have discussed the Jack London parallel.)

[2] In the third Arabian version and Coryat there is no death by violence, and in the former the first character escapes death entirely. In all the other parallels, however, death comes to all concerned.

[3] Gautama in the Buddhist original; Jesus in the Persian, first Arabian, and *Cento Novelle Antiche* versions; St. Anthony in the Italian *miracale;* the hermit in the *Libro di Novelle* version; the old man in Chaucer; and the White Cobra in Kipling.

[4] H. S. Canby, "Some Comments on the Sources of Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale*," *Modern Philology*, II, 477.

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THE GENESIS AND GENERAL MEANING OF BLAKE'S *MILTON*

Blake's *Milton*, like all his long mystical poems, is full of obscurities, many of which have not yet been made clear. But the central thread of the narrative is reasonably distinct. Milton in heaven, about the year 1804, hears a bard's song dealing, in a very unintelligible way, with the attempt of evil to usurp power over good. Inspired by this song, which is of considerable length, the spirit of Milton returns to the world to teach men the true gospel about art and ethics, a gospel that does not wholly agree with what the world had supposed that he had taught in his writings while alive. To some extent at least he makes Blake his mouthpiece, or lets his Elijah mantle fall upon this fiery Elisha.

Aside from numerous debatable interpretations of detail, there are some decidedly vexed questions about the meaning of the principal themes. How is the long, confusing song of the bard to be unriddled? What is there in it which would make Milton feel compelled to revisit earth? What was Blake's attitude toward Milton the man, and toward the teachings, as he understood them, of Milton's published works, etc.?

As all of these problems connect with Blake's conception of Milton, it might be well to ask how much the living poet knew about the dead one at the time of composition, and from what sources Blake drew his ideas. *Milton* was apparently begun in 1804 and finished around 1808. From 1800 to 1803 Blake had been the protégé and close companion of William Hayley. Whatever his feelings toward Hayley may have become eventually, there must have been a time when relations were pleasant; and nothing would be more natural than that Blake should read books written or owned by his patron, or take suggestions from accounts of what Hayley had read.

Now at that time Hayley was posing as a Milton scholar. Under the inspiration derived from Cowper, he was at work on an edition of

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Milton's poems,[1] and had written a life of the great poet, first published in complete form in 1796. It would be almost certain that during the years 1800–1803 or earlier Blake would have read Hayley's *Life of Milton*[2] and perhaps some related works. If he did, there would be certain results that we should consider.

In the first place, Hayley's biography is a strenuous polemic against Samuel Johnson's essay on Milton in the *Lives of the Poets*. It might arouse in any poetical reader a feeling that not only Milton, but poetry itself, needed to be defended from the misleading criticisms of Ursa Major and all his school.

> The partisans of the powerful critic [Johnson], from a natural partiality to their departed master, affect to consider his malignity as existing only in the prejudices of those who endeavor to counteract his injustice.[3] . . . .
>
> The attempt of Johnson to revive a base and sufficiently refuted imputation against the great author whose life he was writing, is one of the most extraordinary proofs that literature can exhibit how far the virulence of political hatred may pervert a very powerful mind.[4]
>
> Johnson . . . . perpetually endeavors to represent him as unamiable, and instead of attributing any mistaken opinions that he might entertain to such sources as charity and reason conspire to suggest, imputes them to supposed vices in his mind, most foreign to his nature, and the very worst that an enemy could imagine.[5]

Again, it is possible that the central theme of Blake's poem was suggested by two passages in Hayley's *Life*. Remember that Blake, though a stormy and rebellious reader, was inclined to take such hints even from authors whose general teachings he rejected. Remember also that the central theme of Blake's poem is Milton's return from the other world to correct wrong conceptions of either what he did teach or what mankind thought he taught. The two passages are these:

> *a*) I am persuaded his [Milton's] attachment to truth was as sincere and fervent as that of the honest Montaigne, who says: "I would come again with all my heart from the other world to give any one the lie, who should report me other than I was, though he did it to honor me."[6]

[1] He had contributed an abridgment of his *Life of Milton* to the edition of that author's poems by Boydell-Nichol (1794–97), and during his friendship with Blake was interested in work for another edition, eventually published in 1810. See *Memoirs of William Hayley, Esq. Written by Himself* (ed. John Johnson; London, 1823), II, 75, 117.

[2] Even if he did not read it, he would get some of its material from Hayley's conversation.

[3] William Hayley, *Life of Milton* (Dublin ed.; printed by William Porter, 1797), p. 14.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 107. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 223. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

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b) Milton, adorned with every graceful endowment, highly and holily accomplished as he was, appears, in the dark coloring of Johnson, a most unamiable being; but could he revisit earth in his mortal character, with a wish to retaliate, what a picture might be drawn, by that sublime and offended genius, of the great moralist, who has treated him with such excess of asperity.[1]

Also in his Dedication to the *Life* Hayley utters words which could have suggested something to the susceptible and militant spirit of Blake:

His [Johnson's] lives of the poets will probably give birth, in this or the next century, to a work of literary retaliation. Whenever a poet arises with as large a portion of spleen towards the critical writers of past ages, as Johnson indulged towards the poets in his poetical biography, the literature of England will be enriched with the *Lives of the Critics*.[2]

In the third place, it is usually assumed that Blake's conception of Milton's teachings was based on a study of the English poems only, especially *Paradise Lost*. Now, aside from the *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, which was not discovered until 1823, Hayley's *Life* gives fairly full accounts of nearly all Milton's prose works, as well as of the Latin poems. This is important, for these essays show Milton as the great iconoclast, as a writer whose teachings Blake might approve instead of condemning. Milton's attacks on the bishops had a great deal in common with Blake's attacks on the prelatical supremacy of Urizen. Milton's pamphlets on divorce, if they had not quite reached Blake's doctrine of free love, had at least marched a long distance in that direction. And Blake would have come to feel that Milton, like himself, was one of the few men in England who had preached free love, and, like himself, one of the few who had *not* practiced it. In 1801 was published Todd's famous variorum edition of Milton's poems. In its account of Milton's life it quotes an attack by a seventeenth-century enemy on his divorce tracts:

If any plead conscience for the lawfulness of polygamy; (or for divorce for other causes than Christ and his Apostles mention; of which a wicked book is abroad and uncensured, though deserving to be burnt, whose author hath been so impudent as to set his name to it, and dedicate it to yourselves,) or for liberty to marry incestuously, will you grant a toleration for all this?[3]

If Blake read these lines he would hardly have got the impression that

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 229. [2] *Ibid.*, p. xv.
[3] H. J. Todd, *The Poetical Works of John Milton* (London, 1801), I, liii.

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Milton stood for conventional restrictive morality. And Todd's work was one that Milton enthusiasts would be likely to read, at least in parts. The following lines in Blake's *Milton* probably mean that, terrible as were Napoleon's campaigns of Austerlitz (1805) and Jena (1806), his rigid censorship of the press was worse:

> The Wine-press on the Rhine groans loud, but all
> its central beams
> Act more terrific in the Central Cities of the Nations,
> Where Human Thought is crush'd beneath the
> iron hand of Power.[1]

That last line is the quintessence of Milton's *Areopagitica.* If Blake had read that essay then, he would have perused it, not with criticism, but with enthusiastic approval. The general result of such reading would be to make Blake feel that Milton's original teaching had been mainly, though not wholly, right; *that the errors which he returned to earth to correct were mainly errors due to the misinterpretation of his teaching by later generations.*

Also, it is highly possible that Blake had read the prose essays in their complete form. Before Symmons' edition of them in 1806 many of them were hard to get; but Hayley must have had copies which he would lend. Besides, Symmons' edition came out while Blake was in the midst of *Milton.* Certainly after his acquaintance with Hayley he begins to use proper names found in Milton's *History of Britain:* Albion, Gwendolen, Ragan, Sabrina, Gonorill, Cordella, Boadicea, Estrild, etc. Also the following parallel might indicate a hint caught from the *Areopagitica.*

Milton's *Areopagitica:*

> Behold now this vast city, a city of refuge, the mansion house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with his protection; the shop of war hath *not there more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed justice* in defence of beleagured truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith to present, as with their homage and their fealty, the approaching reformation.[2]

[1] *William Blake's Prophetic Writings* (ed. Sloss and Wallis; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926). *Milton,* XXV, 3–5. All quotations from Blake's poetry are from this edition.

[2] *The Prose Works of John Milton* (Bohn ed.), II, 91.

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Blake's *Milton:*

In Bowlahoola [the City of Law] Los's Anvils stand & his Furnaces rage;
Thundering the Hammers beat & the Bellows blow loud.[1]

Blake's *Jerusalem:*

While Los stood at his Anvil in wrath, the victim of their love
And hate, dividing the Space of Love with brazen Compasses . . . .
The blow of his Hammer is Justice, the swing of his Hammer Mercy;
The force of Los's Hammer is eternal Forgiveness.[2]

Similarly, another parallel may strengthen our belief that Blake took imaginative hints from Hayley's *Life of Milton:*

Blake's *Milton* (these lines symbolize the activity of creative inspiration):

Loud groans Thames beneath the iron Forge
Of Rintrah & Palamabron, of Theotorm & Bromion, to forge the instruments
Of Harvest, the Plow & Harrow, to pass over the Nations.
The Surrey hills glow like the clinkers of the furnace.[3]

Hayley's *Life:*

His [Milton's] mind, even in his boyish days, seems to have glowed, like the fancy and furnace of an alchymist, with incessant hope and preparation for astonishing productions.[4]

There is another book which should be considered in this discussion, namely, Hayley's *Life of Cowper*. It was begun after Cowper's death in 1800 and published in 1803. In other words, it was wholly composed during the period when its author was in constant association with Blake. More than that, we have Hayley's own statement that "the warm-hearted indefatigable Blake works daily by my side, on the intended decorations of our biography [of Cowper]."[5] Hence, Blake must have known parts of the work, and may have read it all. In Hayley's *Life of Cowper* is included a letter[6] of that poet which could easily have inspired part of Blake's poem, and which represents Milton as really gentle and lovable, in marked contrast to the Johnsonian attack. Cowper says:

[1] XXIII, 51–52 (text of Sloss and Wallis).

[2] LXXXVIII, 46–50.

[3] IV, 11–14. [4] P. 21. [5] *Memoirs of William Hayley, Esq.*, II, 126.

[6] This letter was written to Hayley, so nothing would be more natural than that he should mention it to Blake.

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Oh you rogue, what would you give to have such a dream about Milton, as I had about a week since? I dreamed that, being in a house in the city, and with much company, looking towards the lower end of the room from the upper end of it, I descried a figure, which I immediately knew to be Milton's. He was very gravely, but very neatly attired in the fashion of his day,[1] and had a countenance which filled me with those feelings that an affectionate child has for a beloved father; such, for instance, as Tom has for you. My first thought was wonder, where he could have been concealed so many years: my second, a transport of joy to find him still alive: my third, another transport to find myself in his company; and my fourth, a resolution to accost him: I did so, and he received me with a complacence, in which I saw equal sweetness and dignity. I spoke of his *Paradise Lost*, as every man must who is worthy to speak of it at all, and told him a long story of the manner in which it affected me. . . . . At last, recollecting his great age, (for I understood him to be two hundred years old) I feared that I might fatigue him by much talking. . . . . His person, his features, his manners, were all so perfectly characteristic, that I am persuaded an apparition of him could not represent him more completely.[2]

If Blake's poem was conceived under these conditions, how should we interpret it? Let us take first the song of the bard, which inspired Milton to descend. In it Satan persuades Palamabron to lend him the "Harrow of the Almighty," which in his hands becomes an instrument of infinite mischief, whereas in Palamabron's it had been a great source of good. The Harrow, as is generally agreed, symbolizes some form of renovating intellectual leadership. Palamabron, usually the spirit of compassion, seems here to represent some noble, though not necessarily perfect, ideal of poetry. Mr. Damon identifies him with Blake himself,[3] but this cannot be true throughout the whole poem, for Palamabron later expresses fear of Blake's revolutionary verse. If Blake felt, as we have suggested above, that not only Milton but all poetry had suffered at the hands of such eighteenth-century critics as Johnson, then he might naturally represent in Palamabron that nobler poetry of the seventeenth century, and such revivals of it as had occurred later, including Blake's own, and perhaps that of the

[1] Cf. Blake's *Milton:*

"And Milton, collecting all his fibres into impregnable strength,
Descended down a Paved work of all kinds of precious stones
Out from the eastern sky, descending down into my Cottage
Garden, clothed in black: severe and silent he descended" (XXXIX, 5–8).

[2] William Hayley, *The Life and Posthumous Writings of William Cowper* (New York ed., 1803), II, 63.

[3] S. Foster Damon, *William Blake* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), p. 407.

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compassionate Cowper. This interpretation is supported by the fact that Palamabron almost quotes two lines from the seventeenth-century dramatist Marston.[1] As for Satan, Blake in one passage at least definitely identifies him with eighteenth-century rationalism:

Will you suffer this Satan, this Body of Doubt that Seems but Is Not,
To occupy the very threshold of Eternal Life? If Bacon, Newton, Locke,
Deny a Conscience in Man & the Communion of Saints & Angels,
Contemning the Divine Vision & Fruition, Worshipping the Deus
Of the Heathen, The God of This World, & the Goddess Nature,
Mystery, Babylon the Great, The Druid Dragon & hidden Harlot,
Is it not that Signal of the Morning which was told us in the Beginning?[2]

Blake had shown his hostility to rationalism, and his preference for the passionate rather than the reasoning element in Milton, in his *Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1790–93?).[3] If the fuller knowledge afterward acquired from Hayley gave him a mental impetus, if it led him to think of Milton, not as the exponent of reason in the seventeenth century but as the victim of reason in the eighteenth, his hostility would have begun against Johnson and then spread to that whole school of which Johnson was the last great exponent. It might even come to include Hayley, in whose wavering, neutral attitude a great deal of the eighteenth century still survived. So far, then, the song of the bard would mean that rationalism in the eighteenth century had seized the intellectual leadership from earlier and better hands, with disastrous results for all forms of intellectual life, and that the world needed Milton's spirit as a redeemer. The death of Thulloh and the part of Rintrah (the spirit of wrath—usually, but not always, of righteous indignation) might be explained as allusions to literary controversies. In Hayley's *Life of Milton*, and, quoted from that, in Todd's variorum edition of 1801, occurs a passage that would suggest Rintrah to any reader:

Johnson professed, in one of his letters, to love a good hater; and, in the Latin correspondence of Milton, there are words that imply a similarity of sentiment; they both thought there might be a sanctified bitterness, to use an expression of Milton, towards political and religious opponents.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 408. [2] *Jerusalem*, XCIII, 19–26. [3] Sloss and Wallis, I, 14.

[4] Todd, *Poetical Works of Milton*, I, cl. Todd himself in his editorial work speaks kindly of both Hayley and Johnson.

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Then the female character Leutha attempts to defend Satan against the charge of misusing the "Harrow," by taking the blame on herself. There is general agreement that Leutha everywhere in Blake represents physical love. Now *Paradise Lost* had represented such love as beautiful in Eden before the Fall, and the coarsest and most degrading passion immediately after it—"Of their mutual guilt the seal." Leutha, Milton would have said, is good or bad, not according to mere conventions of marriage, but according to the mental attitude that accompanied her. Blake, if he understood Milton here, must have felt some sympathy with him.[1] Blake would have had some reason for feeling that intellectual life from 1660 to 1800 had been checked by undesirable conditions regarding sex love. Under the Stuarts, "Leutha" had appeared in broad daylight but as degrading passion, not uplifting affection. Under the conventional House of Hanover "Leutha" hid, and made superficial compromises with "Elynittria" (the spirit of conventional purity), while passion, debased and hypocritical, undermined the national life.[2] The details of Leutha's speech, and their sequence, would fit in reasonably well with such an interpretation.

So ends the song of the bard; and, inspired by it, Milton comes back to the world of the living. Into all the details of his journey I have no wish to go. Some of them are inexplicable; most of them have been well explained in Professor Damon's commentary. But I do wish to emphasize the point that Milton in heaven does not recant nearly as much of his previous teachings as has been asserted.[3] Blake did not indorse everything in the writings of his great predecessor; but he did indorse much of it. I question whether "Milton's

[1] For a similar conception of Blake's attitude see Denis Saurat, *Blake and Milton* (Bordeaux: Imprimerie de L'Université, 1920), pp. 31, 45, 50, 51. Professor Damon finds more sharp disagreement here between Blake and Milton (*William Blake*, p. 175). But the criticism of the Fall which he quotes from Blake was uttered seventeen years after the supposed completion of the *Milton*, and it may have meant a mere sputtering or desire to mystify Crabb Robinson rather than a serious opinion.

[2] If Leutha's speech contained a hit at Hayley's morals, that would simply be included in the broader interpretation.

[3] See (*a*) P. Berger, *William Blake, Poet and Mystic* (Conner's trans.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1915), p. 363: "He promises to abandon the 'daughters of memory' and follow the 'daughters of inspiration' "; (*b*) Sloss and Wallis, I, 343; (*c*) S. F. Damon, *William Blake*, pp. 172–75. Professor Damon very judiciously qualifies these statements; see p. 404: "Shakespeare and Milton were Blake's idols."

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Shadow," which seems to be kept distinct from Milton, and obviously inferior, does not represent what literary historians would call "the Milton tradition," the degraded misinterpretation of his thoughts by readers and critics who could not rise to his level.[1]

Blake certainly realized that great systems of thought were so misinterpreted; for Rintrah and Palamabron say to Los: "They perverted Swedenborg's Visions in Beulah & in Ulro."[2] The Preface to *Milton* begins with an attack on "the Stolen and *Perverted* Writings of Homer & Ovid, of Plato & Cicero, which all Men ought to contemn." Perhaps this statement had been partly inspired by Hayley's *Life of Cowper*. In the letters there included, the dead poet, discussing his own translation of Homer, had animadverted several times on the un-Homeric character of other renderings, especially Pope's.[3] Still stronger condemnation of Pope's *Homer* can be found in letters of Cowper which Hayley did not publish, but which he might have read and possibly have shown to Blake.[4]

In the light of these facts, we might easily interpret the following passage as saying that *Paradise Lost* had been expounded as orthodoxy and the conventional code when Milton had not meant that:

> Mild was the voice, but more distinct than any earthly
> That Milton's Shadow[5] heard; & condensing all his Fibres
> Into a strength impregnable of majesty & beauty infinite,
> I saw he [the Shadow] was the Covering Cherub, & within him Satan
> And Rahab, in an outside which is fallacious, within
> Beyond the outline of Identity, in the Selfhood deadly . . . .
> Descending down into my Garden, a Human Wonder of God,

[1] Sloss and Wallis (II, 224) say: "Blake himself is Milton's 'Shadow' the manifestation in life of the ethical principle of self-annihilation." But this seems impossible. Blake consistently sees the "shadow" as external to himself and as identified with everything he hated.

[2] *Milton*, XX, 46.

[3] *Life of Cowper*, I, 97, 163, 218; II, 7, 100, 102.

[4] December 15, 1785, Cowper wrote to Lady Hesketh, many of whose letters Hayley printed, though not this one: "There is hardly anything in the world so unlike another, as Pope's version of Homer to the original. . . . . Assure yourself . . . . that Pope never entered into the spirit of Homer, that he never translated him,—I had almost said, did not understand him" (Thomas Wright, *The Correspondence of William Cowper* [London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904], II, 409–10).

[5] We find a similar distinction in *Jerusalem*, XXXI, 40–41, where Jerusalem, who is spiritual liberty, has as her shadow Vala, who is almost her opposite:

> "And he beheld Jerusalem in Westminster & Marybone
> Among the ruins of the Temple; and Vala, who is her Shadow."

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Reaching from heaven to earth, a Cloud & Human Form,[1]
I beheld Milton with astonishment, & in him[2] beheld
The Monstrous Churches of Beulah, the Gods of Ulro dark,
Twelve monstrous dishumaniz'd terrors, Synagogues of Satan. . . . .
All these are seen in Milton's Shadow, who is the Covering Cherub,
The Spectre of Albion . . . . in the Newtonian voids.[3]

Later the genuine Milton says:

Obey thou the Words of the Inspired Man . . . .
The Negation is the Spectre, the Reasoning Power in Man
This is a false Body, an Incrustation over my Immortal
Spirit, a Selfhood[4] which must be put off & annihilated alway.
To cleanse the Face of my Spirit by Self-examination,[5]
To bathe in the waters of Life, to wash off the Not Human,
I come in Self-annihilation[6] & the grandeur of Inspiration . . . .
To cast off Bacon, Locke, & Newton from Albion's covering.[7]

Near the end of the poem the "Virgin Ololon" tells the real Milton that there is something about him which the feminine portion in her cannot bear, which makes her fly for escape into the realm of Ulro, or error. Suiting the action to the word,

. . . . she divided & fled into the depths
Of Milton's Shadow,[8]

thereby, apparently, identifying "Milton's Shadow" with the "visions of Ulro," the mistaken and distorted conceptions of truth. First she says to the real Milton "Are we Contraries, O Milton, Thou & I?"[9] then flees to Milton's shadow as to an asylum, "As a Dove upon the stormy Sea."

Admittedly these passages have their ambiguities, but they are certainly susceptible of the interpretation we have given them. And

[1] A shadow of misinterpretation and a real teacher behind it.

[2] "In him" means connected with Milton, resulting from him, not necessarily the poet's real teaching.

[3] XXXVII, 5–46.

[4] "Selfhood" does not probably mean any attitude of Milton when writing *Paradise Lost*. It more probably means a false interpretation favorable to worldlings in power. Cf. *Jerusalem*, XXXIII, 17–18:

"So spoke the Spectre to Albion: he is the Great Selfhood
Satan, Worship'd as God by the Mighty Ones of the Earth."

[5] This perhaps means: "To give my own interpretation of my own poem."

[6] Cf. Blake's own words in beginning *Jerusalem*, V, 22: "Annihilate the Selfhood in me! be thou all my life." Blake certainly was not recanting his previous teaching.

[7] XLII, 29—XLIII, 5. [8] XLIV, 5–6. [9] XLIII, 35.

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there are other passages that are hardly susceptible of a different interpretation.[1]

Many of the virtues ascribed to the poetical character Milton were ones that the real man Milton had; and Blake possessed means of learning that he had them. In the poem the heavenly Milton says:

> What do I here . . . .
> With the daughters of memory, & not with the daughters of inspiration?[2]

Later he declares that he comes "To cast off the rotten rags of Memory by Inspiration."[3] And the seventeenth-century Milton, in his *Reason of Church Government*, in a passage quoted in Hayley's *Life*,[4] had spoken of his ideal poetry as "nor to be obtained by the invocation of dame Memory and her siren daughters; but by devout prayer to that eternal spirit." Blake's Preface to *Milton* declares that the old Hebrew prophets, rather than the Greeks, represent the noblest inspired poetry; and Milton, in the passage above, quoted in Hayley's *Life*,[5] says:

> Or, if occasion shall lead, to imitate those magnific odes and hymns, wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy. But those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets, beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition, may be easily made appear over all the kinds of lyric poesy to be incomparable. These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift of God.

Blake's heavenly Milton says:

> Such are the laws of Eternity, that each shall mutually
> Annihilate himself for others' good, as I for thee.[6]

And Hayley, in his *Life*, had said of the real poet: "In the polemical writings of Milton there is a merit to which few polemics can pretend; they were the pure dictates of conscience, and produced by the

[1] For example, in *Milton* (XIX, 16–17) occurs the passage:

> "On whose mild banks dwell those who Milton drove
> Down into Ulro."

Even such an acute critic as Professor Damon has taken the "who" here as an old-fashioned accusative (*William Blake*, p. 417). But that it is a nominative is clearly shown by a passage about the same people fifteen lines below:

> "And they lamented that *they* had in wrath & fury & fire
> Driven *Milton* into the Ulro."

Milton did not lead the people of Ololon into error, they drove him into error; and as they apparently did this in Blake's day, they could hardly have done it except by misunderstanding or perverting his teaching.

[2] XII, 28–29. [3] XLIII, 4. [4] P. 75. [5] P. 73. [6] XXXIX, 35–36.

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sacrifice of his favorite pursuits."[1] Blake tells us that his hero descends to

. . . . set free
Orc from his Chain of Jealousy.[2]

and *Paradise Lost* had included among the joys of Eden that

. . . . in those hearts
Love unlibidinous reigned, nor jealousy
Was understood, the injured lover's hell.[3]

The Milton of Blake says to the Blakean Satan:

Thy purpose & the purpose of thy Priests & of thy Churches
Is to impress on men the fear of death, to teach
Trembling & fear, terror, constriction, abject selfishness.
Mine is to teach Men to despise death & to go on
In fearless majesty, annihilating Self, laughing to scorn
Thy Laws & terrors, shaking down thy Synagogues as webs.
I come to discover before Heav'n & Hell the Self righteousness
In all its Hypocritic turpitude.[4]

This is exactly the attitude that Milton had taken toward the prelates in his prose attacks on them. He had even, like Blake, characterized them as the priests of Satan, and in one pamphlet had said: "Lucifer, before Adam, was the first prelate angel."[5] Some hints of this Blake could have got from Hayley's conversation or from his *Life of Milton.* All of it he could have found in copies of Milton's prose works probably owned by Hayley; or after 1806 he could have found it in Symmons' edition of the prose.

It is reasonable, then, to consider Blake's poem as largely an effort to save a great predecessor from stupid misinterpretation and malignant libel.[6] This was to be done less for the sake of either poet

[1] P. 24. [2] XVIII, 60–61. [3] Book V, 448–50. [4] XXXIX, 37–44.

[5] *Reason of Church Government*, in *Prose Works* (Bohn ed.), II, 450.

[6] Sloss and Wallis (I, 343) find a hopeless inconsistency in the fact that Milton first comes to "set free Orc from the Chain of Jealousy" and later, instead, "to annihilate his own 'self-hood,' that is, to give example of the Divine law of brotherhood and self-sacrifice." But there is no need of assuming an inconsistency. If Milton comes to replace a wrong interpretation of his works by a right one, all is consistent. His pamphlets on divorce would, in Blake's opinion, at least, break the chain of jealousy. In his *Paradise Regained* the ambitious selfhood, the selfish will to power, is precisely the temptation which Christ overcomes. I need hardly point out that our conclusions, though they disagree with those of Sloss and Wallis, are in marked harmony with those of Saurat in his *Blake and Milton.*

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involved than for the sake of humanity. And if we could put ourselves in Blake's place and assume (something not proved but highly probable) that he had read certain easily accessible books, then we would understand his temper as he wrote. Johnson was by no means the only enemy pointed out to him. In the Dedication[1] of his *Life of Milton* Hayley had said:

> Milton, a poet of the most powerful, and, perhaps, the most independent mind that was ever given to a mere mortal, insulted with the appellation of a time-server; and by whom? by Warburton, whose writings and whose fortune—but I will not copy the contemptuous prelate in his favorite exercise of reviling the literary characters, whose opinions were different from his own; his habit of indulging a contemptuous and dogmatical spirit, etc.

No words could have been used which would have made Milton's critics seem to Blake more a manifestation of his despotic, dogmatic "primeval priest," Urizen. And Hayley was not the only scholar who could have increased this feeling in Blake. In his edition of Milton's *Prose Works* (1806) Symmons said:

> We have seen a new Salmasius, unimpelled by those motives which actuated the hirelings of Charles, revive in Johnson; and have beheld the virtuous and the amiable, the firm and the consistent Milton, who appears to have acted, from the opening to the close of his life,—
>
> "As ever in his great Taskmaster's eye,"
>
> exhibited in the disguise of a morose and a malevolent being . . . . a wretch who, from pride, austerity and prudence was at once a rebel, a tyrant, and a sycophant.[2]

Later on Symmons says that Milton's conduct

> continued, as we have the strongest reasons to believe, equally pure and exemplary throughout the subsequent stages of his life: but no sooner did he tread the threshold of manhood, and begin to offend by the exhibition of novel opinions and strong censures, than he became the object of that enmity which, pursuing him with detraction to his grave, has in later times disturbed his ashes and endeavored to deform his memory.[3]

This passage was printed while Blake was composing *Milton*. If he

[1] P. xvii.

[2] *The Prose Works of John Milton* (London, printed by T. Bensley), VII, 39. The date on the title-page of the Yale copy is 1806; but as Vol. VII contains a Preface to a second edition, dated 1809, there has evidently been some juggling by printers. The first edition did appear in 1806.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

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read it, he would get a picture of a maligned rebel for conscience' sake, much like himself and after his own heart. If Blake read the sketch of Milton's life prefixed to Todd's edition, he would have found this sentence, not anti-Johnsonian, but placating in another way: "Dr. Newton considers him [Milton] as a Quietist, full of the interior of religion, though he so little regarded the exterior."[1] The suggestion, however inaccurate, that Milton was a seventeenth-century mystic would have been a telling shot. Even if such an influence did not occur, even if Milton seemed a poet perhaps a bit too rational, not quite mystical enough, he appeared none the less as a great, redeeming figure, well worth calling back, like Arthur from Avalon, in the hour of England's need.

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[1]*Poetical Works of Milton*, I, cliv.

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KOTZEBUE EN ESPAÑA

APUNTES BIBLIOGRÁFICOS E HISTÓRICOS

Sigan en nuestra serie los apuntes sobre Kotzebue,[1] pues es el autor alemán que ha gozado de mayor popularidad en las primeras décadas del siglo XIX en España tanto como en otras partes de Europa[2] y aun en el mundo entero como lo atestigua Adalbert von Chamisso en su diario del viaje alrededor del mundo por los años 1815–18.[3]

Notaremos cronológicamente la fortuna española del famoso dramatista como nos la demostró la casualidad en traducciones de sus obras, representaciones de sus dramas y en discusiones o referencias esparcidas por los periódicos de los tres primeros cuartos del siglo.[4] Completamos estos datos hasta 1818 con otros sacados de una obra de Don Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, titulada *Isidoro Maiquez y el Teatro de su Tiempo*.[5]

1800—(T/4201).[6] "*La Reconciliación o Los dos Hermanos*,[7] en cinco actos por el Poeta Kotzbue (*sic*). Traducida por D. Vicente Rodríguez de Avellano. Madrid, En la Oficina de D. Benito García y Compañía. Año de 1800."

Este drama forma parte del tomo II del "Teatro Nuevo Español," colección de seis tomos de la cual da detalles el maestro Arturo Farinelli.[8]

[1] Acaban de publicarse unos sobre "E. T. A. Hoffmann en España" en el tomo I° del *Homenaje a Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín*, Madrid, 1927.

[2] Sobre Kotzebue en Inglaterra véase Walter Sellier *Kotzebue in England*. Tésis del doctorado, Leipzig, 1901.

[3] *Werke* (Meyers Klassiker Ausgaben) (Leipzig, s.a.), III, 43–44.

[4] Consultamos principalmente las riquezas de la Biblioteca Nacional, de Madrid, cuyos directores y funcionarios nos las proporcionaron con suma cortesía; nos servimos también de la Biblioteca del Ateneo de Madrid donde se trabaja con tanta comodidad como saben bien sus afortunados concurrentes.

[5] Es el tercer tomo de sus *Estudios sobre la Historia del Arte escénico en España*, Madrid, 1902. Siempre nos referimos a esta obra al citar a "Cotarelo." Debemos la noticia de este tomito al distinguido hispanista, profesor G. T. Northup, de la Universidad de Chicago, al que quedamos muy agredecidos.

[6] Para mejor identificación damos en paréntesis la signatura que llevan los diversos tomos en la Bibl. Nac.

[7] Se llama en alemán *Die Versöhnung oder der Bruderzwist*, 1798.

[8] Véase su estudio "Deutschland und die deutsche Litteratur im Lichte der spanischen Kritik in der 2. Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts," "*Kochs Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte*," N.F., VIII (1895), 401.

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¿1800?—De la misma época deben ser otras dos traducciones, sin año, de la misma obra:

1. (T/7070). "*La Reconciliación o Los dos Hermanos.* Drama en cinco actos. Su autor KOTZ-BÜE (*sic*), traducido del alemán al francés y del francés al castellano por D.F.N. de R.[1] Con Licencia. Barcelona por Juan Francisco Pifferer, Impresor de S.M."

Esta edición tiene forma de folleto, impreso en papel ya muy amarillento y envejecido.

2. (T/12,250) lleva el mismo título salvo que se publicó en "Madrid, En la Imprenta de la Administración del Real Arbitrio de Beneficencia." Está bien encuadernada.

Las dos ediciones coinciden en lo demás. Citamos de la "Advertencia" de la segunda: "El éxito feliz que han tenido en el teatro alemán los dos dramas de Kotz-büe titulados *Los dos Hermanos desunidos* el uno y el otro *La Misantropía;* la variedad de dictámenes en orden a cual de los dos merece la preferencia; las dulces lágrimas que han derramado todas las naciones que los han visto representar; y el aprecio que la española ha hecho de la *Misantropía,* me han animado a darle traducidos *Los dos Hermanos;* debiendo prevenir que de su mérito original no se debe juzgar por mi traducción hecha en solos tres días como saben todos mis amigos. ..."

Al comparar el texto de esta traducción con el original alemán se ve que como de costumbre se ha "arreglado" mucho: no sólo se suprimió lo que era demasiado difícil y complicado en la dicción como lo son los juegos de palabra de ordinario intraducibles; se suprimió también casi todo lo que se refería a condiciones locales y particulares de la sociedad alemana. Ignoramos si faltaban ya estos pormenores en la traducción francesa que sirvió de base.

A pesar de estas simplificaciones no hay que negar que a la conclusión del drama el espectador español llevaba consigo una impresión profunda y en acuerdo con lo que Kotzebue intentaba. Lo grande del efecto que produjeron estos dramas en el público se ve por la petición del cómico Mariano Querol en el año 1811 al Gobierno de la Regencia en Cádiz, donde se lee:

"... muchos de los habitantes de este noble pueblo son testigos de haber visto la primera representación de la comedia titulada *Misantropía y Arre-*

[1] Será Don Fernando Nicolás de Rebolleda.

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pentimiento, por lo que se vieron muchos matrimonios que estaban separados por bagatelas, reunidos otra vez y estrecharse en los lazos de himeneo. Por representación de la nombrada *La Reconciliación de los dos Hermanos* (*sic*) diversas familias enemistadas volverse a pacificar, olvidando las discordias domésticas que habían causado su enemistad.[1]

1800—(T/7494). "*Misantropía y Arrepentimiento.*[2] Drama en tres actos. Arreglado a nuestro teatro. En Madrid, En la Imprenta de Sancha, Año de 1800."

Tiene en la portada un grabado representando el cuadro final del drama. Lleva además una dedicación al "Señor Antonio Pinto," actor principal, que mandó hacer la traducción, y un prólogo; la dedicación está firmada "Dionisio Solís."[3]

En su Prólogo se lee de otro caso del efecto popular de esta comedia; dice allí: "... Una de las mujeres que asistió a la representación de *Carlos y Eulalia*,[4] al decir ésta 'y mis hijos,' exclamó llorando '¡Ay, yo también soy madre, y hay nueve meses que no los veo!' ... Hombre sensible, célebre Kotz-bue, ve aquí la recompensa de tu mérito, las lágrimas de una madre sencilla y buena. ..."

Idem—(T/19,881). Es otra edición del mismo drama; tiene el mismo título, solamente le faltan la buena encuadernación y el grabado de la portada.

1801—(T/15,033). Es reimpresión del drama anterior, v.g. (T/7494), en forma de *hoja suelta*, pues no lleva sino el título y los "personajes" en la parte superior de la página exterior; en la parte inferior empieza el texto del acto primero. Al fin del folleto se lee "En Valencia 1801." Faltan las páginas 3 y 4; 5 y 6.

Es de suponer que siempre se representaba esta versión en los teatros españoles, por lo menos durante las primeras décadas del siglo. Según Hartzenbusch[5] se representaba hacia 1839 una versión en cinco actos recomendada por el mismo Solís. No tendrá nada que ver con otra en cinco actos que se publicó poco despúes de la de Solís, y de la que nos ocuparemos en seguida.

[1] Véase Farinelli, *op. cit.*, pág. 402, nota 3. Coincide con esto lo que dice Kotzebue mismo en el tomo VII°, pág. 53, de su *Theater von August Kotzebue. Rechtmässige Original Auflage*, Leipzig und Wien, 1840–41. 20 tomos (T/2524–43).

[2] Se llama en alemán *Menschenhass und Reue*, 1787–89.

[3] A esta traducción y su traductor se refiere Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch en la *Revista de Madrid* (de 1839; 2a serie), I°, 488–97 (1/69, 245).

[4] *Así se* llaman los personajes principales del drama.

[5] En la *Revista de Madrid, loc. cit.*

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1800—(T/10,470). "*Misantropía y Arrepentimiento.* Drama en cinco actos, en prosa, del Teatro alemán de KOTZ-BÜE (*sic*). Refundido por la ciudadana Molé, actriz del Teatro francés, y traducido fielmente por D.A.G.A. Madrid, por D. Fermin Villalpando, Año 1800."[1]

Hay una "Advertencia del traductor" de diez páginas y la traducción del prefacio de la actriz Molé, de seis páginas. Hartzenbusch dice de ésta:

En el mismo año de 1800 un D.A.G.A., que no sabemos si fué Don Agustín García Arrieta, dió a luz una nueva traducción del mismo drama, hecha en prosa, a la cual puso por encabezamiento un prólogo, donde decía que la traducción de Solís era defectuosísima por estar en verso, por haber puesto en tres actos una composición cuya estructura exigía la división en cinco en el original,[2] y sobre todo por no haber seguido aquel con la fidelidad debida. El buen señor de las iniciales, para enseñar a Solís como debían trasladarse al castellano las obras dramáticas extranjeras copia el diálogo francés sin soltura, sin gracia, sin comprenderlo a veces, o sin acertar a expresarlo dramáticamente; siendo lo más singular que escribiendo en prosa se queda en ciertos pasajes inferior en sencillez, naturalidad, concisión y vehemencia al que escribía con el estorbo de la versificación.[3]

Aunque D.A.G.A. haya cometido muchas y graves faltas en la traducción de la obra francesa, no podemos negar que tiene razón en su teoría de que no debiera hablar en verso el misántropo "porque su carácter es hablar muy poco, y esto sentencioso y lleno de acrimonia."[4] Y no pregunta sin razón:

¿Hasta cuándo ha de durar entre nosotros el prurito y ciega rutina de traducir y componer las comedias en verso cuando las demás naciones cultas escriben ya y representan en prosa casi todas las mejores suyas? ... Si la comedia es un cuadro fiel de la vida privada de los hombres, si su objeto es copiar al natural sus acontecimientos serios, funestos, alegres o ridículos, sus pasiones, sus caprichos, sus modos de tratar y conversar unos con otros sobre los varios negocios e intereses de la vida, ¿qué estilo es más natural y adecuado para pintar y expresar al vivo todo esto en prosa? Porque al fin en ésta conversan siempre los hombres, y no en verso; ...[5]

[1] El drama francés lleva el título *Misantropie et Repentir.* Paris An 7 (1798) (T/11,599). Es la traducción de Bursay arreglada "a l'usage de la scène française par la citoyenne. ..."

[2] Es de notar que los cinco actos del drama francés, y por consiguiente del español, no coinciden con los del original alemán lo que presume D.A.G.A. No podemos entrar aquí en una discusión de los pormenores.

[3] En la *Revista de Madrid, loc. cit.*

[4] En la "Advertencia" de su traducción (T/10,470) [5] *Ibid.*

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Citamos estas observaciones tan extensivamente por su valor histórico, pues bien sabemos ahora cuáles han sido los adelantos durante el siglo XIX tocante al sentido real de la vida y de las cosas. El soberano establecimiento actual de la prosa es una fase de ese *Wirklichkeitssinn* de la época moderna, y el "buen señor de las iniciales" queda vindicado en cuanto a esto.

Sigamos en nuestro repaso cronológico:

Idem—Según Hartzenbusch[1] "se estrenó la comedia *Misantropía y Arrepentimiento* en el Coliseo de la Cruz el 30 de enero y tuvo 18 representaciones." Sí, se estrenó en aquel día y año,[2] pero no indica Cotarelo cuantas representaciones se daban; la pieza que sigue en su lista está fechada el 17 de febrero, lo que permite suponer que se representaba *M. y A.* varias veces en seguida. La famosa actriz Rita Luna hizo el papel de la arrepentida Eulalia y el primer barba Antonio Pinto el del misántropo Carlos.

Idem—Al talento de estos actores se deberá cierta parte de la popularidad no sólo de la *M. y A.*, sino también de la *Reconciliación o Los dos Hermanos*, drama de Kotzebue que ellos estrenaron en el teatro de la Cruz el 1° de octubre de 1800.[3]

Sigamos en nuestro repaso cronológico:

¿1800?—(T/7078). "*La Misantropía desvanecida.* Drama en un acto. Escrito en alemán por Augusto Kotzebüe (*sic*) en continuación al drama intitulado *La Misantropía y Arrepentimiento* del mismo autor. Con Licencia. Barcelona, por Juan Francisco Pifferer, Impresor de S.M."[4]

Debe de ser de esta época. En su apariencia se asemeja mucho a *La Reconciliación o Los dos Hermanos*, obra ya mencionada (T/7070), publicada por el mismo Pifferer, y es de notar que la traducción española esta vez corresponde en altísimo grado al texto alemán, con la excepción muy natural de llamar "Félix" al muchacho "Wilhelm." Los chistes y dichos graciosos de Röschen y Konrad se han reproducido con mucho acierto.

1801—19 de enero *Misantropía y Arrepentimiento* en el Teatro de la Cruz.[5]

[1] En la *Revista de Madrid* de 1839 ya citada

[2] Cotarelo, pág. 619 [3] *Ibid.*, pág. 623.

[4] En alemán se llama "*Die edle Lüge.* Schauspiel in einem Aufzuge. Fortzetzung von *Menschenhass und Reue,*" 1792

[5] Cotarelo, pág. 624.

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1802—8 de octubre *Reconciliación* en el Teatro de la Cruz.[1]

Idem—26 de octubre *Misantropía* en el Teatro de la Cruz.[2]

1803—27 de enero *Reconciliación* en el Teatro de la Cruz.[3]

1804—(Hidalgo, II, 386).[4] "*El Año más memorable de mi vida* por Augusto de Kotzbue (*sic*), traducido del alemán al francés y de éste al castellano, por D.R.T., alférez de navío de la real armada. Madrid 1804,[5] imprenta de A. Espinosa, ... dos tomos en 8°, con el retrato de Kotzbue."

Idem—4 de diciembre *Misantropía y Arrepentimiento* en el Teatro de la Cruz.[6]

1805—13 de junio *Reconciliación* en el Teatro de la Cruz.[7]

1806—(5/787). Que era moneda corriente en aquella época el nombre de Kotzebue y la fortuna teatral de sus dramas se ve por los renglones siguientes sacados de una "Sátira sobre las Modas literarias" en el *Revisor*:[8]

> De Schiller y Kotzbue el zueco lúgubre,
> se apoderó del crédito dramático; ...

1807—(4/296). Bajo fecha del 9 de octubre de este año encontramos en el *Diario de Madrid* una larga discusión de *Los Organos del cerebro*[9] de la que citamos:

... Dos años estuvo viéndose la craneología en los teatros sin que su autor cómico se dignase imprimirla; pero sí se dignaba dar copia manuscrita por 50 Luises (300 pesos), precio que exigió de un español curioso. ... No parece probable que el autor de los *Organos del cerebro* tenga motivo de quejarse tan amargamente como el de *La Misantropía y Arrepentimiento*, que invocaba a Júpiter fulminante, porque esta pieza no le había valido más que 200 pesos. siendo así que a Madama Molé le había ya dado su traducción 40 francos.

1807—(5/787). En la *Minerva o el Revisor General*, tomo VII, pág. 184, se halla la noticia bajo el título de "Teatros" que en el Coliseo de la Cruz se representó el día 10 (de septiembre) la comedia en cinco actos titulada *La Reconciliación de los dos Hermanos* (*sic*);

[1] *Ibid.*, pág. 640. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*, pág. 641.

[4] Para hacer más completos nuestros datos añadimos las noticias bibliográficas del infatigable y malogrado Dionisio Hidalgo, noticias que llegan hasta 1866, año en que falleció, y que están publicadas en el "Diccionario General de Bibliografía Española," 7 tomos, Madrid, 1862–81. Nos referimos a esta obra al citar a "Hidalgo."

[5] Hay que enmendar la nota de Farinelli que dice "1805" (*op. cit.*, pág. 402, nota 4).

[6] Cotarelo, pág. 662. [7] *Ibid.*, pág. 670.

[8] "*Minerva o El Revisor General*" (obra periódica; Madrid, 1806), II, 129 (5/787).

[9] En alemán se llama *Die Organe des Gehirns*, 1806.

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"ha durado cuatro días y producido 11,812 rs." Cotarelo[1] no cita más que una, v.g. la del 10 de diciembre. Hacían los papeles principales la Pinta y Juan Carretero.

1808—*ibid.*, tomo VIII, se lee el 15 de enero que se representó en el Coliseo de los Caños la comedia titulada *Reconciliación de los dos Hermanos* (*sic*); "ha durado una noche y producido 1505 rs." Cotarelo no trae representación alguna para este dia.

Idem—ibid., pág. 200, se anuncia el día 20 de enero la representación de la comedia titulada *Misantropía* (*sic*); "ha durado una noche y producido 1287 rs." Tampoco de esta representación se halla noticia en Cotarelo.

Idem—ibid., pág. 292, se hace mención de la representación el 17 de febrero, en el Coliseo de la Cruz, de una comedia titulada *El Divorcio por Amor*,[2] diciendo que es "original del autor de la *Misantropía y Arrepentimiento.* Ha durado 10 días y producido 44,736 rs." Comparando estos datos con los demás representaciones del mes resulta que fué representada la comedia de Kotzebue más que cualquier otra.

Ignora Cotarelo que es comedia de Kotzebue, pues dice "*El Divorcio por amor*, comedia de Enciso, o traducida por él, fué la última novedad que el teatro de la Cruz ofreció en este año."[3] En una nota da el título del librito correspondiente, v.g. *El Divorcio por amor-Comedia en tres actos, en verso. Por D. F. E. Castrillón. Representada en el teatro de la Calle de la Cruz, el día 17 de Febrero de 1808.* En Madrid, Benito García, 1808, 4°, 31 págs. Cotarelo[4] no indica más que la noche del estreno. Los papeles principales hacían la Coleta y Juan Carretero.

Idem—ibid., tomo IX, págs. 17–24. Por consiguiente se halla en estas páginas bajo fecha del 22 de marzo una larga discusión de este drama. Se ve por la modificación de los nombres propios que vino la obra de Kotzebue a España por vía de Francia. Otro de los varios cambios es la supresión completa en la versión española—y tal vez ya en la francesa—del intentado suicidio en el Támesis. Resulta de eso que la cuestión del divorcio recibe un énfasis desproporcionado y

[1] *Op. cit.*, pág. 689.

[2] Se llama en alemán *Der Opfertod.* 1798. Véase *Theater, op. cit.*, VIII, 1–172.

[3] *Ibid.*, pág. 279. [4] *Ibid.*, pág. 690.

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queda mal fundado lo demás de la acción. Es muy natural por tanto que el crítico de la *Minerva* halle algo confuso este drama de Kotzebue. Sin embargo lo alaba al fin diciendo:

El lenguaje, es decir, el de los pensamientos o el original, no el de la traducción, es excelente: el autor manifiesta sabiduría y profundo conocimiento del corazón humano; pero en general sus personas hablan mejor que obran, habiendo mérito más de consiguiente en el diálogo que en la invención de la fábula. Parece también el autor aficionada a sacar niños a las tablas para aumentar el interés con sus tiernas e ingenuas expresiones: en *Misantropía y Arrepentimiento* hay niños y aquí también; pero debe cuidarse de que a veces no hagan más bien reir que llorar ... : estos golpes teatrales pueden gustar alguna tal cual vez; pero si se repiten, se hacen comunes y fastidiosos, descubriendo el artificio y la afectación.

Idem.—Ibid., tomo IX, pág 48, se dice que el "día 27 (de marzo) se representó la comedia titulada *El Divorcio por Amor;* ha durado dos noches y producido 5934 rs." Cotarelo[1] no trae más que la representación del 27.

1809—(4/296). En el *Diario de Madrid*, bajo fecha del 28 de enero, se halla la noticia que "en el Coliseo de la Cruz se executará la comedia titulada *El Divorcio por Amor*, traducida del francés." Al día siguiente se publica la misma noticia. Cotarelo no trae más que la del 28.[2] Si se toma en cuenta que casi nunca aparecen noticias de teatros en el *Diario de Madrid*, hay que concluir que se consideraba esta comedia de interés particular.

Idem—6 de diciembre *Misantropía y Arrepentimiento* en el Teatro de la Cruz.[3]

1810—3 de febrero *Reconciliación* en el Teatro de la Cruz.[4]

Idem—10 de mayo *Misantropía y Arrepentimiento* en el Teatro de la Cruz.[5]

La década que sigue no nos proporcionó ningunas noticias directas para nuestro estudio; sacamos las siguientes de la obra de Cotarelo.

1811—	8 de mayo	*Reconciliación.*	Teatro de la Cruz	(pág. 722)
	2 de junio	*Misantropía*	*ibid.*	(pág. 723)
	6 de agosto	*Divorcio por amor*	Príncipe	(pág. 725)
	29 de octubre	*Reconciliación*	*ibid.*	(pág. 727)
	19 de noviembre	*idem*	*ibid.*	(pág. 728)
	30 de diciembre	*idem*	*ibid.*	(pág. 729)
	14 de septiembre	*Misantropía*	Cruz	(pág. 723)

[1] *Ibid.*, pág. 691.
[2] *Ibid.*, pág. 697.
[3] *Ibid.*, pág. 708.
[4] *Ibid.*, pág. 709.
[5] *Ibid.*

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1812—21 de abril	*Reconciliación*	Príncipe	(pág. 736)
26 de septiembre	*Misantropía*	Cruz	(pág. 747)
13 de octubre	*Reconciliación*	*ibid.*	(pág. 748)
1813—17 de agosto	*Misantropía*	*ibid.*	(pág. 758)
30 de noviembre	*idem*	*ibid.*	(pág. 760)
1814—26 de enero	*Reconciliación*	*ibid.*	(pág. 761)
21 de agosto	*idim*	*ibid.*	(pág. 773)
29 de octubre	*Misantropía*	*ibid.*	(pág. 774)
1815—28 de enero	*Divorcio por amor*	*ibid.*	(pág. 775)
27, 28, 29 de octubre	*Misantropía**	*ibid.*	(pág. 788)
1816—2 de febrero (tarde)	*Misantropía*	*ibid.*	(pág. 790)
2 y 3 de febrero	*Reconciliación*	*ibid.*	(pág. 791)
4 de febrero (tarde)	*idem*	*ibid.*	(pág. 791)
18 y 19 de mayo	*idem*	*ibid.*	(pág. 803)
1 de diciembre	*Misantropía*	*ibid.*	(pág. 807)
7, 8 de diciembre	*Reconciliación*	*ibid.*	(pág. 808)
1817—10, 11 de abril	*Divorcio por amor*	*ibid.*	(pág. 817)
12 de mayo	*Reconciliación*	*ibid.*	(pág. 817)
3 de septiembre	*Divorcio por amor*	*ibid.*	(pág. 819)
1, 2 de octubre	*Misantropía*	*ibid.*	(pág. 820)
1818—6 de enero (tarde)	*idem*	*ibid.*	(pág. 822)
25 de enero	*Reconciliación*	*ibid.*	(pág. 822)
3 al 7 de mayo	*Los Moros de Granada*	*ibid.*	(pág. 832)
6 de agosto	*Reconciliación*	*ibid.*	(pág. 834)
8, 9 de agosto	*Misantropía*	*ibid.*	(pág. 834)
24, 25 de septiembre	*Los Moros de Granada*	*ibid.*	(pág. 835)
27, 28 de septiembre	*idem*	*ibid.*	(pág. 835)

* Salió la Carmona después de su enfermedad.

La comedia *Los Moros de Granada* se estrenó el 3 de mayo, haciendo la Carmona el papel principal de mujer. Dice Cotarelo en una nota[1] lo siguiente: "*Los Moros de Granada, zegríes y abencerrajes. Comedia nueva en verso en tres actos.* Biblioteca municipal 125–10. Una nota preliminar firmada por G.P., dice que el pensamiento de enviar los niños al campo del vencedor, para implorar el perdón está tomado de una pieza de Kotzebue, titulada *Los husitas de Mamburg* (*sic*), pero como todo el interés de este drama, en alemán, está en la guerra de religión, adaptó el asunto a las luchas de los moros. Los héroes, pues son chiquillos; *Niños cristianos* que imploran piedad y niño musulmán, hijo de jefe zegrí, que la concede. ... El traductor es Fedriani. Se imprimió con el título algo variado, *El poder de la inocen-*

[1] Pág. 442, nota 2.

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cia o los moros de Granada, zegríes y abencerrajes. Valencia, Gimeno, 1823, 8°."

El drama original, *Die Hussiten vor Naumburg*, también es en verso, pero tiene cinco actos; es casi el más sentimental de todos los dramas de Kotzebue.

1820—(R/21,665). Encontramos de nuevo el nombre de Kotzebue en *El Constitutional*,[1] de 6, 7 y 8 de abril donde se anuncia que: "Mañana se ejecutará en este teatro (v.g. de la Cruz) la comedia nueva en cinco actos titulada *La Corona de Laurel o la Fuerza de las Leyes* del célebre Kotzboue (*sic*)."[2] Faltan otros datos.

Idem.—Según la lista del "Censor" de la piezas dramáticas representadas desde el 5 de agosto de 1820 hasta el 13 de julio de 1822 se representaba de Kotzebue no solamente esta comedia que acabamos de citar, sino también *Misantropía y Arrepentimiento y Reconciliación o Los dos Hermanos.*[3]

Idem—(Hidalgo, IV, 169). Otra evidencia de que no había cesado de interesar al público español *La Misantropía y Arrepentimiento* es la publicación nueva, en 1820, de la traducción hecha por Dionisio Solís.

1821—(2/51,146). No sorprende por consiguiente una discusión detallada de la *M. y A.*, drama "en tres actos, de Kotzbue," publicada en *El Censor, periódico pólitico y literario*, Madrid, VIII, 348–55. La citamos en parte porque no falta importancia a este periódico:[4]

Este célebre drama merece un lugar muy distinguido entre todos los del nuevo género, conocido en la dramática moderna con el nombre de *comedia sentimental o plañidera.* Fuerza es hablar de este género, ya que a pesar de la aceptación que tiene en los teatros de todas las naciones, ha sido objeto de críticas, bien serias, bien satíricas, que han fulminado contra él personas muy distinguidas por sus conocimientos en la bella literatura. Esta especie de drama, desconocida en la antiguedad, no tiene por consiguiente nombre griego ni latino. Ya es esta una gran preocupación contra él: los antiguos no le dieron nombre, no reglas. ...

[1] Empezando con el número 309 del 13 de marzo *La Crónica literaria y científica* de Mora se llama así, pero continúa los números de ésta.

[2] No nos ha sido posible identificar esta comedia.

[3] Véase G. le Gentil, *Les Revues littéraires de l'Espagne pendant la première moitié du XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1909).

[4] Véase sobre este particular G. le Gentil, *op. cit.*, pág. 10.

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¿Porqué, pues, hemos de privar al teatro de un nuevo género que pinta la verdad, que la embellece, que proporciona escarmientos morales más seguros que la tragedia, porque están mas cercanos a nuestra condición ...? Pocos se hallan en el caso de aprovecharse de las lecciones terribles que da la infanda familia de Atreo, pero pocos serán los que no pueden aplicarse la fábula de la *Reconciliación de los dos hermanos*. ...

La Misantropía obtiene un lugar muy preferente en esta clase de composiciones, por la originalidad de la combinación dramática, y por la dificultad de hacer verosímil la catástrofe. ...

Empezando por el año de 1823 rige en España la reacción política; gran número de los escritores liberales se veía proscrito y vivía en Francia o Inglaterra.[1]

1828—Agustín Durán hace mención de Kotzebue de paso solamente refiriéndose a "las formas y modales serios y característicos del Misántropo," pero sin desaprobación.[2]

1829—(1/51,894). Se habla de la literatura y los literatos alemanes no pocas veces, pero no encontramos nada de Kotzebue hasta ahora—y¡cuán grande es el cambio de estimación—por lo menos en este caso particular! La discusión se halla en *El Correo, periódico literario y mercantil*, del 14 de enero, ocasionada por la representación de la *M. y A.*—"drama alemán de A. Kotzebue, traducido al español." Se lee allí:

... Una acción de esta especie es incomprensible, y ningún autor que tiene sentido común buscó nunca para asunto de una pieza teatral lo que no se puede comprender,

v.g. como una adúltera puede llegar a ser verdadero ángel.

... Cuando esta pieza se presentó traducida en nuestro teatro hace bastantes años produjo, si así es lícito espresarme, una especie de furor. Una multitud de representaciones consecutivas no fué poderosa a calmar la curiosidad de los espectadores: todo Madrid acudió a verla: se vertieron muchas lágrimas, y sobre todo en la cazuela, y la compañía cómica tuvo ocasión de lucrarse estraordinaria y prodigiosamente. Después ha calmado esta efervescencia de sensibilidad: la pieza no produce el mismo efecto pero siempre es de prueba para la actriz que tiene que desempeñar el carácter de la arrepentida Eulalia.

[1] Véase E. Allison Peers, "The Literary Activities of the Spanish *Emigrados*," *Modern Language Review*, XIX (1924), 315–24, 445–58.

[2] En su *Discurso*, escrito y publicado en 1828, reimpreso en las *Memorias de la Acad. Esp.*, II, 289.

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1832—(1/51,901). Tres años mas tarde, el mismo *Correo*, num. 579, del 23 de marzo, trata otra vez de nuestro autor bajo el título "Noticia sobre Mr. de Kotzebue," pero de tono diferente. Se basa probablemente en un artículo francés. Se celebran las Efeméridas de su asesinato. Se da buen bosquejo de su vida, tratando también con muchos pormenores a Carlos Sand, y se continúa asi: "Entre los muchos escritos de Mr. de Kotzebue son muy estimados el que publicó en 1792 con el título de 'Defensa de la nobleza,' ... y sobre todo su teatro, tan bien analizado y apreciado por madama de Staël en su *Alemania*,[1] y del que posee el teatro español una pequeña muestra en el drama en tres actos *Misantropía y Arrepentimiento* cuya adquisición debemos al modesto y laborioso autor de *Camila*."[2]

Otra vez vienen años en que la literatura y las bellas artes se pierden en los trastornos políticos del día; es la época que hace al escritor y poeta exclamar: "¡Desgracia de nuestro país! En unos tiempos nada de política habrá de escribirse; en otros nada como no sea política ... !"[3]

1837—(U/5390). Sin embargo no faltan empresas ambiciosas empujadas por el desarrollo de la prensa periodística de Francia y de Inglaterra. Una de estas es la *Revista Europea—miscelanea de filosofía, historia, ciencias, literaturas y bellas artes*, que trata de divulgar la vida intelectual europea entre los españoles por medio de la discusión de obras importantes de historia y de literatura aunque sea de segunda mano, sacando la materia de la *Revue des deux mondes*, *Revue de Paris*, *Foreign Quarterly Review*, etc. En el primer tomo de esta *Revista Europea* se habla de Kotzebue al dar cuenta de la "Literatura alemana," por Wolfgang Menzel.[4] Bien se sabe lo famoso que es este libro por sus ataques desmesurados contra Goethe. Menzel, el "papa literario" de aquella época, le consideraba el gran pagano voluptuoso y aristócrata egoista sin amor a la patria ni a nada. El que escribe la crítica de que hablamos está de acuerdo por lo general con las opi-

[1] Véase la segunda parte, capítulo xxv, de su libro *De l'Allemagne*.

[2] Dionisio Solís es el autor de *Camila*.

[3] En el prefacio del número I°, 1836, del *Semanario Pintoresco Español* (1/50,663).

[4] *Die deutsche Litteratur* (Zweite vermehrte Auflage). Stuttgart, 1826.

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niones de Menzel aunque difiere de lo que dice sobre Voss. Continúa como sigue:

Con más razón y justicia censura Menzel a Kotzebue. Tan infundada nos parece la gran reputación de este dramático: tan pernicioso a la literatura de su tiempo la influencia que adquirió. Sus obras introdujeron una cierta *sofistería* del corazón, una mezcla de frivolidad y sentimentalismo en que se hallan confundidas las ideas de virtud y de vicio. Sus inculpables adulteras, sus salteadores jenerosos, sus condescendientes maridos, sus incontaminadas inocentes que se entregan en los brazos del primero que pasa, sus desfloradas doncellas, tan candorosas y puras, que ignora el que ya no tienen derecho alguno a aquel título; estos y muchos otros caracteres favoritos suyos, que pueblan su galería dramática, son creaciones que repugnan a la vez al buen sentido, al buen gusto, y a toda idea de decencia. ...[1]

1838—(1/50,665). Pero si el juicio de los críticos de profesión condenaba por completo a Kotzebue, Goethe, con su visión abarcadora y la serenidad de su profundo saber, le veía relacionado con la vida y la generalidad de los hechos humanos.[2] El juicio sereno de Goethe sobre el dramatista Kotzebue se halla en lengua española en el *Semanario Pintoresco Español*, números 116 y 117, del 17 y 24 de junio respectivamente del año 1838 donde se hallan impresos "Los Consejos de Goethe a los literatos." En la segunda parte se lee:

La moda es falaz. ... Ved a Kotzebue de quien hoy se dice tanto mal; pues fué de moda en un día como Iffland, y la moda le mató. Ambos tienen sin embargo su mérito real. En su viaje por medio de la vida, miran, observan y atienden, y comprenden nuestras faltas y necesidades. El soplo de la realidad anima a sus producciones y se encuentra en ellas verdad, fuerza e interés.[3]

1839—(1/69,245). A este año pertenece lo que dice Hartzenbusch en sus "Noticias sobre la vida y escritos de D. Dionisio Solís," publicadas en la *Revista de Madrid*, de las cuales ya hemos hablado repetidas veces.

1840—(1/69,247). Se hace mención favorable de Kotzebue en esta misma *Revista de Madrid*[4] al dar cuenta, bajo el titulo "Literatura

[1] Pág. 66.

[2] El Dr. Gerhard Stenger ha publicado, en 1910, una investigación tocando las relaciones de "Goethe und Kotzebue," en el tomo XXII de los *Breslauer Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte*.

[3] En vista de una protección tan alta no debe sorprendernos que el traductor francés de la primera parte del "Faust," Gérard de Nerval, admira mucho a Kotzebue y desde 1837 "il songe à traduire et à vulgariser les œuvres principales de celui-ci," v. g. Kotzebue. Véase Aristide Marie, *Gérard de Nerval, Le Poète—L'Homme* (Paris, 1914), pág. 140.

[4] Ia época (2a serie), III, 452–72, 525–44.

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alemana," de *Kochs Compendium der deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, 2. Auflage. Después de haber tocado en todas las fases de la vida intelectual alemana desde los primeros monumentos literarios hasta fines del siglo XVIII y principios del siglo XIX, tratando al fin de Kleist, Houwald y Werner, dice el firmante, "D.G.G.,"[1] copiando evidentemente de Koch:

... Las mejores comedias de una época anterior han envejecido en su mayor parte, y las nuevas no pueden acomodarnos; de modo que Kotzebue, este poeta tantas veces censurado, y no sin razón, es todavía el único que podemos citar, y ninguno de sus sucesores nos hace esperar que sea reemplazado en mucho tiempo.

1841—(3/2922). "*El Túmulo sobre la Colina*, por Kotzebue, autor de la *Misantropía y Arrepentimiento*. Traducido del francés por U. A. Barcelona, 1841."

Trata este cuento del marido que había acusado a su esposa de infidelidad conyugal y la había echado de casa con el hijo que llevaba en sus entrañas. Vemos al marido ya muy anciano abatido y postrado al pie de la urna que contiene las cenizas de su hijito, muerto en tierna edad; está visitándola, incógnito, antes de que muera.

El tomito en que se halla este cuento pertenece a una serie de cuentos morales por el alemán Augusto Lafontaine, el canónigo Cristóbal Schmid y otros.

1843—(Hidalgo, I, 180). "*Aventuras de mi padre, o causas de mi venida a este mundo*. Novela escrita en alemán, por M. Kotzbue, traducida al español por D.A.B.C. Barcelona 1843."

1845—En la biografía de Juan Nicasio Gallego[2] se habla del esparcimiento del "*gusto alemán* que, aunque por el conducto poco puro de traducciones francesas, han propagado en el Occidente de Europa las obras de Schiller, Kotzebue, Goethe y otros, ha abierto sin duda este nuevo rumbo a las ideas y máximas literarias. ..."[3]

1854—Hacia mediados del siglo XIX llegó Kotzebue a ser juzgado históricamente, como perteneciente a *tempi passati*.[4] En una dis-

[1] Será Don Gervasio Gironella.

[2] En *Galería de españoles célebres contemporáneos* por Nicomedes Pastor Díaz (Madrid, 1845), VIII, 56, citado por Farinelli, *op. cit.*, pág. 372, nota 1.

[3] En otra reseña daremos pormenores sobre lo que entendían los españoles de aquella época bajo el *gusto alemán*.

[4] No es el caso en Alemania, pues entre el septiembre de 1905 y el agosto de 1906 se representaban allí ocho diversos dramas de Kotzebue en 39 funciones. Véase G. Stenger, *op. cit.*, págs. 173 y sig.

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cusión bastante interesante del "Romanticismo" por Gerónimo Borao en la *Revista Española de Ambos Mundos* se dice de Kotzebue:

La Chaussée elevó a sistema estos tibios mátices del futuro romanticismo, y creó la comedia lacrimosa que Diderot vino a modificar, originándose de esta suerte la tragedia popular, que es, y no la clásica, *la que corre las calles*, como dijo Ducis. ... Secuaz de la nueva escuela fué Kotzebue, y unos y otros pasaron como corruptores del buen gusto, cuando no eran sino intérpretes poco afortunados de la única tragedia posible en la época moderna.[1]

1869—(T–i/201). Es un hecho curioso que se publicaron tan tarde dos dramas de Kotzbue (*sic*), v.g. *La Sacerdotisa del Sol*[2] *y Los Españoles en el Perú o La Muerte de Rolla*,[3] ambos traducidos por Victor Vela del Camino.[4] Es de dudar, sin embargo, que se haya jamás representado el uno o el otro de estos dramas. Figuran en el tomo VII del *Teatro Selecto antiguo y moderno, nacional y extranjero*, Barcelona 1866–69, al lado de otros once dramas alemanes. Con toda probabilidad fueron traducidos con los demás del *Théatre allemand* de los *Chefs d'œuvres des théatres étrangers*, París, 1822, 25 tomos (T/4941). Por lo menos es cierto que se tradujeron estos dos dramas así: la traducción española sigue a la francesa de los *Chefs d'œuvres* cuidadosamente en cuanto es posible; sólo se equivoca en ciertos pormenores porque ignora el traductor español el texto alemán.

1873—(T/9498). La última traducción de Kotzebue que encontramos se titula "*La Mujer celosa*—Comedia en un acto. Escrita en alemán por Kotzbue (*sic*) y arreglada a la escena española por D. Gerardo de la Puente. Representada con gran aplauso en el Teatro del Circo el día 17 de abril de 1873, a beneficio de la Sra. Da. Matilde Diez. Madrid 1873."

Al parecer es un *labor of love* aunque no sea dirigido a Kotzebue, pues lleva esta dedicación: "A la eminente actriz Doña Matilde Diez.—Permítame U. que la dedique mi humilde trabajo en testimonio de admiración y reconocimiento. (firma:) Gerardo de la Puente. Boston, 27 de marzo de 1873."

[1] II, 802 (1/46,923–26).

[2] En alemán se llama *Die Sonnenjungfrau*, 1791.

[3] En alemán *Die Spanier in Peru oder Rollas Tod*, 1797.

[4] Debe enmendarse lo que dice Farinelli, *op. cit.*, pág. 402, v.g. "Zu verwundern ist, dass Kotzebues Stück 'Die Spanier in Peru oder Rollas Tod,' ... , keine Bearbeitung für die spanische Bühne fand."

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Aunque está fechada en Boston, se imprimió en Madrid, por la "Administración Lírico-dramática" que publicó muchísimas piezas teatrales.

La comedia alemana tiene dos actos; de la Puente la condensó, la "arregló" y dió nombres españoles a las personas.

No podemos todavía, por falta de materiales, trazar y establecer las influencias de Kotzebue, sean literarias, sean político-sociales: nos ha de bastar por lo tanto establecer datos cronológicos e históricos.

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THE CONDITION OF THE LONDON THEATERS, 1679–83: A REFLECTION OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION

The importance of political plays on the Restoration stage has been recognized,[1] but no one has pointed out in detail just how politics affected the theaters. Allardyce Nicoll says:

> The year 1680 introduces us to a new set of complications. It was a year of political unrest, and this was at once reflected in the theatre by the banning of a number of plays. This, added to the losses of the house [the Theatre Royal], made a union of the two patents [Killigrew's and D'Avenant's] not only desirable but necessary.[2]

A survey of all the conditions leading to the union would, of course, include a history of the companies, and would emphasize the misfortunes of the King's Company.[3] In this study I shall show in some detail how from 1679 to 1683 the theaters of London were affected by political interests.

At the outset it is advisable to note the political and popular reactions to the Popish Plot. In August, 1678, Oates and Tongue first revealed a so-called "Catholic plot" against the English church and state. Their main assertion was that the Jesuits were plotting to murder the King and to restore Roman Catholicism in England. The Duke of York, Catholic heir to the throne, was involved. The informers were examined before the Privy Council, which ordered that the persons accused be arrested and their papers seized. The disclosures in the letters of Coleman, private secretary to the Duchess of York, of a design to re-establish popery in England, and the murder of

[1] Allardyce Nicoll, "Political Plays of the Restoration," *Modern Language Review*, XVI (1921), 224–42; and my dissertation, *Political Satire on the London Stage, 1675–1690* (Library of the University of Chicago).

[2] *A History of Restoration Drama, 1660–1700* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 296. H. B. Baker vaguely remarks: "Whether it was that the great religious and political issues, which then and for many years afterwards engrossed the public mind, left little room there for such diversions, or whether it proceeded from an apathy for things theatrical, a reaction from the eagerness with which they had been enjoyed at the Restoration, it would be useless to discuss, but for some time previously there had been a great falling off in public patronage" (*London Stage* [London, 1889], I, 57–58).

[3] On this subject, see A. Nicoll, *A History of Restoration Drama*, pp. 281 ff.

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Godfrey, before whom Oats had made his depositions, were followed by panic. Rushing to the defense of Protestantism, the Opposition in Parliament investigated the plot, excluded Catholics from Parliament, secured royal proclamations against papists and for public fasts, urged the exclusion of the Duke of York, and in 1680 adopted a Protestant Bill of Association which was designed to exclude from office anyone not a member of the Association and, on the death of the King, to provide for the maintenance of martial law.[1]

The Opposition in Parliament represented the temper and anxiety of the people. The fear of popery was universal. From Whitehall, on November 13, 1678, Sir Henry Coventry writes: "I believe no time has seen an alarm so universal in the nation as it is at this present."[2] Sir Robert Southwell declares that the kingdom is "inflamed with the terror of a Plot."[3] Later, Coventry writes: "The people being so affrighted and incensed at this plot that there is hardly patience anywhere to hear the least defence in the behalf of anybody when accused."[4] He sees no hope: "I wish as well as anybody and will endeavor as far as my body and understanding will second me, to preserve all from ruin; but I must with great grief say my hope bears no proportion to my wishes. But this is certain, that, without any invasion from abroad or any insurrection at home, a greater confusion was never seen in any nation."[5] Sir Robert Clayton, lord mayor elect of London, in his speech at the Guildhall, on September 29, 1679, warns his audience against the "Damnable Plots and Contrivances" of the Church of Rome, which threaten "no less then Utter Ruine . . . . to the whole Protestant Interest." Meanwhile, broadsides in verse, reminding the people of the "Powder-Treason," of Pius' bull against Elizabeth, of Godfrey's death, added fuel to the flames.[6] Annually, on November 17, the anniversary of Elizabeth's succession,

[1] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Eleventh Report*, Appendix, Part II, *The Manuscripts of the House of Lords, 1678–1688* (London, 1887), pp. 210–11; *Calendar of State Papers*, "Domestic Series 1678" (London, 1913), pp. 425–26, 431–32, 580; *London Gazette* (October 31–November 4, 1678, etc.); John Pollock, *The Popish Plot: A Study in the History of the Reign of Charles II* (London, 1903).

[2] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde* (N.S.; London, 1906), IV, 233.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 480.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 245. The date is November 26, 1678.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 276.

[6] *Poetical Broadsides*, British Museum, C. 20. f. 2.

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the citizens of London assisted at an extraordinary triumph in which the Pope was "burnt in solemn manner."[1] The state of anxiety and panic was not, of course, constant. At times there was no news, the coffee-houses languished, the town was silent.[2] But the news of a plot in Ireland, the report of the King's illness, the rumor of the King's marriage to the Duke of Monmouth's mother, the election of sheriffs, the trial of Shaftesbury—these reports and events wrought London up to a high pitch of excitement.[3]

Such was the state of politics and the public mind in the years immediately after the discovery of the Popish Plot. It is evident that for the theaters such distractions, such abnormal conditions, must have created serious problems.

The extraordinary interest in politics was evidenced in the theaters, first, by indifference to plays; and, second, by official and party opposition to plays that from a partisan point of view were undesirable. This division does not indicate two quite distinct periods, for it appears that public indifference was not wholly replaced by partisan support. Roughly, there was, however, a time of public indifference to the theaters and then one of political activity in the theaters. As I shall show, the theaters suffered from official interference and partisan audiences no less than from public apathy.

Soon after the discovery of the plot, the dramatists complained that they had fallen upon evil days, and often pointed to the prevailing interest in politics as the reason that theaters were not properly supported. In the dedication of *The Kind Keeper; or, Mr. Limberham* (1680), Dryden says: "I cannot easily excuse the printing of a play at so unseasonable a time, when the great plot of the nation, like one of Pharaoh's lean kine, has devoured its younger brethren of the stage."[4] Again, in 1680, Dryden declares that the public cares for nothing but news, the exchange of which has become a theater "of vast resort,"

[1] These pageants are described in Dryden's Prologue to Southerne's *The Loyal Brother;* in F. C. Brown, *Elkanah Settle: His Life and Works* (Chicago, 1910), pp. 61–63; in *Roxburghe Ballads*, II, No. 292; in *The True Domestick Intelligence* (November 21, 1679); in *The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence* (November 19, 1681).

[2] "Some Unpublished Letters of Gilbert Burnet, the Historian" (ed. H. C. Foxcroft), *Camden Miscellany*, XI, 16–17. The date is 1680.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 20, 25, 28; *Calendar of State Papers*, "Domestic Series, 1680–1681," pp. 320–22, 328, 330, 332. At Oxford also, as well as in other places, excitement was intense, and there was talk of war (*Letters of Humphrey Prideaux . . . . to John Ellis . . . . , 1674–1722* [ed. E. M. Thompson; Camden Society, 1875], pp. 90–91, 101, 104).

[4] *The Works of John Dryden* (ed. Scott and Saintsbury), VI, 5.

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where villains provide entertainment.[1] In a "Prologue to the University of Oxford" Dryden complains that

> Discords and plots, which have undone our age,
> With the same ruin have o'erwhelmed the stage.[2]

Vividly descriptive of the hard estate of poets and actors are the following lines from Dryden's Epilogue to Banks's *The Unhappy Favourite; or, The Earl of Essex* (1681):

> We act by fits and starts, like drowning men,
> But just peep up, and then drop down again.
> Let those who call us wicked change their sense,
> For never men lived more on providence.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> So wretched, that, if Pharaoh could divine,
> He might have spared his dream of seven lean kine,[3]
> And changed his vision for the Muses nine.

Dryden's evidence is corroborated by that of other dramatists. In the dedication of *A True Widow* (1679) Shadwell mentions "the calamity of the time, which made people not care for diversions" as one reason for the failure of the play.[4] Again in 1679 Shadwell indicates that things are quite hopeless: the "Citt" with his wife and son now shuns the play; each fop has become a politician; even "idle youth" have deserted the theater.[5] It is no time for plays, declares Crowne, now that "the nation in a tempest rowles"; and he adds that the playhouse has "fallen to the ground." Ladies may spare their journeys to Hyde Park, for "our empty play-house has enough fresh air."[6] In the Prologue to *Henry the Sixth, The First Part* (1681), Crowne exclaims, "Play-houses like forsaken barns are grown." Mrs. Behn agrees with Dryden that the stage has been ruined by the

[1] Prologue to Lee's *Caesar Borgia* (*The Poetical Works of John Dryden* [ed. W. D. Christie; London, 1911], pp. 441–42.)

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 450. Christie thinks the date of this Prologue is 1681 (*ibid.*, n. 1); but from the lines describing the rebels who have gone to Scotland the correct date would seem to be 1682, after the union of the companies (see A. Nicoll, *A History of Restoration Drama*, p. 297).

[3] *The Poetical Works of John Dryden* (ed. Christie), p. 452. In the Prologue to Tate's *The Loyal General* (1679), Dryden makes libels and factious speeches partly responsible for the neglect of serious plays (*ibid.*, pp. 443–44). See also Dryden's Prologue to Shadwell's *A True Widow* (1679).

[4] *Thomas Shadwell* (ed G. Saintsbury; London, n.d.), p. 230.

[5] Prologue to *The Woman-Captain* (*The Works of Thomas Shadwell* [London, 1720], Vol. III).

[6] See the Prologue and the Epilogue to *The Ambitious Statesman* (*The Dramatic Works of John Crowne* [Edinburgh, 1873], III, 148, 241).

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"plotting Age." So busy is the "fearful Town" that "our honest calling here is useless grown."[1] The Epilogue to Mrs. Behn's *The Rover; or, The Banish'd Cavaliers*, Part II (1680), is especially interesting. So slowly is the "scanted Tribute" paid that "our Poets must find out another trade." All efforts to please the "Clan," all flattery of the "Mutineers," even "fat Cardinals, Pope Joans and Fryers" fail "except the Author be for Commonwealth." Clearly, the theaters were not prosperous. So dark at times was the outlook that the dramatists feared ruin. If the Presbyterians regained control, preaching would be substituted for plays, and the actors might have leave to depart in their first "original, a cart."

In these statements, one must, to be sure, make some allowance for exaggeration. The dramatists may have magnified the evils that they might the more bitterly assail the party which was held responsible for the disorder. It is true, moreover, that the theaters were not deserted. Some plays were successful.[2] The evidence previously cited shows, however, that on account of political agitation the theaters were not on the whole prosperous. It is noteworthy that the cry of hard times is voiced by the loyal dramatists, such as Dryden and Mrs. Behn, and that the complaints begin in 1679 and are repeated in the following three years. The next problem that the theaters faced grew out of their attempts to attract the public by means of political plays. In dealing with political subjects the dramatists inevitably took sides. The result was partisan and, in the case of some Whig plays, official opposition. Official interference caused the delay, alteration, or prohibition of objectionable plays.

In 1680, Lee's *Lucius Junius Brutus: Father of his Country* and Tate's *The History of King Richard the Second* were prohibited. Crowne's *Henry the Sixth, The First Part* was banned in 1681.[3] To

[1] Prologue to *The Feign'd Curtezans; or, A Night's Intrigue* (1679), in *The Works of Aphra Behn* (ed. Montague Summers), II, 307.

[2] Settle's *Female Prelate* (1680) was unusually popular (F. C. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Falkland's Prologue to Otway's *The Souldiers Fortune*); Dryden's *The Spanish Fryar* (1680) "produced vast Profit to the Company" (Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus* [London, 1886], p. 37); *Oedipus* (1679), by Dryden and Lee, "took prodigiously, being Acted 10 days together" (*ibid.*); Otway's *The Orphan* (1680) and *Venice Preserv'd* (1682) were extremely well liked (*ibid.*, p. 36); Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches* (1681) was very "beneficial to the Poet and the Actors" (*ibid.*, pp. 38–39).

[3] On the reported silencing of *The Maid's Tragedy* and on Waller's alteration of this play see A. C. Sprague, *Beaumont and Fletcher on the Restoration Stage* (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 58–63, 178–86.

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Lucius Junius Brutus the government objected because it contained "very Scandalous Expressions & Reflections upon the Government."[1] Brutus, the hero, is the champion of justice and the commonwealth. In glowing phrases, he depicts a government where every man is free, where peace prevails, where nobles and princes are respected and the gods adored. Moreover, the lines on Tarquin's immorality were doubtless interpreted as a reflection upon Charles II.[2] It is worthy of note that priests, who are leagued with the rebels for the overthrow of the commonwealth, are the object of some of Brutus' most violent denunciation.[3] For these reasons the play was very properly regarded as anti-royalist and was almost immediately silenced.[4]

Three days after *Lucius Junius Brutus* was banned Tate's *The History of King Richard the Second* suffered the same fate.[5] According to Tate's "Prefatory Epistle in Vindication of the Author," "a positive Doom of Suppression without Examination" was all that he could obtain. To be acted at all, it had been necessary to change the scenes, the names of the characters, and the title.[6] Tate takes great pains to defend himself from the suspicion of having written a "Disloyal or Reflecting Play. He protests that he had "as little design of Satyr on present Transactions, as Shakespear himself that wrote this Story before this Age began." His professions of innocence are not altogether convincing. The play must have been understood as suggesting a parallel with the court and government of Charles II, if not with the King himself.[7]

[1] Nicoll, *A History of Restoration Drama*, p. 10.

[2] Act I, p. 3, and the *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXXII (1892), 365.

[3] Act IV, p. 51.

[4] According to Cibber, it was "silenced after the third Day of acting it" (*An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber* [London, 1740], p. 283); according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, it was prohibited on the third night (XXXII, 365). The fact, however, seems to be that it was acted for six days and then prohibited, as the following entry in *The Term Catalogues* (ed. Arber), I, 451, shows: "*Lucius Junius Brutus*, Father of his Country. A Tragedy, acted at the Duke's Theatre for six days; but then prohibited. Written by N. Lee. Quarto. Price 1s."

[5] A. Nicoll, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[6] It was acted under the name of the *Sicilian Usurper*. See the title and the "Prefatory Epistle" in the 1681 edition.

[7] At the trial of Shaftesbury in 1681, it was charged that the Earl had said that the King deserved as much to be deposed as had Richard II (*An Account at Large, of the Proceedings at The Sessions-House In the Old Bayly, on the 24 of November 1681. In Relation to the Bill of High Treason, prefer'd against the Earl of Shaftesbury*, British Museum, 515. 1. 2. (55).

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Crowne's *Henry the Sixth, The First Part* was the only play prohibited in 1681. In the dedication of *The Spanish Friar* (1690) Crowne says:

> My aversions to some things I saw there at the court acted by great men, carried me against my Interest, to expose Popery and Popish Courts in a Tragedy of Mine, call'd The Murder of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, which pleas'd the best Men of England, but displeas'd the worst; for e're it liv'd long, it was stifled by Command.

In the Cardinal's conspiracy to murder Glocester and in his justification of that murder are found Crowne's most significant contributions. Here is that "Vinegar against the Pope" which caused the prohibition.[1]

In this connection, two other plays are of interest. *Rome's Follies, Or the Amorous Fryars,* a farce, which according to the title-page "was lately Acted at a Person of Qualitie's House," and printed in 1681, was not presented at the public theaters. The Dedication, to Shaftesbury and Howard, explains why it had only a private hearing: "the Subject being not a little Satyrical against the Romanists, would very much hinder its taking." The Dedication also shows that Lee's *Caesar Borgia; Son of Pope Alexander The Sixth* had difficulty with the censor; it "would be far more difficult to get *Rome's Follies* play'd than *Caesar Borgia* was." The Epilogue to *Caesar Borgia* indicates that the play had met objection, probably official.[2]

Anti-Catholic and anti-royalist plays were not the only ones to give offense. *The Duke of Guise,* in which Dryden and Lee collaborated, was intensely loyal but was for some time delayed. Upon a

[1] The *Biographia Dramatica* (London, 1782), II, 151, remarks: "This play was at first represented with applause; but at length the Romish faction opposed it, and by their interest at court got it suppressed." Cf. Langabine, *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* . . . . (Oxford, 1691), p. 96.

[2] The lines in question read:

> "Well, then be you his Judges; what pretence
> Made them roar out, this Play would give offence?
> Had he the Pope's Effigies meant to burn
>
> More could not have been said, nor more have been done,
> To damn this Play about the Court and Town."

The date of production is not certain. The play was published in November, 1679 (*The Term Catalogues* [ed. Arber], I, 370). If the epilogue to *Caesar Borgia* is to be credited, the performance followed that of the *Female Prelate,* which was first acted about September, 1680 (A. Nicoll, *op. cit.,* p. 372). Lee's *The Massacre of Paris* was probably written soon after the discovery of the plot (*Some Reflections Upon the Pretended Parallel in the Play Called The Duke of Guise* (1683), p. 2, and Dryden's *The Vindication of the Duke of Guise* (*The Works of John Dryden* [ed. Scott and Saintsbury], VII, 200–201), but it was not acted until 1690.

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rumor that some "great persons were represented" in it, the Lord Chamberlain ordered the play brought before him. About two months later it was returned without allowance. Finally, after a long and severe examination, and when the "play itself was almost forgotten," it was licensed.[1] Such were the difficulties of a loyal play. The fortunes of dramatists were indeed peculiarly trying.

As an illustration of censorship, Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches, And Tegue O Divelly The Irish Priest* (1681) is especially interesting. According to Shadwell, the Master of the Revels at first licensed the play with little alteration, but upon a report "that it was full of dangerous Reflections" he cut out large portions. The parts stricken out are chiefly those in which Smerk, chaplain of Sir Edward Hartfort, appears.[2] In addition, the censor struck out two short statements by Tegue, and a remark made by Sir Edward Hartfort. These excisions removed most of the satire upon the Church of England and all censure of the government. The greater part of Tegue's rôle was kept. In fact, the result of the cutting is that the Irish priest becomes the leading character.

To sum up, the censorship in 1680 and 1681 was very rigid. Only in satire on Catholics was some measure of freedom allowed, and even on this subject restrictions were imposed in 1681. If Catholic plays are excluded from consideration, it is clear that the censorship kept from the stage all or nearly all plays offensive to the court. There can be no doubt that these restrictions were embarrassing to the playwrights and to the theaters. From the official attitude I turn now to note the public reception of political plays.

In reviewing the reception of political plays, one may consider first those written for the Whigs and not prohibited. Only two are to be discussed: Settle's *Female Prelate* and Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches*. In the Dedication of his play, Settle implied that by affronting "so numerous a Party that are so powerful a Support of the Stage" he had no regard for his own interest. But, so far as is known, there was no opposition to the play, a melodramatic invective against the papacy. In fact, the *Female Prelate* was enthusiastically welcomed.

[1] *The Works of John Dryden* (ed. Scott and Saintsbury), VII, 147 ff.

[2] In the 1720 edition, the expunged parts are italicized. The following list shows the extent of the cutting: Act I, pp. 223–27; Act II, pp. 241–44; Act III, pp. 267–69; Act IV, pp. 287–88.

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Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches* was less fortunate. A month before this play was acted, says Shadwell, great opposition was designed against it "by a Party, who . . . . pretended that I had written a Satyr upon the Church of England." His enemies came "with the greatest Malice in the World to hiss It, and many that call'd themselves Protestants, joyn'd with them in that noble Enterprise." They were resolved to hiss it and "had gotten mercenary Fellows, who were such Fools, that they did not know when to hiss; and this was evident to all the Audience. It was wonderful to see Men of Quality, and Gentlemen, in so mean a Combination." Shadwell's enemies did not win a victory. Shadwell writes: "But, to my great Satisfaction, they came off as meanly as I could wish. I had so numerous an Assembly of the best sort of Men, who stood so generously in my Defense, for the three first Days, that they quash'd all the vain Attempts of my Enemies; the inconsiderable Party of Hissers yielded; and the Play liv'd in spite of them."[1] Describing successful plays, D'Urfey, in the following lines, evidently refers to *The Lancashire Witches:* "If his Play consists of a Witch, a Devil, or a Broomstick, so he have but a Priest at one end of the Play, and a Faction at 'tother end of the Pit, it shall be fam'd for an excellent piece."[2] Downes records the unexpected success of the play, though he attributes the success to the staging, the "Diverting Contrivances," and the good acting.[3] At any rate, it is clear that at first the play held the stage by the support of the "best sort of Men, who stood so generously" in Shadwell's defense.[4]

From the Tory point of view, the general situation is pointed out in Mrs. Behn's Dedication of *The Roundheads; or, The Good Old Cause* (1681): "To a new Play with a Loyal Title . . . . the sober and the tender conscienc'd throng as to a forbidden Conventicle, fearing the Cub of their old Bear of Reformation should be expos'd, to the scorn of the wicked." Their pious design is to "Hiss and Rail it as much out of countenance as they would Monarchy, Religion, Laws,

[1] From the Address "To the Reader," *The Works of Thomas Shadwell* (London, 1720), III, 215 ff.

[2] From the Dedication of *Sir Barnaby Whigg* (1681).

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 38–39.

[4] Cf. Gerard Langbaine, *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* . . . . (Oxford, 1691), p. 447, and *Biographia Dramatica*, II, 184.

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and Honesty."[1] Mrs. Behn's account of the reception of her play, *The Roundheads*, is somewhat contradictory. It was, she declares, "carried in the House *nemine contra dicente*, by the Royal Party." But later she says that it has "drawn down Legions upon its head, for its Loyalty."[2] It is safe to conclude that *The Roundheads* encountered, as it certainly invited, strong opposition. Just as stormy seems to have been the reception of D'Urfey's *Sir Barnaby Whigg* (1681). This play, writes D'Urfey, "had the Honour to please one party; and I am only glad, that the St. Georges of Eighty-one got a victory over the old hissing Dragons of Forty-two."[3] There is a note of envy at the strong support accorded a political rival, and, in the Prologue, recognition of the fact that "in this Age 'tis not a Poets Merit, but his Party that must do his business."[4]

D'Urfey's next play, *The Royalist* (1682), was more successful. The Prologue expresses surprise at a full house to see a loyal play. On the other hand, in the Preface the author exclaims: "In this corrupted Age when Loyalty and Honesty are as frozen as Charity .... who can expect this Play, though written upon an excellent and never to be forgotten Theam, should meet a favourable Reception." There is no evidence that Whigs interfered with the acting of *The Royalist*. If the author's word may be accepted, Mrs. Behn's *The City Heiress; or, Sir Timothy Treat-all* (1682) was "well received in the Town."[5] It is, as the author proudly asserts, "in every part true Tory! Loyal all-over." These two Tory plays were relatively successful. It seems strange that they should have encountered no opposition, and one may be justified in supposing that there were hostile demonstrations, of which no record was kept. Concerning *The Duke of Guise*, on the other hand, we are not driven to conjecture. On account of the satire directed at the citizens and the sheriffs of London, the Whig leaders,

[1] *The Works of Aphra Behn* (ed. Summers), I, 337.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 337–38.

[3] From the Dedication to the Earl of Berkeley.

[4] How long, asks D'Urfey,

> ". . . . must our unhappy Stage
> Groan for the follies of this plotting Age:
> . . . . . .
> When shall we see an audience in the Pit,
> Not sway'd by Factions, that will silent sit,
> And friends to th' Poet, calmly judge his Wit?"

[5] From the "Dedicatory Epistle," *The Works of Aphra Behn* (ed. Montague Summers), II, 200. Summers declares that the play "had a tremendous ovation" (*op. cit.*, II, 198). On what authority? Downes states that it lived "but a short time" (*op. cit.*, p. 37).

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the Nonconformists, Parliament, and the Duke of Monmouth, this play met very strong opposition. Dryden writes: "It was persecuted with so notorious malice by one side, that it procured us the partiality of the other; so that the favors more than recompensed the prejudice."[1] It "was almost made a martyr for the royal cause." The enemies of the play "forbore not some rudeness in his Majesty's presence; but when his Royal Highness and his court were only there, they pushed it as far as their malice had power."[2] But the play was saved "by the indulgence of our good and faithful subjects."

The stormy and dubious reception of *The Duke of Guise* may be regarded as typical of the trials to which political plays were subjected. When it was acted, in 1682, the court, through the attack upon the charter of London, the prosecution of the sheriffs, the return of the Duke of York, the presentation of addresses of loyalty, was well on the road to triumph. Naturally, the Tories enjoyed a monopoly of political plays.[3] Even at this stage, however, the Whigs had to be reckoned with in the theaters. They could not be flouted with impunity. The loyal dramatist had to pay the penalty of his partisanship.[4]

The thesis that the theaters from 1679 to 1683 were on the whole injured by political agitation is fairly established. The interest in the plot was at first so intense as to distract attention from the theaters, which accordingly suffered from neglect. To attract the public, the dramatists offered political and partisan plays. The Opposition was not, however, allowed free expression on the stage. With the exception of some Catholic satire, Whig plays were altered so as to be nearly harmless or were prohibited.[5] But Tory plays abounded. The almost unparalleled political animosity of the time naturally found

[1] From the Dedication to the Earl of Rochester, *The Works of John Dryden* (ed. Scott and Saintsbury), VII, 13.

[2] *The Works of John Dryden* (ed. Scott and Saintsbury), VII, 173, and see pp. 216–17.

[3] No new Whig plays were acted in 1682. F. C. Brown's assertion (*op. cit.*, p. 23) that "The Whigs must have been favorable to the play [*The Heir of Morocco*] on account of its ridicule of the Tories" is clearly incorrect. This play contains no ridicule of the Tories.

[4] The desire of some dramatists that plays should not meddle with politics and that political divisions should cease is significant. See the Prologue to *Sir Barnaby Whigg* and the Prologue to Banks's *Vertue Betray'd; or Anna Bullen.*

[5] It should be noted that after *The Lancashire Witches* (1681) Shadwell's next play was *The Squire of Alsatia*, acted in May, 1688. Dryden reports Shadwell as saying, "By G—, my lord, those Tory rogues will act none of my plays" (*The Works of John Dryden*, VII, 200). See also Shadwell's Prologue to *Bury Fair* (1689).

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vent at the production of Tory plays. The theaters became battlegrounds. Though under these circumstances attendance may for some time have been stimulated, one would scarcely urge that such support was wholesome or that the drama could thrive in such an atmosphere. In the years covered by this study, the contrary seems to have been true. While partisan zeal in the audience and on the stage flourished, the stage declined. Political distractions and the participation of the theater in politics seem, therefore, to explain in large measure the financial straits in which the playhouses were involved and which made the union of the companies necessary. Support of the theater, relatively small and limited to a rather definite social class as it was after the Restoration, was by political interests and rivalries so restricted that, in 1682, and for several years thereafter, the desire for the regular drama could be met by one, somewhat enlarged, company.

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TWO WORDSWORTHIAN CHAPBOOKS

One at least of Wordsworth's *Lyrical Ballads*, "We are Seven," possessed enough folk-quality to win contemporary publication in a form designed for just such humble readers as the poet would have esteemed. Wordsworthian bibliographers, however, have apparently overlooked the two chapbook versions of this poem which recently I acquired from a York bookseller, along with the tales of "Old Dame Trot and her Comical Cat," "The Babes in the Wood," "Blue Beard," and other popular favorites issued from the presses of north-of-England printers.

One of these chapbooks, measuring 2½ by 3¾ inches (the same size as Rusher's famous Banbury chapbooks of approximately the same date), is stitched into a yellow paper cover, sixteen pages in all. The front cover is adorned with a scroll bearing the legend "Kendrew's Edition," and below, "of We are Seven." The title-page reads: "The little Maid and Gentleman, or, We are seven. Embellished with Engravings. York: Printed by J. Kendrew, 23 Colliersgate." The opposite page, headed "Frontispiece," bears a woodcut of a man and woman in conventional walking costume of the beginning of the nineteenth century, the man carrying a stick. Below it is a stanza from Isaac Watts:

> Whene'er I take my walks abroad,
> How many poor I see!
> What shall I render to my God
> For all his gifts to me?

Though remote from the spirit of Wordsworth's ballad, this was presumably as near appropriateness as Kendrew's stock of oft-used cuts could come. On the back cover an eager swain grasps the hand of a not indifferent milkmaid. Within are ten embellishing illustrations, most of them more appropriate to other contexts. Comparison of this with other chapbooks in Kendrew's series shows that two of these woodcuts were used also in "The History of Whittington and his Cat"; three, in "The Entertaining Story of Little Red Riding Hood"; one, in "The History of Little Tom Tucker"; one, in "The Elegy on the

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Death and Burial of Cock Robin." The ones remaining doubtless adorn other little books of Kendrew's which have not come to my hand.[1] The incongruity of these woodcuts in general illustrates the well-known practice among printers of chapbooks of using over and over the same stock of woodblocks, often obtained by provincial printers from London.

Kendrew, the printer of this little book, flourished in York at the beginning of the nineteenth century at his shop in Colliersgate.[2] He announced a long list of penny books, including not merely such familiar ones as have been mentioned, but also moral works of more recent vintage; for example, "Mrs. Lovechild's Golden Present for all Good Little Boys and Girls" (by Lady Fenn), previously published by Newbery,[3] who died in 1780. A number of other items likewise are borrowed from Newbery's list, e.g., "Silver Penny," "Giles Gingerbread," "Hermit of the Forest," "New Year's Gift," "The Foundling," and "Robinson Crusoe."[4]

My other chapbook is larger, measuring 3⅛ by 5⅛ inches, the same size as the half-penny books by W. Davison, of Alnwick, another north-of-England printer, one of Bewick's early patrons.[5] It is merely folded, not stitched. This chapbook unfortunately bears no printer's name. The first page is entitled "We are Seven"; below is a cut of two gentlemen in knee breeches and a lady in simple gown of possibly slightly later date than that of the promenading lady in Kendrew's frontispiece; then follows the first stanza of the poem. Of the eight

[1] The kindness of Professor G. L. Kittredge has discovered for me other chapbooks in Kendrew's series containing cuts used in "We are Seven," sometimes in the context for which they were, apparently, first designed; as in the case of the cut showing two coffins guarded by two mourners ("We are Seven," p. 8) which illustrates a poem, "The Dead Twins," at the end of *The Cries of London*.

[2] Edwin Pearson, *Banbury Chapbooks and Nursery Toy Book Literature* (London, 1890), p. 45.

[3] Charles Welsh, *A Bookseller of the Last Century* (London and New York, 1885), p. 218.

[4] See "A List of Books Published by the Newberys, 1740–1800" (Welsh, *op. cit.*, Appendix II). Welsh says of "The Foundling," one of the items on Kendrew's list: "An edition was published in York about 1826, 32mo, 31 pp., by J. Kendrew, Colliersgate. . . . . It is a much abbreviated edition" (*ibid.*, p. 225).

[5] Thomas Hugo, *The Bewick Collector* (London, 1866), pp. 97–111. While reading the proof of this article in the British Museum, I discovered a copy of this chapbook bound with five chapbooks bearing the imprint, "Alnwick: Published by W. Davidson." The volume is described in the catalogue as "Alnwick, 1840?" I note, however, that the "We are Seven" chapbook, lacking an imprint, differs from the others also in its clearer type, and in the quality of its woodcuts, though in other respects it resembles them.

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pages, seven contain stanzas of the poem and a picture. The last page, surrounded by a border, bears the picture of a fat bird and a poem, "To a Robin Redbreast," beginning:

> Welcome, pretty, harmless creature,
> From the cold and blasting wind;
> Here each night thy tender nature
> Safety, warmth, and rest shall find.

The illustrations have the same tenuous connection with the text as have Kendrew's: a ship under full sail, a Norman church, two praying children before what may be an altar, a milkmaid with her cow.

Both chapbooks are based on a version of the poem printed before the revisions of Wordsworth's volume of 1815; Kendrew's is somewhat the better, particularly in punctuation. The opening line of the poem as originally printed in 1798, and in succeeding editions until 1815, reads: "A simple child dear brother Jim." This is the form in Kendrew's version. But the other version is altered (was it with the hope of bettering Coleridge's flippant suggestion?)[1] and reads: "A simple Child, dear brother Tim."

Other important variations are as follows:

Stanza 3, line 3:
ORIGINAL: Her eyes were fair, and very fair
KENDREW: [Like original]
OTHER: Her face was fair, etc.

Stanza 10, line 4:
ORIGINAL: And they are side by side
KENDREW: And they lay side by side
OTHER: [Like original]

Stanza 11, line 4:
ORIGINAL: I sit and sing to them
KENDREW: [Like original]
OTHER: I sit and talk to them

Stanza 13, line 2:
ORIGINAL: In bed she moaning lay
KENDREW: In bed she mourning lay
OTHER: [Like original]

Stanza 15, line 2:
ORIGINAL: If they two are in heaven
KENDREW: If there are two in heaven
OTHER: [Like original]

[1] See Wordsworth's notes on the composition of this poem.

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The nature of these variations indicates, I think, that the two chapbooks were printed independently of each other, but both from the poem in its original form.[1]

Laying aside these crude and tattered booklets, I turn to that Preface of Wordsworth's in the second edition of the *Lyrical Ballads* wherein he beseeches his reader to judge the poems "by his own feelings genuinely, and not by reflection upon what will probably be the judgment of others." Surely these two chapbook versions of "We are Seven" and their untutored readers seem the justification of the poet's theories. The taste of such lowly readers, he might have argued, unspoiled by conventional education and the critics, responded quickly to poetry which chose its "subjects from common life," its diction from "the real language of men."[2]

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[1] The only one of these passages in which the poet's final form is different from the original is the third, which finally reads: "And sing a song to them."

[2] After this article was in press Miss Helen Darbishire, of Somerville College, Oxford, called my attention to a letter of Wordsworth's to Frances Wrangham, dated Grasmere, June 5, 1808. The significant passage reads as follows: "I find, among the people I am speaking of, half-penny ballads, and penny and two-penny histories, in great abundance; these are often bought as charitable tributes to the poor persons who hawk them about (and it is the best way of procuring them). They are frequently stitched together in tolerably thick volumes, and such I have read; some of the contents, though not often religious, very good; other objectionable, either for the superstition in them (such as prophecies, fortune-telling, etc.) or more frequently indecency. I have so much felt the influence of these straggling papers, that I have many a time wished that I had talents to produce songs, poems, and little histories, that might circulate among other good things in this way, supplanting partly the bad; flowers and useful herbs to take the place of the weeds. Indeed some of the poems which I have published were composed, not without a hope that at some time or other they might answer this purpose" (*Letters of the Wordsworth Family from 1787 to 1855. Collected and edited by Wm. Knight*[Boston and London, 1907], I, 362–63).

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ON RECENT WORK IN GENERAL LINGUISTICS

I. THE UNDERLYING METHOD

The nineteenth century, beside establishing a scientific method for the study of linguistic change, produced also a few treatises which attempted to define the place of language in the universe.[1] At the opening of the present century stands Wundt's great work; it is followed by lesser ones at more and more frequent intervals, until, in the present decade, the average rises to more than one a year.[2]

Linguists are today agreed upon the essentials of their method;

[1] W. von Humboldt, *Ueber die Kawisprache*, Berlin Abh., 1836–40; the general linguistic part re-edited, with full comment, by A. F. Pott, Berlin, 1876.

H. H. Steinthal, *Charakteristik der hauptsächlichsten Typen des Sprachbaues*, Berlin 1860; re-edited by F. Misteli, Berlin, 1893; *Einleitung in die Psychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, Berlin, 1871; 2d ed., 1881.

M. Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, London, 1861.

W. D. Whitney, *Language and the Study of Language*, New York, 1867; *The Life and Growth of Language*, New York, 1875.

F. Müller, *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, Wien, 1876 ff.

A. Hovelacque, *La linguistique*, Paris, 1876; 4th ed., 1888.

H. Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*, Halle, 1880; 4th ed., 1909.

J. Byrne, *General Principles of the Structure of Language*, London, 1885; 2d ed., 1892.

G. von der Gabelentz, *Die Sprachwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1891; 2d ed., 1901.

O. Jespersen, *Progress in Language*, London, 1894.

H. Sweet, *The Practical Study of Languages*, London, 1899; *The History of Language*, London, 1900.

H. Oertel, *Lectures on the Study of Language*, New York, 1901.

[2] W. Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie, I. Die Sprache*, Leipzig, 1900; 3d ed., 1911.

J. van Ginneken, *Grondbeginselen der psychologische taalwetenschap*, Lier, 1904–6; *Principes de linguistique psychologique*, Paris, 1907.

F. N. Finck, *Aufgabe und Gliederung der Sprachwissenschaft*, Halle, 1905; *Die Haupttypen des menschlichen Sprachbaus*, Leipzig, 1910.

V. Porzezinskij, *Vvedenie v jazykovedenie*, Moskva, 1907; 3d ed. 1913.

F. Boas, *Handbook of American Indian Languages; Introduction*, B.A.E. Bull. 30, Washington, 1911.

E. Richter, *Wie wir sprechen*, Leipzig, 1912.

L. Sütterlin, *Werden und Wesen der Sprache*, Leipzig, 1913.

L. Bloomfield, *Introduction to the Study of Language*, New York, 1914.

F. de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, Lausanne, 1916; 2d ed., Paris, 1922.

E. H. Sturtevant, *Linguistic Change*, Chicago, 1917.

E. Sapir, *Language*, New York, 1921.

J. Vendryes, *Le langage*, Paris, 1921.

W. Horn, *Sprachkörper und Sprachfunktion*, Leipzig (Palaestra 135), 1921; 2d ed., 1923.

A. Meillet et M. Cohen, *Les langues du monde*, Paris, 1924.

O. Jespersen, *Language*, New York, 1924; *The Philosophy of Grammar*, New York, 1924.

W. Schmidt, *Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde*, Heidelberg, 1926.

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their disagreements can be precisely stated and discussed upon common ground; they do not in their actual work use the troublesome introspective terminology; they are not disturbed by the impossibility, today, of reducing human conduct to physiologic (neurologic) terms; yet they employ no extra-material forces. As, in general, neither psychology nor the other human sciences have reached this point, the quickening of interest in linguistics may be in part due to its occupying a strategic position from which to attack the study of man.

Now, our writers do not make this attack. They accept the finalism and supernaturalism of individual psychology, with many variations, only to discard it, of course, as soon as they approach the actual subject matter of linguistics. Their introductory discussions would have been far more interesting and fruitful had they worked in the opposite direction: insisted upon the psychologist's recognizing the methods and formulas with which we study language, and perhaps even outlined a psychology that would harmonize with these methods and formulas.

To the linguist who is interested in the implications of his method, no psychology can be acceptable which tries to explain on an individual basis phenomena which he knows to be historically conditioned by the social group. For the linguist an act of speech is the result of factors which may be grouped as follows:

1. Circumstances of the particular instance
   a) Physical stimulus
   b) Purely personal condition of the individual at the time
2. Circumstances socially determined
   a) Extra-linguistic group-habits (e.g., customs, such as taboo or courtesy)
   b) Linguistic patterns (the language of the community)

In linguistics we know that the factors under (2*b*) are not to be explained on an individual basis, be it in mentalistic or in any other terminology; the facts of historical (and even of descriptive) grammar here involved are entirely foreign to the individual. He talks as he has heard others talk. The facts under (2*a*) are similarly viewed by ethnology and the other social sciences.

Let me now state the hypothesis which, I believe, removes the dissonance between the linguistic's psychologic theory and his technical practice: If the other social sciences were developed, let us not

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say to an ideal point, but merely to the point which linguistics has reached, the socially determined factors (2*a*) would be seen to encroach upon the personal factors (1*b*) until these latter would be reduced to purely physiologic terms: the momentary condition of the speaker's body.

The social patterns, linguistic and other, are, of course, merely an abstraction. They are the features common to a vast number of individual actions, in each of which appear also individual features. If we do not make this abstraction, two courses are open to us. We may study the individual from earliest infancy, when his acts are entirely explicable by (1), and observe how successive actions of his groupmates (parents, etc.), act by act, "condition" him to the social habits (2). This is individual psychology. Had we a perfect equipment for the study of physiology, we could make these observations on a physical plane, observing the modifications in the protoplasm (nervous structure, etc.) from act to act. Or, we may study the group, observing every act of a given type (e.g., every utterance of the word *centum*), with a view to the manner of transmission and to the modifications in the course of time. This is social psychology.

Linguistics does neither of these things, but remains upon the plane of abstraction. We do not trace all the vocal utterances of an individual from birth, be it in physiologic terms or in linguistic. We do not trace the usage of a linguistic form in a community, act by act. Once the individual has acquired the habit of using a certain linguistic form, we assume that under certain constellations of (1*a*), (1*b*), and (2*a*) he will utter it. Given the existence of a certain linguistic form in a community, we assume that it is spoken under such constellations, and concern ourselves only with its place in the total linguistic pattern and with its gradual modifications.

All this, including our diagram, holds good also for the hearer of a speech utterance. Should it happen that a few whispered words stir him to violent activity, we do not study the precedent storing-up of physico-chemical energy in his body, or the manner of its touching-off by a slight change; we do not study the precedent physiologic modifications (neurologic) of the individual, thanks to which just these slight sound stimuli act as the match to the gunpowder. Not even the psychologist does this. Just as the biologist is interested in a certain cor-

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relation of certain physico-chemical units, which correlation may be greatly modified by a very slight chemical change, so here the psychologist is interested in a certain correlation of biologic individuals (society), which correlation may be greatly modified by a very slight physiologic change. A ranting tirade may strike the eardrums and cause but a smile, a few whispered words the tragedy of Othello. The linguist goes not even so far; he concerns himself with an abstraction: the features of ensuing conduct common to "all" hearers of a given form, and their historic modification—meaning and semantic change.

Given an ideal equipment, we could thus describe any human act: The physiologist gives an account which includes the individual's predisposition (channels of nervous discharge) due to earlier stimulations and responses; the psychologist traces the formation of this predisposition, act by act, from the individual's birth; the social psychologist identifies the persons who were concerned in these earlier stimulations and through them traces the ancestry of this type of act; the linguist defines those features of the act (grammatical) which are habitual in the group, places them in the habit system (language), and traces their history; other social scientists in their sphere parallel the linguist.

This hypothesis assumes for the other human sciences a development comparable to that of linguistics; for psychology it implies the postulates of behaviorism.

In this I follow A. P. Weiss, whose psychology takes account of linguistics. For Weiss, the social group is an organism of a higher order than the many-celled biologic individual. Just as the unity of the latter is conditioned upon the interaction of many cells, so the unity of the social group upon the interaction of many individuals, primarily through language.[1]

Since a psychology is not necessary in linguistics, this statement might stand merely as a sketch of what I take to be the implications of the actual practice, in purely linguistic problems, of all linguists, whatever be their views on psychology. It has been made here, however, for two further reasons. In discussing certain fundamental problems, such as that of meaning, which could be dealt with by postu-

[1] See A. P. Weiss, *A Theoretical Basis of Human Behavior*, Columbus, 1925; on language, also *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Method*, XV, 631. For the general system see *ibid.*, XVI, 626; *Psychological Review*, XXIV, 301, 353; XXVI, 327; XXXII, 83, 171.

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lates, linguists are accustomed to appeal directly to psychology. And second, every now and then, before some knotty problem, a linguist will lay down the long-tried tools of his trade, not to sharpen or improve them, but to resort instead, for the nonce, to incantations about whose value no two even of the psychologic shamans will agree.

II. THE PROBLEM OF MEANING

The meaning of a word is defined in dictionaries and in the practice of linguists as if the object were always present when the word is spoken, e.g., *apple:* "the well-known firm-fleshed, smooth-skinned, round or oblong pome fruit of trees of the genus *Malus*, varying greatly in size, shape, color, and degree of acidity."[1] That is, the sounds *apple* are our conventional reaction to the sight, feel, smell, and taste of this object. But in reality we utter the sounds *apple* very often when no apple is present. Many of our words, indeed, stand at some remove from any actual sense stimulus, e.g., *although*, *causality*. In what way does the word *apple* "mean" or "refer to" an apple, when none is present? Why is the dictionary definition nevertheless sufficient? This problem is psychologic rather than linguistic and is for our science best dealt with by some convenient postulate. It is, of course, solved with magic ease if we are satisfied with the answer that, when the physical apple is not present, a "mental image" or "concept" of an apple takes its place.

That is why C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards[2] take us not one step ahead; on page 14 the authors give a triangular diagram with the apices "Referent" (in our illustration, the actual, physical apple), "Thought or Reference" (image, concept, or thought of an apple), and "Symbol" (the word *apple*). For psychology or linguistics the book might as well end at this point; it further contains, strangely enough, much warning and example of popular terms posing as things; also some good advice ("Canons of Symbolism") in the spirit of normative logic.

De Saussure's system is more complex: (1) actual object, (2) concept, (3) acoustic image, (4) speech utterance; the series to be reversed for a hearer (p. 28). The totality of this is *le langage;* the actual speech

[1] *Webster's New International Dictionary*, 1920.

[2] *The Meaning of Meaning*, New York, 1923.

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utterance is *la parole;* and the segment formed by the two purely mental terms (2) and (3) is *la langue,* the socially uniform language pattern. De Saussure's careful statement lays clear the point at issue: What he calls "mental" is exactly what he and all other linguists call "social"; there is no need for the popular finalistic terms. We shall do better to drop (2) and (3) and speak instead of a socially determined correspondence between certain features of (1) and (4).

In his actual practice, de Saussure strictly rules out the metaphysical terms. Thus he warns us (p. 30): "La langue n'est pas une fonction du sujet parlant, elle est le produit que l'individu enregistre passivement; elle ne suppose jamais de préméditation, et la réflexion n'y intervient que pour l'activité de classement dont il sera question p. 170 sv."[1] Or again, Osthoff's explanation[2] of verbal first members of compounds arising in several Indo-European languages, an explanation typical of the linguist's avoidance of mentalism, is for de Saussure paradigmatic (p. 195); he recalls it in his final summary: (p. 311):

> Autre exemple: l'indo-européen primitif ne connaissait pas de composés à premier élément verbal. Si l'allemand en possède (cf. *Bethaus, Springbrunnen,* etc.) faut-il croire qu'à un moment donné les Germains ont modifié un mode de pensée hérité de leurs ancêtres? Nous avons vu que cette innovation est due à un hasard non seulement matériel, mais encore négatif: la suppression de l'*a* dans *betahūs* (voir p. 195). Tout s'est passé hors de l'esprit. ...

The solution of the problem of meaning will doubtless lie in the psychologist's study of substitute stimuli: Under what conditions does the child, when learning to speak, first say *apple* in the absence of an apple? But here again the study will be largely social, for we may suspect that to a large extent the function of substitute stimuli is determined by social tradition.

III. THE PHONEME

Formulation of the fact that each language consists of a strictly limited number of sound types, each of which is, for the language, absolutely uniform and absolutely distinct from the others, has often forced itself upon linguists in the needs of practical work, and as often been forgotten. The phoneme is an abstraction obtained from series of utterances, e.g., the English phoneme [t] from [tin, win, pin], etc.,

[1] The exception is there not stated as such, but seems to be this, that the individual is free to associate various related forms with any given form.

[2] *Das Verbum in der Nominalcomposition,* Jena, 1878.

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and [tin, tuk, it], etc. An ear trained to other languages will hear differences between the [t]'s of [tik, stik, botr, bit] which are not distinctive, that is, in English non-linguistic. The same ear may fail to hear the difference between [bit] and [bid] which is, in English, distinctive. The notion has been developed by Sweet,[1] Jones,[2] and, no doubt independently, by Boas (p. 16), de Saussure (p. 63), and Sapir (p. 57).

The existence of phonemes is of course implied in even the roughest syllabic or alphabetic writing and in all study of language. But its explicit statement not only guards the linguist against occasional lapses ("The articulation of the sound is slightly weaker . . . ." or "The difference between phoneme *a* and phoneme *b* is so slight that perhaps . . . ."), but justifies the very existence of our science. The logical demand that a science speak in quantitative terms is met by linguistics because it speaks in terms of phonemes; for the phonemes of a language we could substitute an equal number of units of any kind (Sapir, p. 18). Without them we should be in the position of the Indian informant who told me, "This word has a kind of a cold sound"; he could not say, "This word consists of such and such of the basic phonemes of my language arranged in such and such sequence." No wonder that the earlier linguists spoke in terms of "letters"; the actual continuum of speech sound (*la parole*) was not what they meant, and they had no term for the abstraction of the socially determined features of this sound continuum.

IV. DESCRIPTIVE LINGUISTICS

Paul (p. 20) maintained, against Wundt,[3] that there was no scientific use in the mere description of a language; history was the only object of linguistics. This fallacy was possible because most Indo-Europeanists spoke a Germanic language and knew Latin and Greek from school and Sanskrit from grammars ultimately based on Panini. They were inconsistent enough to accept descriptive grammars for other languages,[4] and, perhaps without realizing it, they incorporated a great deal of descriptive work into their historical research. Since

[1] *Practical Study.*

[2] *Principles of the International Phonetic Association*, London, 1912; cf. S. K. Chatterji, *A Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics*, London, 1921, reprinted from the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. II, Part I.

[3] E.g., *Sprachgeschichte*, p. 32.

[4] E.g., Vendryes, *Grammaire du vieil irlandais*, Paris, 1908; A. Leskien, *Handbuch der altbulgarischen Sprache*, Weimar, 1871; 4th ed., 1905.

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then, the study of less-known speech families has made it clear that a historic or comparative research depends upon the existence of two or more sets of descriptive data. Practice shows that descriptive study involves the full measure of scientific generalization and classification; only by a scientific process can one abstract from a series of actual speech utterances the socially determined features and their systematic patterning. Today descriptive linguistics is thus recognized beside historical, or rather as precedent to it. The theoretical justification is given especially by Finck,[1] and by de Saussure, who outlines the relation of "synchronic" to "diachronic" linguistics (p. 114).

The practice of descriptive research reveals some problems which were obscured under preoccupation with historical problems in relatively well-known languages. Given a linguistic form, such as an inflection or a word, how can we state its meaning? We have seen that this will be done in the form of what we may call the "primary" or "dictionary" meaning; but, within this limitation, what terms are available? Wherever the meaning is an object defined by some science, the answer is simple. Thus, for a plant name we need only give the botanical names of all the species for which the word is used. The same solution exists for a few abstract meanings, such as the numerals. In most instances, however, the stimulus components which lead to the utterance of a form and the relevant components of the hearers' responses are very hard to isolate. We must abstract them after observing a large number of utterances. The meanings so reached often bear a very complex relation to any objects that can be scientifically defined; thus, one term of relationship may mean, "my mother's brother, my paternal grandmother's brother, the son of either, the son's son of either," and so on, with some troublesome refinements. In the case of social situations, such as degrees of affection, respect, or friendship, the comparable terms of the investigator's own language are misleading. Here the solution may come if some science gives us a precise terminology for the relations involved. Thus, a mysterious word for "friend" may, under improved ethnologic information, turn out to mean, "person of my sex who has gone through such and such a rite together with me."

The case of grammatical categories is even worse, because here

[1] *Die Sprachwissenschaft.*

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the meaning often does not correspond to anything scientifically delimitable outside of linguistics, or to any habitual pattern of tribal action other than the grammatical habit. The gender system of animate and inanimate in an Algonquian language, for instance, includes among the animates some things which we do not regard as living, e.g., "stone," "pipe," "raspberry" (but not "strawberry"), "knee" (but not "elbow"), and ethnologic observation shows that the speakers do not (except in the grammatical forms of their language) make any differential distinctions; they neither say, "A raspberry has life, a strawberry has not," nor make a corresponding difference in any other way, as, for instance, in food habits or in religious ceremony. Here, assuming that the category of noun has been defined, we can at any rate list the animate names of things which our own tribal habit (science) declares lifeless, or, better, of those which the speakers themselves in some decisive non-linguistic activity treat as lifeless. But in the case, say, of a verbal tense or aspect, we are in a worse position still. A list of typical locutions seems to be about the best we can do. The path of investigation lies, evidently, in the preparation and comparison of such lists. This is the object of Jespersen's *Philosophy of Grammar*, an examination of the grammatical categories of the better-known European languages, worked out with marvelous detail and sensitiveness.

This leads to the problem of general grammar. Which, if any, linguistic forms are universal, which widespread? Nearly every language (modern Chinese may be an exception) has two main types of break in the semantic nexus—words and formatives. Wundt attempted to deal with this; the word boundary was defined by an act of apperception (or rather, by its occasional occurrence),[1] that of formatives was associatively determined. This was mere verbal duplication of the terms "word" and "formative." Similarly, the various syntactic devices can be studied for all language: cross-reference (*puella cantat*, "the-girl she-sings"), congruence, government, connective particles ("red *and* blue"), word order. Such study presupposes data for as many languages as possible; in fact, very few have been adequately recorded or described. A survey and bibliography are attempted in the books of Meillet and Cohen and of Schmidt.

[1] *TAPA*, XLV, 65.

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V. ECOLOGY

A summary of work on the distribution of dialects is given by Roedder.[1] The boundaries of successive linguistic changes (isogloss lines) do not coincide. A linguistic change may cover territory that has been dialectally differentiated by earlier changes. Isoglosses may be bundled along barriers to communication; if the barrier (e.g., a political boundary) is removed, the isoglossic bundle may be overlaid by later linguistic development. The isoglosses may be obscured also by linguistic borrowing; especially if a standard language arises, gradual borrowing may entirely obscure the line, for instance, of a phonetic change.[2] As the schematic example of dialect differentiation never occurs, and all the complexities of linguistic change are involved, the need in this problem is for large-scale co-operation. Above all, descriptive records of local speech forms are needed. As training for a beginner in linguistics, the recording of texts and the descriptive analysis of a dialect would be better than most of our doctoral problems.

One of the points here mentioned deserves further precision, though, so far as I know, it has nowhere been worked out: the character of standard and literary languages. Let us assume that the dialect of a class in some center (e.g., the upper class of London) becomes a standard language for a large group of speakers to whom other dialects are native. The standard language becomes the native speech, as time goes on, of a larger and larger number of speakers. As such we must, no doubt, suppose that it is subject to ordinary linguistic change and eventually even to dialectal differentiation. But, meanwhile, it is subject to some additional vicissitudes.

At the time when it becomes native to a new group of speakers, these may yet preserve in it certain features of their former dialect.

Or, the standard language may gain new ground by gradual infiltration: form by form and word by word the substance of a dialect may be gradually replaced by standard speech, until the result is describable only as "standard with dialect features" or as "one of the types of standard resulting from secondary dialectal differentiation of the standard itself"—although these descriptions belie the historical

[1] *Germanic Review*, I, 281.

[2] Cf. Sturtevant, p. 79; Vendryes, p. 53 (here clearly expressed, but on p. 52 confused with the phonetic change itself).

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process. Thus, our central type of American standard, like all standard English, keeps the group [rs], as in *horse, nurse, worse.*[1] Like the other forms of standard, it jocularly uses *cuss, hoss* as dialectal foreign words, and has the word *bass* (OE *bærs, bears*) as an older loan from a dialect; but, beyond this, it has the taboo word [ɛs] OE *ærs, ears,* in which the other types of standard keep [rs]. This suggests that our type of standard may go back to a gradually and never quite completely standardized dialect which spoke [s] for [rs].

On the other hand, the standard borrows forms, in normal fashion, from the dialects, e.g., *vat, vixen;* it need not here concern us whether these were ever foreign words with the connotation of rusticity or jocularity.

A group of dialect speakers with imperfect command of the standard may become so powerful as to crowd out (archaize) some standard forms during the generation or two it takes them to become genuine speakers of standard. This, rather than normal linguistic change, is perhaps killing the form *whom.*[2]

A literary standard is influenced by the graphic form. The normal literate speaker believes, of course, that the written form is a model which determines or at least preserves the spoken. This belief may be due in part to certain real experiences; the literate and even the semi-literate speaker actually obtains some of his speech material by linguistic borrowing from written records. The frequency of this may be guessed at from the occurrence of exceptional cases in which he misinterprets the (often ambiguous) written form and "mispronounces" it. Successful and socialized, these oblique loans from written speech are, of course, spelling pronunciations (*author, Gothic, Lithuanian*). Communities which have preserved an old written standard divergent enough to make loans recognizable, e.g., India and the Latin countries, give us an indication, in their *tatsama's* and *mots savants,* of how copious this borrowing really is.

Taking all this into consideration, one may, to suggest an extreme possibility, ask: Do literate standards, like ours, ever make a normal linguistic change that is not being made at the same time by the un-

[1] The fact that our standard has inverted [r], while in other types the actual form of this phoneme is a mixed vowel or modification of a preceding vowel, need not here concern us.

[2] Sapir, p. 166.

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derlying population of dialect and semi-dialect speakers? Are not most of their apparent changes really borrowings, be it of single forms or on a large scale (transfer, infiltration), from the dialects, and counter-borrowings from the written form?[1]

VI. DO PHONEMES CHANGE?

If each language at any given time moves within a limited number of phonemes, and these phonemes are subject to change in the course of time, then no word can be excepted from such change. For a word excepted from such change would thereafter contain an otherwise not current sound. Primitive Indo-European [k] appears in English as [h] (*centum: hund*); had some words been excepted on the way, we should now be speaking them with intermediate sounds, such as [kx] or [x]. Since forms which contradict the general sound development never exhibit sounds intermediate between the normal phonemes, but only an unexpected grouping of these, we cannot explain them as due to deviations from sound change. Two types of explanation are used. The divergent form does not go back to the supposed ancestor, but is an analogic extension of another form, e.g., English *live* does not represent OE *libban*, but the stem of OE *lifað*, *lifede*, *lifodon*, etc., which was at some time generalized; *to lib* and *to live* competed; finally the latter conquered. Or, the divergent form was borrowed from a different dialect; for the phonemes of this dialect the nearest phonemes of the home dialect were substituted; these, of course, need not be the historically correspondent phonemes; e.g., my dialect says [rɛðr̩] *rather;* I now borrow the Englishman's [raðə]; for his trilled [r] I substitute my inverted [r], for his [ə] my inverted [r] syllabic, and for his [a] the nearest vowel of my dialect, that of *bother*, *hot*, etc. Two of these substitutions reproduce the historical correspondence, but the third does not; I now speak *rather* with the vowel of *bother*, *hot*, where the historian would expect me to use that of *man*, *bad*.

The alternative would be to drop the theory of gradual change in phonemes and define sound change instead as a sudden replacement of one phoneme by another. History and dialectal fact forbid this. It is therefore hard to assign any concrete meaning to statements like that of Jespersen: "Sometimes, when all ordinary words are affected

[1] In this domain the greatest contribution is doubtless that of H. C. Wyld, *History of Modern Colloquial English*, London, 1920.

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by a certain sound-change, some words prove refractory because in their case the old sound is found to be more expressive than the new one."[1] Thus, English *peep* (for cry of small bird) is supposed to have resisted the English vowel shift, and *cuckoo* (p. 406) the pre-Germanic consonant shift.[2]

The commonest fallacy in this matter is to confuse the conflict of doublets due to analogy and to borrowing with the process of sound change. The speakers who hesitated between *lib* and *live* were not, and the American speakers who pass from [rɛðr̩] to [rɑðr̩] are not making a sound change. This fallacy is most frequent where the examples are taken from a standard language with a complex history of dialect mixture and borrowing from graphic records. A favorite instance is the modern representation of OE *ō* as [uw]: *do, moon, soot;* as [u]: *foot, book, soot;* and as [o]: *blood, flood, soot.* Methodically, the first step here must be the recognition of the fact that the divergent forms have phonemes otherwise current in the language (*wolf, pull; son, love*); they could not, except by a chain of most improbable coincidences, result from deviations at odd points of a phonetic change.

The forms with [o] diverge at least as early as the sixteenth century, those with [u] somewhat later. If we were dealing with an isolated one-dialect community, these forms would be surprising, but, even here, explicable:

1. In ME long vowels were shortened before certain final consonants, giving paradigms like [sut, su:tes].

2. On the analogy of nouns with one stem form, two paradigms are created: [sut, sutes] and [su:t, su:tes].

3. Sound change of [u] to [o]; we now have [sot, sotes] and [su:t, su:tes].

4. In early modern time long vowels were (again) shortened before certain final consonants, giving paradigms like [sut, su:tes].

5. This results by analogic change in two paradigms: [sut, sutes] and [su:t, su:tes], beside the older [sot, sotes].

Thus, today, we have three forms for *soot* [suwt, sut, sot]; in other instances one or two of the forms have become obsolete.

Now this diagram is doubtless incorrect; the vastly more complex

[1] *Language*, p. 288.

[2] I confused these two examples (*AJP*, XL, 372) I hope without prejudice to the argument.

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conditions of standard English make it very hard, if not impossible, to find out what really did happen. But so far as theory is concerned, every added complication that we may suspect only lessens the value of such examples as an argument for sporadic sound change. Any of the standard forms may have had an eventful history of borrowing, conflict, restoration from the graphic model, and so on. To state an extreme possibility: It may be that changes (1, 2, 4, 5) never occurred in standard English or in its upper-class-of-London ancestry, that every single form with [u] or [o] is a borrowing from other dialects. On the other hand, some of the forms with [uw] may be borrowings from the written form replacing older forms with [o] or [u].[1]

The much-quoted example of [juw] and [uw], as in *tune, due*[2] does not illustrate sound change, but the passing of speakers from one class dialect to another. In 1787 Elphinston attributes the forms without [j] to "vulgar indolence or bluntness."[3] We could not ask for more explicit evidence; the present-day phenomenon is not a sound-change in progress, but a conflict between doublets which were dialectally differentiated as early as the eighteenth century. The actual sound changes here involved lie far in the past. They may never have taken place in standard English and the changed forms may have been borrowed from dialects. Or, they may have occurred in standard and the [juw] forms may be borrowings from the written record (spelling-pronunciation; cf. Wyld, p. 293). In the latter case, for instance, the history may have been:

1. Sound change: [sju:r] > [ʃu:r], *sure*
   [sju:] > [ʃu:], *sue*
   [tju:n] > [ču:n], *tune*
   [dju:] > [ǰu:] *dew, due*
2. Standard borrows from written form: [sjuw, tjuwn, djuw]
3. Sound change: [sjuw] > [suw]
   [tjuwn] > [tuwn]
   [djuw] > [duw]
4. Middle-class standard borrows from written form: [sjuw, tjuwn, djuw]

I have dealt at such length with these matters, which could be settled only by specialized research, coupled with lucky finds, because even on the basis of what little we know, it is clear that the waverings or final arrivals of speakers cannot be viewed as examples of sound

[1] Cf. Wyld, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–39. [2] Jespersen, *Language*, p. 290.
[3] Jespersen, *Modern English Grammar* (Heidelberg, 1909), I, 382.

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change. The very fact of a speaker's using two forms is proof of precedent analogic change or borrowing. The alternative hypothesis is not a self-contradictory dilution of the postulate of phonetic change, but the total abandonment of this postulate.

Another attack upon the postulate of uniform change of phonemes is that of Horn: Some elements of speech, unnecessary for the sense, have a weaker meaning than others and, consequently, are more subject to loss by phonetic change. Inversely, an element whose meaning is essential resists sound change (p. 24). This theory is revolutionary in that it makes the hitherto otiose mentalistic factors play an actual part in linguistic change.

Horn seeks to fortify his position by saying that his theory is not invalidated even if some of his examples can be explained in some other way (p. iv). In this he is wrong; methodically, any example which can be explained by those methods which even for Horn cover the vast majority of linguistic changes must be subtracted from the evidence for his supplementary theory. It is more legitimate when Horn says (p. 25) that not every overcharacterization necessarily leads to phonetic weakening of the superfluous elements, since every language carries on a mass of superfluous forms.

Strangely, Horn nowhere takes cognizance of the fact that practically all of his examples are taken from the unstressed syllables of languages which historically have suffered phonetic loss in this position: Germanic, early Latin, early French.[1] Obviously, a theory which attributes these weakenings, wholly or in part, to any other factor than the stress relations, could make good only on the strength of examples from languages where this factor is absent. Horn gives no clear ones. Some of Horn's examples have not, as to details, been explained under the standard theory. But the fact that we are not omniscient, that some of the history, what with our meager data, is obscure to us, is no warrant for a finalistic hypothesis which, by its very nature, is certain to "explain" anything: the weakened forms were weakened first in "meaning," then in "form."

If we turn to languages which we can observe, we find no signs of feebleness in forms whose meaning, from a logical point of view, is superfluous. Nothing could be (mathematically) more superfluous than the personal inflection of the verb in modern English, German, or

[1] See Luick, *E. Stud.*, LVI, 185.

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French. It is lacking in English in some common verbs (*he can, shall, will, may, must*), and in all preterits except *was*: *were*. Yet the speakers are in no position to drop these endings. Linguistic forms are carried on by tradition; they are not subject to any logical test, under which few, indeed, could pass muster.

In a large group of the cases I cannot believe even Horn to mean that the shortening represents phonetic change, cases like *quad* for *quadrangle* (p. 12), *hand-to-mouth* for *from hand to mouth* (p. 97). Here analogy and borrowing are the only possible factors; e.g., *prof* after the graphic form *Prof.*, and then analogic *quad* for *quadrangle, stude* for *student*, etc.

Some of the examples really are phonetic developments; the longer forms are analogic restorations, e.g., MHG *vliesen* (p. 7) shows the phonetic development, as do *gleich, glauben*, etc.; NHG *verlieren* has analogic *ver-* ("destruction, loss, removal"). OE *a-* represents older **oz-* before consonant; OHG *za-* is the anteconsonantal form of *zar-*.

Horn says (p. 23) that OE *bindu* cannot have analogic *-u* after *beru*, because the corresponding transfer was not made in nouns, *ār: gifu; word: fatu*. This is asking a great deal, especially as in historic time the verb form and not the noun replaces *-u* by analogic *-e*. He says (p. 22) that OE *binde wē, binde gē* weakened the verb ending because it and the following pronoun expressed the same meaning, so that it was superfluous; but, as Horn sees (p. 121), the verb plural had the same ending for all three persons—the pronoun, whatever its position, gave no "overcharacterization." Wood's explanation[1] is far more credible, especially as in Alfredian English the ordinary optative plural often ends in *-e*.

Of the ON third person singular in *-r*, Horn says (p. 27) that the second person is common in everyday speech; when the pronouns had made the distinction unnecessary, the endings could drop off or the endings of one person be transferred to another. Let him try that in German!

Horn ascribes the non-inflection of the English article to the existence of circumlocutions (chiefly prepositional, no doubt) and fixed word order, and says that German, by contrast, has kept the inflections because these constructions are not used. This looks well on

[1] *MP*, XIV, 122.

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paper, but will not hold under observation of the facts. In reality the two languages are in this respect almost wholly alike; for instance, where German uses a dative without a preposition, English also often lacks the preposition, and the word order is here the same in both languages: even *Er gab es mir, Er gab mir es* is paralleled in *He gave it me, He gave me it.* After prepositions, says Horn, the article, being superfluous, is weakened in German; but, look you, it is just the "superfluous" part which remains (*ums Haus*)!

The only examples which are in principle unexplained are formulas of greeting and address, such as *goodbye* (cf. [hwaj] for *How are you?*), German *morjn* (for *guten Morgen*), Russian *s* (for *sudar*), Spanish *usted* (for *vuestra merced*).[1] To say that they were weakened because they were weak in the speaker's mind is at best a tautology; a real explanation may some day be found.

The analogy of atrophy of an organ (p. 137) is particularly inept, quite as bad as was the old-time one of an object being worn away by much handling.

The teleologic basis for the theory seems to be this (cf. p. 117): If the inflectional syllables, e.g., in Old English, had been lost before the analytic locutions (especially prepositional) had arisen, the language would have become unintelligible. The answer is, obviously, that this happens right along; new locutions (produced by the analogies of the language) constantly replace old ones, which, viewed *post factum*, would have been unintelligible, had they remained in use. If only phonetic change occurred, every language would in time become unintelligible. The methodic question would be: At what point do the new locutions arise, and at what point do the old ones go out of use? Instead of resorting to a hypothesis that would cause trouble even to a mentalistic theory of speech, Horn would have done better to raise the question of a pathology of language.

VII. THE PATHOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

The fact that languages do not become unintelligible seems queer when one embarks upon reasoning such as underlies the views of Jespersen and Horn. If sound change works blindly, how is it that the loss of inflections, for instance, does not cause confusion? We have seen the teleologic answer.

[1] Horn, p. 18.

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The chief factor, from this angle, is homonymy due to sound change. J. Gilliéron[1] thus approaches it; E. Richter[2] summarizes past work.

Some homonyms are tolerated, witness the gradual syncretism of nominative and accusative in Germanic; modern German still distinguishes them in masculine singulars and a few pronouns, English only in a few pronouns. Note also English [pejr, bejr, hejr, red], etc. Others have been removed or are evidently disappearing: Latin *apis* and *avis* in certain French dialects; OE *bere*, "barley," and *bēor*, "beer," in English; English *might*, *mite* and *let*, "allow" and "hinder." Chinese has gone notably far; its homonymous words have been largely replaced by two-word phrases.[3]

Another factor is taboo.[4] English [konij], "rabbit," seems to have been lost because of homonymy with a taboo word.[5] American English [kɑk], "rooster"; [ɛs], "donkey," seem to be meeting a similar fate.

Grammatical irregularity is a well-known factor, as in the replacement of the morphologically divergent [hozif, semstris, farid] by [haus-waif, sijmstris, fowr-hed]; a form of one category that sounds like another seems to be endangered: English *pease* taken as plural; American dialect *link* "lynx."

Instead of asking, however, which forms of a language are "bad," we shall be more relevant if we ask which forms of a language go out of use. We understand the rise of analogic doublets, such as *hoofs* beside *hooves;* we have scarcely touched the question: Under what circumstances do such doublets arise, and which wins, which becomes obsolete? When the question is put in this form, we see that we are merely making a study of analogic change.[6]

[1] *Pathologie et thérapeutique verbales* (Paris, 1921), "Collection linguistique," Vol. XI.

[2] *Festschrift für Kretschmer* (Vienna, 1926), p. 167.

[3] C. Arendt, *Handbuch der nordchinesischen Umgangssprache* (Berlin, 1891), p. 165; cf. B. Karlgren, *Études sur la phonologie chinoise*, Leyden, 1915.
See also Singer, *PBB*, XLVIII, 132.

[4] Meillet, *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale* (Paris, 1921), "Collection linguistique," VIII, 281.

[5] Cf. *NED*, *s.v.* "coney."

[6] So far as psychology is concerned, it would be facile and barren to attribute the therapeutic to a prevision on the part of speaker or tribe. "Prevision" would be here only another name for the fact that the troublesome forms do obsolesce. We must seek, rather, the circumstances which make the obsolescent form a response to a more and more limited number of stimuli, e.g., *Don't let him!* only to the situation where we want to stop someone, and no longer to the situation where we want to aid him. But we shall do better to confine ourselves to the linguistic facts.

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It appears that the factors which militate against a form are limited types of homonymy (probably differing for different languages), incongruity with the grammatical pattern (e.g., irregularities of inflection), and taboo or homonymy with taboo forms; the chief factor favoring a form seems to be frequency (i.e., the commoner forms preserve grammatical irregularities which in less common words are analogically removed).

Under analogic doublets we must understand not only the morphologic, but also lexical alternates (*cock, rooster*) and phrasal groups (*contribute my mite, make my small contribution*).

VIII. APPLICATIONS

The application of the results of linguistics to psychology has been discussed. The application to other social sciences is a thing of the future. The mentalist will say that the other social activities move upon a higher plane, in which intelligent choice and conscious striving are effective, language upon a mechanical and unconscious level. Under the hypothesis above suggested (§ I), one will say, rather, that language is a simpler activity, and that linguistics, owing to its simpler subject matter, has reached a scientific form of discourse, while the other human sciences are still to a large extent troubled with the elusive spiritistic-teleologic words of our tribal speech.

Attempts at application are likely to consist of purely verbal concessions to the finalism of the other sciences. Thus, the essentially impeccable technique, illustrated by well-chosen examples, of Vendryes, is marred at every step by verbal concessions to the non-linguistic view of man and society.[1]

Another possibility is that of oversimplification. Thus, Father Schmidt (p. 381) assumes a universally valid concept of "genitive," examines all languages to see whether the genitive precedes or follows its governing word, assumes in ethnology a similar concept of "matriarchate" (*Mutterrecht*), and shows (p. 453) that postposition of the genitive runs parallel, as a resultant, with matriarchate.

[1] E.g., p. 45 (Grimm's law): "une tendance naturelle ... l'aboutissement naturel"; p. 46: "les spirantes sonores, par une sorte de reprise du sujet parlant, réagissent contre l'affaiblissement qui les atteint et deviennent des occlusives sonores"; p. 71: "Deux tendences opposées peuvent agir. ... Ou bien par paresse le sujet parlant se dispensera d'effectuer l'articulation. ... Ou bien, dans le désir de maintenir l'articulation. ..." There is so much of this that the book would do more harm than good to any but a professional reader.

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The chief scientific application of linguistics that can today be made is the direct one to psychology. Indirectly, as a paradigmatic example and as a demonstration of the needlessness of finalism, our results will serve the other human sciences, but this service is limited because their subject matter is far more complex than ours.

The practical application concerns many activities, such as teaching children to read, teaching foreign languages, stenography, etc. All these can be summed up in the demand that our knowledge about human speech be applied to the educational process and be included in the content of education. Unfortunately our educators are ignorant of the results of linguistic science, and seem in no hurry to inform themselves. Prescientific notions about language, with the silly and dismal study of pseudo-grammar, still prevail in our schools, cf. G. Willis, *The Philosophy of Speech*, New York, n.d. Willis' book, for the rest, shows how little linguistic science has affected society; the author, who must have spent years at the study of Greek, Latin, and the modern languages, develops a linguistic of his own, as though no one had studied the subject before him—with the natural grotesque results.[1]

What with the publications of the last decade, there is today no good reason for popular ignorance about language, no excuse for our failing to embody into our culture the results of linguistic science.

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[1] E.g., p. 26: " 'Luck,' German 'gluck,' English 'to click for,' an imitation of the sound of the tossed coin struck on the table."

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REVIEWS

El pensamiento de Cervantes. Revista de Filología española—Anejo VI. By AMÉRICO CASTRO. Madrid: Casa Editorial Hernando, 1925.

One's first thought on concluding the reading of this stimulating book is that compared to it all previous criticism of Cervantes appears shallow. Américo Castro has been known chiefly for solid work in linguistics. This training saves him from the pitfall of superficiality, while lack of pedantry and charm of style have enabled him to produce a work as readable as any. Few critics of literature possess the patience to collect data before pronouncing judgment. Certain striking passages linger in the memory, and impressionistic judgments are thereon based to the exclusion of equally significant, and possibly contradictory, passages. Castro, however, before expressing an opinion, has collected, compared, and weighed every passage in which his author treats of the point in question. But his documentation is no less complete in the case of other writers who influenced Cervantes' thought: Bruno, Pomponazzi, León Hebreo, Castiglione, Erasmus, and the rest. For the first time Cervantes has been presented in his proper relationship to Renaissance thought. A philologist is surely the best of literary critics, when to method is added discernment and taste. A second thought: One wonders that the commentators who have so copiously illustrated Cervantes' works have achieved so little. They elucidate difficulties of language; they track down sources and analogues of this and that folklore motive; they traverse the weary wastes of the Romances of Chivalry to indicate the originals of passages parodied; but what one of them has sought to show the genesis of Cervantes' ideas?

If they have failed in this respect, it was because Cervantes was supposed to lack ideas worth tracing. He was the "lay genius," the man of scant education, kind of heart, and endowed with much common sense, but orthodox in his acceptance of prevailing views. This picture of the man Castro vigorously assails. Cervantes was a lay genius only in the sense that he lacked a university degree. His hatred of pedantic display caused his learning to be underestimated, but his restlessly curious mind was ever open to new ideas. He was an omnivorous reader. He devoured everything procurable in Spanish, Italian, and Latin, not merely works of light entertainment, but philosophy as well. Castro has incidentally indicated many a new source and vastly enlarged our knowledge of Cervantes' reading. He does not emerge an original thinker. He was no creator of systems. But we now know

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that he had a speculative mind, was fully abreast of the thought of his age, and constantly sought to apply the same. He was far from orthodox. "The residence in Italy was the most important fact in Cervantes' spiritual career," writes Castro. The new Cervantes is far more Italian, hence more European, than the old, and this explains his universality.

Properly to understand the philosophy and art of Cervantes one must first of all recall that he is not a writer of the Renaissance, but of the period of the Catholic Reaction. Those writers who flourished subsequently to the Council of Trent no longer possessed the privilege of untrammeled utterance. Orthodoxy was reasserting its claims. But many daring souls, who like Cervantes refused to stay muzzled, took refuge in Pomponazzi's formula of the double truth. According to this doctrine there are two distinct forms of truth, the truth of faith and the truth of reason. Accept without cavil the tenets of the church, but, having done so, give rationalism free play. These two forms of truth may at times seem at variance; but there must be a way of reconciling them in a higher synthesis beyond the ken of mortals. Some philosophers made hypocritical use of this formula. Cervantes, too, may have done so at times; but in the main he is sincere. He passed through life puzzled by the conflicting claims of dogma and rationalism.

Almost simultaneously Robortello's edition of Aristotle, in 1548, initiates a parallel movement in letters. The Stagirite began to eclipse Plato. Literature began to be regularized out of its former chaos. On the one hand, dogma; on the other, literary rules and precepts. In the domain of letters, Cervantes found himself in the center of the conflict waged between the advocates of *la verdad universal y verosímil* and the upholders of *la verdad sensible y particular*. The Council of Trent had attacked works of unbridled imagination. Thus the church was behind Cervantes in his onslaught upon the Romances of Chivalry, and a premium was placed upon realism. But Aristotle had taught that only the historian described life and nature as it is; the poet must reveal things as they should be. These two literary attitudes correspond closely to Pomponazzi's two forms of truth. Everywhere one encounters dualism in Cervantes. "This wavering," writes Castro, "between the 'should be' and the 'is' or 'may be' explains the often antagonistic postures of the Cervantine thought, which acts like an immense pendulum." His prismatic genius, constantly in conflict between his love for the idealistic and universal on the one hand and fidelity to realism on the other, explains how the hand which penned the *Galatea* also wrote the *Entremeses*. In *Don Quijote*, the two methods are synthesized and dramatically contrasted.

No less dramatic is his representation of conflicting aspects of reality. He departs from the older conception that the brain is but a passive instrument to record external impressions. Rather is it active in coloring the external. What we take to be objective may be subjective. Erasmus, like many another who followed the Platonic trend, had said, "All in life is so obscure, so diverse, so opposed, that we cannot be assured of any truth." And Castig-

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lione, going beyond Terence's *Quot homines, tot sententiae,* points out the existence of different judgments in the same individual at different times. Truth is relative, not absolute. All depends upon the individual point of view. That shining object on the barber's head *is* the helmet of Mambrinus to Don Quijote; to Sancho it is a basin. Does Cervantes side with Sancho? Possibly; but more probably he regarded it as a basin-helmet.

Strongly inclined as he was toward the rationalistic explanation (he constantly resorts to experiment to check the truth of appearances), Cervantes is by no means an uncompromising rationalist. The truth of faith ever enters in to suggest that the rationalist may after all be wrong. The senses cheat. *Engaño a los ojos* was one of his pet phrases, and he had projected a play which was to have borne this title. What Castro happily denominates *el tema de la realidad oscilante* may be illustrated by hundreds of examples. Take for instance Cervantes' explanation of dreams. These, he says, are caused by bad digestion and brooding over the doings of the previous day, but (for he is unwilling to reject wholly the truth of faith), they may sometimes be divine revelations or illusions of the devil. So, too, while recognizing that most astrologers are impostors, he nevertheless has a sneaking conviction that competent and scientific astrologers may somewhere exist. Cervantes was not in advance of the scientific thought of his day. He questioned many a hoary error without entirely rejecting it; but to question at all was a step forward.

Naturally, "wavering reality" and "double truth" lead many humans into error; and a large part of Cervantes' writing is concerned with conflicts between error and that perfect harmony, which to him was always the *summum bonum.* When error consists merely in a misconception of the appearances of nature, the victim of the mistake is punished in some comic manner, or suffers some minor indignity; but when the error has to do with moral law, the transgressor is almost invariably punished with death. A neo-Platonist in his conception of love (León Hebreo was his guide and master), Cervantes regarded love as the most perfect of harmonies. Sins of love committed with a view to achieving a perfect harmony cease to be sins to our author. Conversely, errors of love (the offender is always a man) cost the offender his life. Señor Castro establishes this plainly by a subtle analysis of the many tragedies of error in Cervantes' writings.

The chief cause of error, then, is the effort to combat nature. Cervantes is at one with Valla, Ficino, Pico de la Mirandola, León Hebreo, Castiglione, and the other neo-Platonists in regarding nature as quasi-divine. God is immanent in all created things, a doctrine destined to develop into the pantheism of Spinoza. Cervantes frequently designates nature as God's *mayordomo.* To nature God has delegated most of his important tasks. To oppose nature is to war against God. The result is *disonancia,* often ending in tragedy. Man should know himself and seek *armonía* by doing the task appointed him by nature. In nature, like begets like. Birth and rank are important.

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Cervantes is at one with Molière in his ridicule of the *bourgeois* who attempts to become *gentilhomme*. So in all things, little and great, follow nature.

But thinkers of the time recognize that nature is no longer perfect, though it had been once. Hence the longing with which they reverted to the Age of Gold. Nature spoiled by man is susceptible of improvement. The pastoral genre is part of the Renaissance's longing to represent a perfected nature. Similarly there is an idealization of those closest to nature: the noble savage, rustics, children, animals. One recalls Cervantes' own idealization of gypsy life. As the common man expresses his wisdom in proverbs, the *refrán* acquires a new interest in this age. The naïve philosophy embodied in them is worthy of respect. Humanists made collections of them, following the wide popularity of Erasmus' *Adages*. Similarly the ballad, frowned upon by court poets of preceding centuries, now acquires respectability in Spain. So, too, the use of the vernacular in literature. Cervantes is at one with Juan de Valdés, who held that one's native tongue is a gift of God and nature. To abandon it for Latin is a sin against nature. The common man with his unspoiled notions has a purer conception of justice than the professional lawyers immeshed in their technicalities. Sancho Panza's justice at Barataria confounds the men of law. Of course, Sancho is Cervantes' best portrait of the common man, a likeness certainly not surcharged with idealization. If at times he does idealize the peasant and the man of nature, according to his invariable practice, he hastens forward with the correcting, contrary point of view. For while idealizing the peasant, the Renaissance also despised him for his ignorance and crudities. The proper norms of speech are not those of the peasant but of the *discretos cortesanos*. Don Quijote's advice to the young poet is not to strive to surpass nature, but to perfect it. The perfection of nature is always possible.

It may be objected that Señor Castro is advancing a philosophical explanation for many tendencies which may best be accounted for by assuming that certain medieval trends carried over into the Spanish Renaissance, that the inertia of *españolismo* was great, that certain democratic traits are to be noted at all periods of Spanish literature. But at least it is evident that the views of the humanists gave countenance to and rendered respectable certain tendencies which Spanish writers have always gladly followed.

The germs of Rousseauism may be found in such writers as Erasmus, Montaigne, and Cervantes. But in spite of the faith they had in the primitive justice of the common man, none of these believed in the collective wisdom of the *vulgo*. It remained for the eighteenth century to count noses. Cervantes is no less severe than the rest in his condemnation of the stupidity of the masses. Castro's discussion of the celebrated dissertation on arms and letters is admirable. He finds here one more instance of Cervantes' dualism. It is impossible, he holds, to determine which Cervantes held in highest esteem, the active or the contemplative life. Interesting, too, is Cervantes' attitude toward his own race. He joins Erasmus and Castiglione in condemning Spanish pomposity and affectation and in praising Spanish bravery

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and courtesy. He shows generous appreciation of other nations, attacks the Hapsburg policy with regard to the Flemish wars, and advocates instead a crusade against the Turk—a Mediterranean policy as we should say today. The present reviewer cannot agree with Castro when he sides with Ménendez y Pelayo in stating that Cervantes wrote no picaresque novel. But this is a mere matter of definition. Is cynicism a necessary test of the genre, and must all picaresque novels adhere closely to the narrow formula of the *Lazarillo?* However, there can be no quarreling with the statement that Cervantes' treatment of the picaresque is unique.

The chapter on Cervantes' attitude toward religion is that which will surely arouse most controversy in Spain; for Castro's method is to take certain apparently plain statements of his author and twist them into a contrary significance by giving them an ironic interpretation. I believe that in general he is sound in so doing, for Cervantes was an incorrigible wag; but the ironic interpretation will be resisted by some. Moreover, Cervantes' essential dualism leads him into contradictions. Castro assembles five passages in which Cervantes makes paradoxical defense of hypocrisy, and concludes that he is seeking to justify an attitude forced upon liberal thinkers of the Counter Reformation period, and that a humorous hypocrisy is an essential part of the method of this self-styled *poetón soccarón.* Then are instanced numerous passages in which Cervantes makes fervent display of orthodoxy, with the charge that the author is protesting over much. To Castro, Cervantes is no freethinker, but a Catholic of liberal, Erasmist tendencies. A Catholic, yes, but one possessed of a stock of non-Catholic beliefs. "He protests orthodoxy with a wink of the eye, throws a stone and hastily hides his hand."

As for miracles, Cervantes held that there are less of these than commonly supposed. Certain manifestations held to be miracles are nothing but *misterios,* capable of rationalistic explanation, if only our knowledge of natural phenomena were deeper. He fails to take the next step of saying that, if this be so, possibly all miracles may be merely mysteries. Castro believes this last to be Cervantes' real, though unexpressed, attitude. But one must disagree with this. Here as elsewhere Cervantes would leave room for the truth of faith, would deny the power of reason to explain all things, would adhere to his consistent dualism.

Without doubt Cervantes is severe toward certain abuses of worship. It is ridiculous to trouble God with prayers for rain. Rain is supplied by God's *mayordomo,* nature. Cervantes follows Erasmus in condemning religious processions, pompous funerals, and certain cults which the Rotterdamer had styled *vestigia veteris paganismi.* He ventures even to ridicule mildly the national patron, St. James, is irreverent in writing of St. Martin's famous deed of charity and the superstitious prayers addressed to Santa Apolonia, patroness of those afflicted with toothache. He has slight regard for those saints who have become the center of legend. As with Erasmus, his favorite saint is Paul.

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Castro sees satire of the mob's prejudices when Don Quijote says that the souls of the worthies of antiquity are certainly in hell, and when Sancho claims merit for his hatred of the Jews. In view of Cervantes' usual tolerance, such views, if taken literally, hardly seem to square with his philosophy. Yet there are certain passages in which he seems to show hatred of Moors and Moriscos, at whose hands he had suffered much. He joins with his contemporaries in condemning them for their very virtues, thrift and economic efficiency. But is not Cervantes' real attitude toward the unfortunate Morisco race best found in the Ricote episode? He presents a sympathetic picture of the exile's sufferings and applauds Ricote's resolve to found a new home in Germany. If he praises too highly the Germans and French of his day for their supposed religious tolerance, it is because he felt that his own countrymen were less tolerant than they. He even praises the Moslems for their liberality in allowing Christian captives to worhsip in their own way, and rising superior to petty patriotism and war propaganda, portrays Elizabeth of England as a wisely tolerant ruler.

Cervantes, then, was like Erasmus a reformer within the church, tolerant, liberal, discreetly attacking abuses. He is modern in his insistence upon ethics as opposed to outer ceremonial. A sacristan in one of his plays calls fasting on Friday "childishness." Problems of conduct alone are important. " 'He preaches well, who lives well,' replied Sancho, 'and I know no other theologies.' 'Nor do you need them,' said Don Quijote."

The ethical system of Cervantes, like that of Molière, is unorthodox. Castro finds that Lanson's statement with respect to the ethics of Molière applies equally well to the Spaniard:

> Molière a profondément ignoré le Christianisme. ... La forme originale de la morale Chrétienne c'est la résistance à la nature. On ne la trouve pas chez Molière. ... Combattre la nature est folie: on est ridicule de le faire et malheureux; car la nature a le dessus; elle se retourne contre celui qui veut la forcer ou la détruire.

Cervantes handles his characters as if there were no rewards or punishments in a future world. One achieves happiness or unhappiness, that is to say, "harmony" or "dissonance," according as one follows, or seeks to thwart, nature. Reward or punishment comes in this life in a way that is logical and even fatalistic. Certain deeds sinful in the eyes of the church are not so to Cervantes; and conversely he considers sinful, actions which the church sanctions. Chief of these is the union of January and May, a theme which preoccupied Cervantes quite as much as it did Molière. (His wife, Catalina de Palacios, was his junior by eighteen years, a fact probably not without significance.) One could compile a long list of tragedies in the writings of Cervantes resulting from unsuitable marriages. A marriage contrary to nature is to Cervantes one of the gravest of sins, while adultery, under certain circumstances, is condoned.

But all this naturalism is tinged with stoicism. Not that Cervantes affected stoic asceticism. On the contrary he did not frown upon the good things of

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life, and shows a strongly hedonic side. He is stoic in his fatalism and in his brave acceptance of fate. Chance plays no part. Everyone is the "artificer of his fortune" in a double sense. His achievement is the logical, fatal outcome of the inheritance and environment with which nature has endowed him; but also his it is to rise superior to circumstance in his serene acceptance of fate. It is in his power to be humble in prosperity and resigned in disaster. He can always "fold his cloak and sit upon it."

To conclude, Castro in presenting his readers with a new Cervantes may be too extreme in his effort to piece each scattered thought into a reasoned system, just as previous critics have been too prone to ascribe all to native sagacity and the promptings of a noble heart. Cervantes is no less a man of common sense than we had supposed him. His instinctive preference for the magnanimous must spring partly from sweetness of disposition and not wholly from reasoned intelligence. So much of the old criticism may stand. But we see in addition a wistful, inquiring intelligence, standing in honest puzzlement in the midst of that strange welter of contrasting currents characteristic of his age. What is truth? and What is true? were questions always asked but never completely solved. The idealist and the rationalist each had a glimmering of the truth, he thought, and each had his illusions and follies. Cervantes' approach to a solution of the philosophic riddle was to picture opposing viewpoints in dramatic collision.

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Un dramaturge populaire de la Renaissance italienne: Ruzzante. By ALFRED MORTIER. Paris: J. Peyronnet, *Tome Premier*, 1925; *Tome Second—Œuvres complètes*, 1926.

The first volume of M. Mortier's work was successfully presented in 1925 as a thesis for the *doctorat de l'Université de Paris;* the second volume complements his study of Ruzzante with a French translation of almost[1] all the poet's known works.

M. Mortier has collected most carefully the results of the researches of various contemporary Italian scholars (especially Lovarini) and assembled them under one cover. He has thus rendered a very real service to scholarship, although his book adds nothing significant to our knowledge of its subject. And his translations have unquestionably brought Angelo Beolco ("Ruzzante") before a wide circle of readers who had never even heard of him before.

[1] Cf. I, 118 n.: "La *Pastorale* ne figurera pas dans ma traduction, car elle n'ajouterait rien à la gloire de Ruzzante" (!). It is not quite accurate, therefore, to entitle the second volume *Œuvres complètes.* We may also note the omission of the *Lettera qual scrive Ruzzante a una so morosa* (see V. Rossi, *Le Lettere di messer Andrea Calmo* [Torino, 1888], pp. cxix–cxxi).

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The material of Volume I is divided into twelve chapters, which include ample treatments of the development of rustic satire, popular comedy, etc., in the Renaissance before and after Angelo Beolco; they also contain, of course, extensive analyses and bibliographies of Beolco's works. M. Mortier seems to have verified all his predecessors' findings with unusual conscientiousness, and to have examined with great care all the available manuscripts as well as printed material. He has thus been able to correct one previously doubtful point: Luigi Cornaro's second hunting lodge, in which was a small theater where Ruzzante doubtless gave his *Dialogo facetissimo*, was in the neighborhood of Loreo, and not, as has been thought, at Este; but no ulterior significance attaches to the fact. Of greater interest, though less conclusive, is the evidence he brings forward for the authorship of the apocryphal *Terza orazione;* but he has unhappily been unable to make it more than a powerful probability that Giacomo Morello was the author in question.

The translations are very fairly successful, but are not always accurate. A very superficial collation with the 1548 edition of *Piovana* reveals many mistranslations such as the following:

"... che a giamazzan, a zo que negun no uaghe in bando. ... El se andara in bando a mazzar can. ...[1] Sgrenza: Aston: putti tutti saltè fuora con de le arme. ..." [not] "Il faudra les assommer, afin qu'aucun d'entre eux *ne soit banni. ... On ne bannit pas les chiens, on les tue.* ... Sgrenza! Aston! ohé! les garçons *et les filles!* Arrivez tous avec des armes ..." [II, 406].

"... giha rotta la cassetta de i dinari; perque i dise, che le limuosine no uale; che, quel che de esser, sarà." [not] "Ils ont fracturé la caisse contenant l'argent, parce qu'ils prétendent que les aumones *sont du bien mal acquis,* et *qu'il faut agir de la sorte*" [II, 407].

There are a number of other points at which M. Mortier's critical acumen does not seem to have been entirely alert. A few examples may be listed:

"Au reste, fier et d'âme noble s'il accepta volontiers d'être hébergé en ami par Cornaro, il ne s'ensuit pas qu'il ait voulu vivre et subsister à ses depens ni être stipendie par lui" [I, 33]. [Ruzzante's relations with his patron Luigi Cornaro appear to have been invariably excellent; but we have nothing to show that he was *fier et d'âme noble,* still less that he or any man of his time would quarrel unprovoked with his more or less gratuitous bread-and-butter.]

"*Libro de comedie de più autori et prima comedia a la villana composta per misser Anzolo Biolco.* ... On remarquera que le copiste dit: *prima comedia alla villana,* etc. Ce serait ainsi le premier essai dramatique de Ruzante" [I, 117]. [The title reads, of course, "Comedies by various authors; and first, a rustic comedy by messer Angelo Beolco. ..."]

"Ce titre, la *Piovana,* n'a jamais été expliqué. Après recherche et réflexion je pense en avoir déterminé le sens: le Piovana tire son titre du canton de Piove, sur l'Adriatique, a Chioggia, où se déroule l'action" [I, 145]. [The title surely means "The Girl from Piove," since the heroine, as we are told in Act IV, "l'è de Pauana

[1] *andare in bando* here = "get off scot free." Cf. *Diz. Tommaseo* (ed. Torino, 1924), *s.v. bando:* "4. ... In bando, *non legato, ne altrimenti trattenuto.*" Cf. also *ibid.:* "3. Di bando, *Gratuitamente.* ..."

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sta putta del Piouò"—"She's from Paduan territory, this girl is; from near Piove." But this is not a Piove at Chioggia,[1] nor *où se déroule l'action;* and the title does not mean, as M. Mortier would seem to imply, "The Piove Play." Undoubtedly Ruzzante had the title of Terence's *Andria* in mind when naming both this comedy and his *Anconitana.*]

"Cet épisode montre qu'à cette époque, faute de police peut-être, les paysans ne craignaient pas de s'unir en bandes armées pour vider leurs querelles particulières" [II, 62 n.]. [Merely because *in a farcical comedy* the heroine's mother summons her farm laborers to drive off her daughter's suitor and his friends?]

"... la danse finie tous s'en vont ... hommes et femmes, deux par deux. ..." "*Hommes et femmes.* Cette didascalie scénique me semble démontrer que le rôle de Geneviève était joué par une femme" [II, 282]. [Can it possibly suggest anything more than that a part of the chorus was in female garb?]

Among the many other comments that suggest themselves, the following may be noted here:

[I, 17:] "... des comédies proprement dialectales ... on n'a retrouvé la trace que des représentations à Ferrare et à Venise. ... "[Notturno Napoletano *et al.* in the South, G. G. Alione in Piedmont, and various others might be cited to the contrary.]

[I, 67:] "... il ne semble pas que les jeunes filles allassent au théâtre ..." [To the evidence cited from Sansovino, we may add:]

"Ma perche 'n questa terra è certa usanza,
Donne, che voi non potete uenire
A uederci alla stanza, [i.e., in the theater]
Doue facciamo ogniun lieto gioire. ..."[2]

[I, 90:] "Peut-être ... ne s'agissait-il pas d'une comédie dont Ruzzante était l'auteur, car ... *il n'est jamais licencieux.* ..." [This statement (made in connection with Sanudo's remark, "fo recita una comedia fata per Ruzante ...," and his characterization of the play as indelicate) is hardly in accord with the facts, or with M. Mortier's subsequent statement on p. 129, "Tout le dialogue est parsemé de hardiesses licencieuses."]

[I, 124:] "La comédie sans titre a-t-il été représentée? Il est permis de le croire, car ... Nale s'adresse à une assistance: *He! la compagnie, faites attention! Ne dites rien, sur votre foi.* ..." [But does this prove anything? The audience is very similarly addressed, for example, in the 1582 edition of Lasca's *Pinzochera*, "... Non più strepito, ò la! non più romor di grazia, tacete se vi piace. ... Spettatori ..." ; yet the play is characterized on the title-page as *non recitata mai.*]

[I, 229:] [It is strange to find Luigi Tansillo here among the authors of dialect comedies. Can M. Mortier be thinking of the *Finto*, *Cavallarizzo*, and *Sofista*, printed in 1610 under Tansillo's name to veil the fact that they were by the indexed

[1] Piove is today a small town about a dozen miles from Padua. Whether or not there is any *canton de Piove* at Chioggia, it can have no importance here, since Garbugio makes the statement cited above expressly to emphasize the fact that the heroine, Nina, is not a Chioggia girl. Bertold Wiese (*Literaturblatt*, XLVII, 248) suggests *Piovana* = Regensturm: *Rain* was an essential-enough part of the twentieth-century drama of that title; but it hardly figures in Ruzzante's play.

[2] "Canto di Zanni, e di Magnifichi," *Tutti i Trionfi ... o canti Carnascialeschi andati per Firenze* ... (Fiorenza, 1559), pp. 462–63.

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Pietro Aretino—being the latter's *Ipocrito*, *Marescalco*, and *Filosofo*, with expurgations and with altered names?]

[II, 107 n.:] "C'était une croyance répandue dans le peuple, au moyen âge, que le dernier souffle s'échappait par en bas. ..." [At least as far as the reviewer has noted it, this superstitution in Italy applies only to the damned soul; while last breath and soul both, if blest, departed regularly through the mouth. Certainly all Ruzzante's references clearly imply such a distinction; that soul or last breath should escape the baser way meant definite damnation.]

The list of criticisms such as these could be continued extensively; but the main scope of M. Mortier's book is none the less triumphantly attained. He has collected all the known facts about Ruzzante's life and works, illustrated them in his first volume with a generous number of facsimiles and portraits, and set them forth, with some few slight additions, clearly and fully, if not invariably with judgment. The translations in his second volume, not always literally accurate, yet admirably reveal the detailed contents of Ruzzante's works to many for whom otherwise they were beyond all reach.[1]

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[1] Unhappily both volumes are marred by a large number of misprints (in addition to those caught for the Errata). Most of them do no essential harm, but one or two are misleading; e.g., I, 49, note (1): *for* "Giorn. Stor. LXII, p. 299" *read* "... LXIII, p. 291"; I, 144, line 5: *for* "218" *read* "278"; I, 232, note (1): *for* "scène II" *read* "scène XI"; etc.

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BRIEFER MENTION

In his presidential address,[1] delivered at the forty-third annual meeting of the Modern Language Association, at Cambridge last December, T. A. Jenkins has studied an interesting case of word-history or, as Mr. Bréal baptized that branch of philology, of *Sémantique*—how the word *novella, nouvelle, novel* has in literature, in the first place, lost its original meaning of 'a piece of news,' 'the latest,' and then assumed, when used by writers of fiction, two new meanings: (*a*) that of 'a striking or clever saying' (*novella*), 'memorable speech or saying,' and *novelle*='speeches,' *fiori di parlare, Redeblumen* (p. lvi); (*b*) that of the short story containing such a saying, ultimately coming to mean, for people using it in a loose sense, 'short story,' even when the story does not rest on a clever speech. It appears that the same phenomenon occurred in Italian, in French, and in Provençal. Under these heads, Professor Jenkins has some really striking examples to offer.

There is, of course, often an obvious kinship between the original meaning 'news' and that of 'clever saying'; when the story is told and cleverly told it has in it the elements of art and literature. In the very early days, when this word, which had such a remarkable fortune, was launched to indicate a literary genre, we find a passage which we are surprised to see is not mentioned by Professor Jenkins: in the Introduction to Poggio's *Facetiae* (I quote from Le Roux de Lincy's excellent edition of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, Introd., p. xlvii) we have the following:

> Il m'a paru bon d'apprendre dans quel lieu la plupart de ces récits furent débités. Ce fut à notre *Bugiale*, c'est-à-dire, une sorte de fabrique de contes, formée autrefois par les secrétaires [du pape] dans le but de se distraire; nous avions pris l'habitude en effet au temps du pape Martin V (1415) de choisir un endroit secret du Vatican dans lequel chacun apportait les *nouvelles* qu'il apprenait. Nous parlions tantôt de choses sérieuses, tantôt de choses plaisantes dans le but de nous distraire. Nous ne faisons grâce à personne et nous poursuivions de nos critiques tout ce qui nous déplaisait. Nous commencions souvent nos railleries par le pontife lui-même, et il arriva souvent que bien des gens se joignaient à nous dans la crainte de nos moqueries. Dans ces réunions, Razellus de Boulogne était le principal conteur et j'ai mêlé plusieurs de ses récits aux miens. ...

In one part of his address, Professor Jenkins tries to show that even today, although the real origin of the term *novel* has been totally lost sight of, some writers of fiction seem to betray something of the early connotation: *nouvelle* ='short story with prevalence of speech, or dialogue.' He mentions, among the representatives of the *roman dialogué*, such authors as Diderot, Roger

[1] T. Atkinson Jenkins, "On Newness in the Novel," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XLII (March, 1927), 1.

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Martin du Gard, A. Daudet, Henry James, Mrs. Wharton, and Unamuno, and states that "into modern French much of this older meaning has persisted: a *nouvelle* is distinguished from a *roman* not only by its comparative brevity, but it is commonly a love-story and realistic dialogue is much in evidence" (p. lii). It is a question, however, whether at this point the thread which should link the present with the past is not getting dangerously thin, even from the point of view of semantics.—A. SCHINZ.

In her article, "Arthur's Round Table," in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* (XLI [1926], 771–84), Mrs. Laura Hibbard Loomis points out what in this connection was unnoticed before, that in Christian art the table of the Last Supper was often round in form. She argues that pictures like those which she publishes influenced Robert of Boron's account, and this is probable enough, since the Christian connections of Robert's story are perfectly apparent.

The article would be wholly admirable if only it contained a statement that the new material in it has no apparent bearing on Wace, the first writer to mention Arthur's Round Table, but only on Robert of Boron, who wrote more than thirty years later. Arthurian experts will see the limitations of the article at a glance; anyone in doubt is urged to examine the Round Table passages in Wace.[1] He will find that Wace gives no sign of any association with the table of Christ, and says that he got the Round Table from "fables of the Bretons." Since the account of Wace is the oldest and since it purports to be Celtic in basis, the theory that King Arthur's Round Table is of Celtic origin still has the right of way. The value of Mrs. Loomis' article is in illustrating the development of the Table; it does not touch the question of its origin.—ARTHUR C. L. BROWN.

In 1910, Edw. Järnström published in the series "Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae" the first part of a general collection of Old French religious lyrics. There were sixty-five pieces in this first instalment; the second part, of eighty pieces, now appears (*Recueil de Chansons pieuses du XIIIe siècle, publiées par Edw. Järnström et Arthur Långfors*, Helsingfors, 1927), the whole work to be completed soon by the same editors. These lyrics vary greatly in interest. Some are a tissue of pious commonplace, but others are little masterpieces of easy versification, or are pervaded by a charming *naïveté* which reminds us of the noëls and of the legends and reflections embodied in cathedral sculpture. The anonymous author of No. LXXIX feels a great desire to sing fittingly of the purification of the Virgin, and does so, yet cannot repress the natural question, Why should Marie, the embodiment of purity, be in need of the visit to the Temple:

Mais quex besoins vous fist aler
Purgier el temple Salemon
Quant en vous n'est se purtés non?

[1] *Le Roman de Brut* (ed. Le Roux de Lincy, 1836–38), II, 74–76, 99, 229, ll. 9994–10043, 10555, 13675.

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To which humble query no doubt many an answer could be, and has been, given.

It is to be hoped that a complete glossary will be provided in the third and final volume, for there is much of linguistic interest. A few details may be touched upon: pages 12, 59, the attribution of No. LXXV to *Li quens de Bretaigne* receives valuable support from the unusual rhyme *eslez* (Central Fr. *esliz;* cf. Goerlich's *Northwestern Dialects*, p. 32); page 109, line 2, the versification would require the interversion of *fait* and *revenir;* page 110, line 32, instead of *viaires* the correct reading is no doubt *viaures*, from Latin VĔLLUS[1] which fits the sense perfectly—this word is rare, but it is well authenticated;[2] page 113, line 1, the troublesome *maumir* may be a variant of *marmer*, *mermer*, VL MĬNĬMARE;[3] page 127, line 69, *la baïe d'enfer* is 'the mouth of hell,' *baïe* being the regularly reduced form of *bayée*, *beée;*[4] page 136, as to the obscure word *sohier*, *soihier*, the meaning 'low companion' seems to suit the few passages in which it occurs, and one may suggest a possible *SŬT-ARIUS, 'swineherd,' 'swinish person,' from SŬTIS.[5] Certain it is that in the lyric of Pieres de Corbie it would be most natural that Hanot, being now married, "will easily learn to do without dangerous and violent tourneys, and will dismiss the gluttonous companion [?], who must always be a great consumer" (of food and money).—T. A. J.

R. Levy's *The Astrological Works of Abraham Ibn Ezra, with Special Reference to the Old French Translation of Hagin* (Johns Hopkins Press, and Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1927) is an entirely worthy addition to the series of which it is a part. The glossary is based on an Old French translation made by one Hagin (or Ḥayyim) surnamed *li Juis*, under the auspices of Henri Bate of Malines, an English astronomer, in the year 1273, from the Hebrew of Ibn Ezra. This version was one of several, as the treatise was popular. We have thus a series of connected texts, not detached glosses or fragments, in Hebrew, Old French, Middle French, English, Catalan, and Latin (two of the last). As a result, a check on the word concerned is doubly sure; we are dealing, not merely with a special corner of Romance, but to a certain extent with comparative Romance. The author's plan is to give first the word that occurs in Hagin, with his own rendering, then, in parentheses, the Latin and Hebrew. Other versions are cited but rarely. Where need arises, the Old French is quoted *in extenso*. Among the more elaborate treatments is that of *clofichement* (p. 86), defined by Godefroy 'les clous mêmes,' 'fabrication de clous'; also *clofichier*, 'attacher avec des clous.' However, by collating the text with Catalan 'subtills coses deles mans,' Latin 'omnia artificia ingeniosa,'

[1] Meyer-Lübke, *REW*, 9182.

[2] Cf. *Mod. Phil.*, XVII (1919), 415–16.

[3] Meyer-Lübke, *op. cit.*, 5586, who omits the Old French and Provençal forms, but see Godefroy and Levy.

[4] See Tobler-Lommatzsch, and Wartburg, *FEW*, p. 282, col. 2.

[5] Meyer-Lübke, *op. cit.*, 8492.

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Hebrew 'pittuaḥ,' and, for *pierres clofichiées*, with Catalan 'pedres que son segells,' it is evident that Godefroy made a mistake.

In this and other cases, Dr. Levy adduces copious references to other Judaeo-Romance texts. These often disagree in usage with the standard Old French dictionaries, at the same time displaying remarkable unanimity among themselves. See especially pages 86, 95, 101, 111, 113. Incidentally it appears that Godefroy was acquainted with Judaeo-French, but was subject to error, both as to definition and accuracy of citation. Thus he establishes a false relation between *eigier*, 'to build' < AEDIFICARE and *aige* < AQUA; as to the latter, we note that Godefroy misquotes, writing *la crenure de son chief* for *en son chief crenure*, as given in Hagin's version (p. 89). Likewise, the dictionary, using excerpts from Hagin, sometimes misinterprets, as in *avers*, 'au contraire de' (p. 77).

An interesting bibliography accompanies the work, also an Appendix, where are cited parallel passages from various texts. It is unfortunate they are not longer. Some isolated comments: It is curious to note the singular *compaignie* (p. 87) translating Hebrew *re'im*. Does the text read *me-re'im*? Judging by the inclusion of well-known terms like *combatant*, *compains*, *ensamble*, the author evidently did not desire to limit his glossary to the less usual words, but nothing is said about the standard adopted. *Debriser*, while somewhat less common, is sufficiently known (Villon, *Lais*, v. 16, for at least one case).—A. H. SCHUTZ.

Professor Wells has issued the third supplement to his *Manual of the Writings in Middle English* (Yale University Press, 1926), incorporating brief notes and bibliography of publications in this field between January, 1923, and June, 1926, together with some corrections of errors and omissions in previous issues. Everyone interested in Middle English will be glad to have this invaluable work brought up to date. Yet it may be doubted whether in the supplements it is best to follow the precise form of the original manual. The notes in the first half of the supplement are scrappy in effect and do not actually indicate the most important events of the period covered. Surely notable new publications such as Miss Hibbard's book on romances, Professor Brown's volume of religious poems, and the only modern edition of *Sir Gawayn and the Green Knight* ought to be mentioned there, for they are not only of bibliographical importance but are real contributions to scholarship. Or to look at it in another way, there is something obviously imperfect about a plan which allots a page and a half to discussion of the romances and seven pages to bibliography of the same subject. Clearly the bibliography, not the summary-section, is the useful part of the book. Perhaps it would be better either to omit the summaries altogether or to develop them in more detail somewhat like those in *The Year's Work in English Studies*. The *Manual* with its supplements, however, is indispensable to students of Middle English, all of whom realize their great debt to Professor Wells for his indefatigable labor and meticulous care.—J. R. H.

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The *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, by Mosén Diego de Valera, is now edited by Juan de M. Carriazo (Madrid, 1927). This text, Anejo VIII in the series issued by the *Revista de Filología Española*, possesses the distinction of being a new source. Lacking though it does the historical and literary importance of Pulgar's chronicle of the same reign, and, like Pulgar's account, falling short of the dramatic climax of Granada, the present work nevertheless fills in an important gap. An incomplete MS, listed by bibliographers but apparently never studied, has long existed in the British Museum. Señor Carriazo has discovered another MS in the Escorial Library, and still another in the private collection of the Duque de Gor. These three MSS, which supplement one another beautifully, have been combined into one and edited scientifically with complete apparatus of variant readings. The Introduction gives an exhaustive study of this little-known author, with an account of his writings. Diego de Valera, who was born in 1412 and died in 1488, was an important character in warfare, politics, and diplomacy during a long lifetime. He was a man of action, describing events in which he and his friends had participated. Señor Carriazo fittingly calls him the last of the line of medieval chroniclers, for nothing in his style suggests the Renaissance. He is anecdotal, with a partiality for describing *hazañas*. His merit is that he offers the testimony of an eyewitness.—G. T. N.

In *The Modernity of Milton* (pp. viii+277, University of Chicago Press, 1927), Walter D. Larson supports the newer view of Milton as a poet of ideas by emphasizing the modernity of his thinking. "His *chief* appeal is to the intellect" (p. 267). "Milton was, like Socrates, revolutionary and modern" (p. 237), "a powerful force in disintegrating medievalism and all that it stands for, and in bringing in the modern era" (p. 54). His "metaphysics constitute a powerful and far-reaching weapon in the revolt against the Puritan conception of life . . . . [the revolt] that paved the way to modern life" (p. 132). "His theology is as modern as any can be" (p. 129). Ethically, Milton is "perhaps the most significant exponent of the modern theory of life, which holds that all men are inalienably free and potentially equal. . . . " (p. 109).

The reader misses adequate analysis. Analysis would show that Milton in his thinking was not very modern. Modernity, of course, has many meanings, but applied to Milton it must refer, as Mr. Larson sees, to philosophical, ethical, or religious "modernness." Philosophically, "modern" denotes an interest in the function rather than in the purpose or design of things. In this sense, Milton, unlike Hobbes or Machiavelli, was not a modern thinker. Ethically, "modern" suggests reliance on experience rather than on discipline. In this sense, likewise, Milton was not modern, at least not in his theory. He was all for discipline. Theologically, "modernism" means emphasis on either character or "charity," and not on creed or dogma. In this sense, as Mr. Larson shows (p. 188), Milton was an emerging "modernist." And this, strictly speaking, is about the extent of "the modernity of Milton."—E. C. HASSOLD.

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An important contribution is René Bray's *La Formation de la Doctrine classique en France* (Paris: Hachette, 1927). As the Preface states, the work belongs rather to the history of ideas than to the domain of literary history proper. From this point of view, the author traces the technique of "imitation," established by the Pléiade, down through the body of rules developed on this basis in the seventeenth century. The question of taste (*le goût*), however, is left for a later study. Thus the work is an introduction or prolegomenon to classical doctrine. While M. Bray takes note of what has been written in his field and gives due credit to American scholarship, his work would have gained by a reference to C. H. C. Wright's *French Classicism*, which gives so admirable a picture of the classical background in Plato and Aristotle. On the other hand, limited as M. Bray's study is, with its emphasis on the French critics, it brings out well the importance of such writers as Deimier (1610) and La Mesnardière (1639), and it will be useful for reference. The Bibliography alone is of great value.—W. A. N.

Mr. Allardyce Nicoll, whose history of English drama after the Restoration has now reached its third volume, has recently edited for the Oxford University Press a useful series of "English Comedies of the Eighteenth Century." Five plays have thus far appeared under this general title: Arthur Murphy's *The Way to Keep Him* (1760–61), George Colman's *The Jealous Wife* (1761), Frederick Reynolds' *The Dramatist* (1789), Elizabeth Inchbald's *Every One Has His Fault* (1793), and Thomas Morton's *Speed the Plough* (1800). Though they can hardly be classed as masterpieces, these plays are interesting specimens of English comedy in a period which has hitherto attracted little attention from editors and historians of the drama, and their republication in a convenient and inexpensive form—the price of each volume is one shilling—is a real service to scholars. There are no notes, but for each play Professor Nicoll has written a brief Introduction defining its main interest and setting forth such facts as are necessary to an intelligent reading of the text.—R. S. C.

Harisse, Havens, and others have thrown much light on the English visits of the Abbé Prévost and upon the English influence on his work. Now comes Dr. Mysie E. I. Robertson with a critical edition of Prévost's *Mémoires et Avantures d'un homme de qualité qui s'est retiré du monde. Tome V: Séjour en Angleterre* (Paris: Champion, 1927). Dr. Robertson's larger purpose is to make available the text of Prévost's first account of England, so as to establish the novelist as "le premier et le plus grand des médiateurs entre la France et l'Angleterre." This she accomplishes very creditably, though she might have considered more fully what Prévost really knew of England. Material appears in his other novels and in *Le pour et contre*, and a concise survey of his whole knowledge of the English (and Irish) countryside and of the English mind would have adorned the volume.

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The Preface contains brilliant new biographical material. Harisse was wrong in thinking Prévost's contemporaries calumniated him in accusing him of having forged a note in England. He was imprisoned in the Gatehouse on December 13, 1733, and tried for getting fifty pounds on a false promissory note written over a true signature of Francis Eyles. He was freed, probably on the good offices of Eyles himself, whom the journals of the day in another connection describe as Member of Parliament for Devizes. (Dr. Robertson does not so describe him.) The imprisonment neatly is made to aid in determining the period of Prévost's absence from *Le pour et contre*. It also leads Dr. Robertson to conclude Harisse wrong in his annotation of Ravanne's remark that Prévost "étoit alors Gouverneur du Fils de Chevalier Ey ..." Dr. Robertson naturally likes to believe that the "Chevalier Ey ..." was Sir John Eyles and that Prévost was governor of Francis Eyles. This seems probable, but some details indicate that Francis Eyles may have been too old to have been a governor after 1728. It seems strange that it has not been possible to determine the date of his birth or baptism.

This volume represents an important advance in our knowledge of Prévost—particularly in these biographical facts. There remains, however, much to do in the field; this, of course, does not vitally concern Dr. Robertson's major purpose. Prévost's connection with the Eyles family should be further scanned, and, if possible, some study should be made of his relations with Nicolas Prévost, the London bookseller. Dr. Robertson contents herself with the customary statement that the two Prévosts are often confused. No one apparently has noted the fact that surprisingly early in 1731 N. Prévost was pushing the sale of "*The Life of Mr. Cleveland, natural son of Oliver Cromwell; written by himself*. 2 vols. 12mo." In the *Grub-street Journal*, March 11, 1731, N. Prévost advertises *The Life of Mr. Cleveland* under the caption: "In the Press, and Speedily will be published." It is announced in the same paper, April 22, 1731, among books "published since April" [began]. This is almost certainly earlier than the work appeared in French. Furthermore, in a periodical printed for N. Prévost, *Historia litteraria* (II, No. VIII [January, 1731], 202), the news from Utrecht informs us that Etienne Neaulme is printing some things by Antoine Hamilton and "is also printing *les Mémoires de Mr. Cleveland, fils Naturel de Cromwel, traduits de l'Anglois*. In 12mo. 4 vol. [The said *Memoirs* are actually printing in *London* from the Original Manuscript.]" In view of the delay on Neaulme's part, "actually" is probably a very significant word.

The same periodical (II, No. IX [March, 1731], 285–92) gives a summary of the story as found in Volumes I and II of the novel, and a promise—interesting in view of Ravanne's statement that seven volumes were contemplated —"to publish in a short time two other volumes, which will conclude the whole work." The article follows the Preface of the novel in treating the story as an authentic and historical document given to the "Editor" by Cleveland's son. The *Historia litteraria* for May, 1731 (p. 408), lists the English version

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for sale, and the following number (p. 510) lists *Le philosophe Anglois* (2 vols.) as received (in June or July probably) from Utrecht. It is then a tenable theory that *Cleveland* (Vols. I and II) was first brought out in English so as to make it seem a truly authentic piece of autobiography. In this deception, so typical of the day, the two Prévosts must have been working together. Two volumes of *Cleveland* were probably written in England and there translated into English by the beginning of 1731. The Abbé may have left England to arrange for the publication at Utrecht. There are many arguments contingent upon N. Prévost's connection with the novel.

The present writer is loth, in spite of the brilliant discovery of the Eyles family by Dr. Robertson, to give up a possible connection of Prévost with the Eyres, who had at least an accidental connection with Ireland that would somewhat aid in explaining the origin of the *Doyen de Killerine*, but a little fact is a dangerous thing and ought not to weigh against the probabilities piled up by Dr. Robertson. She has done much to clear up these obscurities; it is to be hoped that her study will be continued and that it may stimulate others to further work.—G. S.

A list of *Periodicals in American Libraries for the Study of the Hispanic Languages and Literatures*, compiled by Hayward Keniston, is issued by the Hispanic Society of America (New York, 1927). It lists those periodicals of interest to Hispanists found in twenty-three of the largest university, public, and private libraries of the United States. The most serious omission is that of the Congressional Library, lacking through no fault of the committee who co-operated in compiling the list. Hispanists will welcome this bibliographic aid; one now can easily determine in which American institution rare periodicals in this field may be consulted. It is hoped that the compilation of this list is the first step in a scheme of interlibrary co-operation by which each library will specialize in the ordering of a few rare periodicals, insuring the presence on this side of the Atlantic of every essential journal at some one designated place, but avoiding wasteful duplication of all but the most important. Similar lists in other fields are much needed.—G. T. N.

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DOCUMENTS AND RECORDS

A LEAF FROM A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY LETTER BOOK

As most of the surviving letters of the fourteenth century are of a business character, a special interest attaches to the following group of eight, which are of an unusually personal tone. They are written on a single leaf of a letter book,[1] badly faded and torn, which seems to have belonged to a lady at the court of Richard II. Six of them can be dated *ca.* 1393–96, one may be earlier, and one (the first) bears no marks of date. The owner of the book, from internal evidence, was Lady Alice de Bryene, wife of Sir Guy the younger and daughter-in-law of Sir Guy the elder—both famous knights of the time. How her letter book came into the hands of the government is at present unknown; but there is also in the Public Record Office a long fragment of a household book of hers, dated some twenty years later, which should be studied.

Perhaps the special interest of the letters lies in the evidence they give that French was still the familiar language of English society at the very end of the fourteenth century. They illustrate also the exaggerated courtesy with which relatives addressed one another; they are indeed more mannered than the contemporary treatises on letter-writing suggest to have been the general practice. But their exaggerated compliments do not obscure the human interest of the situations and emotions with which they are concerned. It should be noted that Lady Alice's secretary seems to have copied faithfully the idiosyncracies of spelling in his originals.

The letters follow in the order in which they stand in the leaf, with a few introductory explanations before each.

No. 1

This letter cannot be dated, and the signature has been torn away. Guesses as to the names represented by initials can be made but are too uncertain to be of any value. The writer is evidently a friend, probably a kinsman (cf. *desnaturesse* and *disnaturel*); and, for all his affectation of humility, he ventures to give advice about the management of the lady's household:

Ma *tre*shon*ur*ee & *tre*sou*er*aignement de droit entier coer biename dame Jeo me recomank humblement a v*ost*re *tre*sbo*n*ne noblesse come v*ost*re suggit & *ser*uant prestement app*ar*aille de vous faire *ser*uice solonz mon poair en honeste manere en [suppliant?] q*e* vous me voill[ez] comander mon petit estat gardee priant a dieux trestoutpuissant q*e* tiels nouell*es* toutdis m[oy] . . . . de v*ost*re bone estat [&] sauntee de vous oier come a dieux p*urr*eit estre pleisant oue tiele en[cress]e

[1] Now A.C. 51/24, in the Public Record Office, London.

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de vostre honour qe a tous voz amys & seruantz del oier soit ioie & confort Et treshonuree dame de ma noun venue deuan[t] vous a present vous pleise moi auoir pur excuse pur lez causes qe ieo vous ai escriptz par mez autres lettres qe ieo vous enuoiai pur v[ostre?] da . . emeins[?] . su[r] [yc]ele condicion qe si dieux pleist qe ieo soie en vie & en sauntee apres le Paske proschein venant ie[o] . . . . oue laide de di[eu] [saunz] ascune excusacion faire bon amendement Sur quoi ieo vous requer qe vous ma treshonur[ee] [dame] . . . . . excusacion pur nulle desnaturesse qar par ma foi ma treshonure dame disnaturel ne disloial a vous . . . . . ma treshonure dame touchant vostre hostiel pur dieux le mettez en tiele gouernance [apres?] vous . . . . . saluer vostre estat qar qui qe comence chose & ne le po[e]t bien continuer lom voet a . . . . . Dautre p[art] ma treshonure dame endroit dil ordinance qu monseigneur de L ad ordeigne pur lenhe[ritance?] . . . . . qe iadis fuirent a monsieur W de B iai en partie enfourme R D de le vous dire pluis plein[ement] . . . . . a present escrire Ma treshonure & tresoueraigne dame le seint espirit vous eit en sa digne [garde] . . . . . .[1]

No. 2

This letter is an appeal by a clerk named "W," who has been in the service of Sir John de Sutton, to his "attorneys," that is, executors, for the money due him. It is later than 16th Richard II (June 21, 1392–93); and as Sir John de Sutton, who held the manors of Wyvenho and Navestoke of "others than the King,"[2] was dead September 30, 1393, it was probably written in the autumn of 1393. If Lady Alice was among the "others" of whom Sutton held his lands, appeal to her was natural. It is to be hoped that she took pity on the poor man whose only pay from his master had been a black gown to wear at the funeral!

As treshonourez & tresloialx attournes monsieur Johan Sutton' qest a dieux comande [c]e monstre . . . . . qe come il fuist Clerc a dit monsieur Johan fesaunt lez acomptez en sez manoirs de Wy[uenho] . . . . . [N]auestoke . . . . en Bergholte & Goldyngham & duist prendre chescun an dil dit monsieur Johan pur loffice su[i]sdit xxvj s viij d pur son . . . . & sa vesture outre sez costages de couent fait ouesqe le dit monsieur Johan durant le terme qil fuist attendant a dit monsieur Johan en loffice suisdit dount le dit W fesant sibien lez auowez come les acomptes de touz lez Manoirs auantditz paremplist vn an entier del feste de seint Michel lan du regne le Roi Richard secounde puis le conqueste seszisme tanqe a mesme le feste proschein ensuiant en quele temps le dit monsieur Johan deuia & le dit W rien nauoit pur [son] labour foursqe vn gowne de noir drap de lez ditz attournes contre lenterement Et auxi il demande [pur] sez costages vn foit de Wyuenho a Nauestoke pur faire lez acomptez illoeqes alant & reuenant par ij iours ij s la some qest a derere amonte xxviij[?]s viij d oultre sa vesture & oultre ceo qil fist lez acomptez de Nauestoke pur vn an a derere deuant le temps qil fuist en couenant & oultre lez avouwez des issues dez granges de touz les Manoirs suisditz apres la mort le dit monsieur Johan & oultre son labour & costages entour

[1] The gaps are caused by a large hole—as if the leaf had been torn violently out of the book.

[2] *Cal. Close Rolls* (1392–96), pp. 168 f.

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la lese del Manoir de Goldyngham a ferme fesant neantes de ycelle[s] dount le dit W prie dauoir alloaunce come reson demande solonc la discrecion des auantditz & tresloialx attournes en descharge del alme de dit monsieur Johan qe dieux pur sa halte piete assoille

No. 3

As the first sentence shows, this letter was written to the second husband (whose name I have not found) of Lady Alice de Bures, the grandmother of Lady Alice de Bryene. The writer was Sir John Devereux, steward of the household of King Richard II. In the letter he calls Lady Alice de Bryene his "dear sister"; the exact relationship was that his son John had married her daughter Philippa,[1] although the young people at this time were still children. Devereux was for some years constable of the royal castle of Leeds, and in that capacity was appointed in 1385–86 on a commission of the peace with one Geoffrey Chaucer, not unknown to fame. It is also of interest to note that the letter here printed was written at Penshurst, the future home of Sir Philip Sidney. This manor Devereux held at the time of his death, before November 19, 1393;[2] and as he had a license to inclose it with a wall, to turret and to crenellate it,[3] some of the extant fourteenth-century work may be his. Since the Lady Alice de Bures mentioned in the letter was one of the great heiresses of the time (her income was estimated at 700 marks a year, equivalent to about $60,000 today), the anxiety of Devereux about the muniments is easily understood. The letter was evidently written in or not long before 1393.

Trescher sire voillez sauoir qe iay entenduz qe vostre compaigne dame Alice de Bures est a dieux comandez par qi certaigns heritage[s] doient turner a ma treschere soer dame Alice de Bryene & com ieo sui enfourme vostre dite compaigne ad aliene diuersez parcelez en son viuant & ore tard en son moriant de la dicte heritage Et pur ceo qe vous y estes homme de honourable affaire et [qe] ma dicte soer est alie a vous Jeo vous prie trescherement qe vous voillez estre aidant tant come vous y purrez bonement a ma dicte soer qelle puisse auoir possession & seisine de sa heritage & lez munimentz & euidences touchent ma dicte soer qe vous auetz ou qe vous sauetz estre es autres lieux vous voillez aider & faire [qils?] purront estre enuoiez & deliuerez a ma dicte soer et auxi conseiler ceaux qe tiengnent sa heritage par lalienacion sa dicte grande dame[4] pur lez restorer a elle come a la droite heire sanz faire pursuite ou costages en temps . . . auener Entendant qe cest fait est touchant moy par cause qe mon filz ad espouse vne de sez filles & sez heires et si en ycest fait ieo ferra ascune chose encountre vous ceo moi voudroit greuer Mais ieo vous tiegne si resonable & droiturel qe ieo nauera nulle cause & sur ceste vous voillez a moi enuoier vostre respons[e] par vostre lettre Trescher sire lui seint espirit vous eit en sa garde & vous doigne bone vie & longe Escript a Penshurst le xxvij^{e} iour daugst

Johan Deuereux

[1] Morant, *History of Essex*, I, 571.

[2] Dated September 21, 1392 (*Cal. Close Rolls* [1392–96], p. 245).

[3] September 21, 1392 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls* [1391–96], p. 164).

[4] Grandmother.

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No. 4

This letter, which begins the verso of the leaf, is more illegible than most of the others. It is unsigned; but the phrases "our signet" and "our manor of Sh[e]n[e]" show that it was from King Richard II. It was evidently addressed to Lady Alice, and must be dated before June 7, 1394, when Queen Anne died at Shene. Whether or not Richard destroyed the palace, as the chroniclers said, he never lived there after Anne's death. But the letter can be dated more closely by its discussion of the marriage of the "daughters of Filliol." These girls were Joan and Anne, daughters of Sir John Filliol of Suffolk, who were evidently at the date of writing in the household of Lady Alice. As Joan Filliol was married to John Chaunceux before February 15, 1394.[1] the letter probably goes back to 1393 at least. The Countess of Hereford, referred to as "our cousin," was Joan Fitzalan, a direct descendant of King Edward I, daughter of the Earl of Arundel, and aunt of a younger Joan Fitzalan who was married to Chaucer's friend, Sir William Beauchamp, brother of the Earl of Warwick. "Our cousin" was the widow of the famous Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford; one of her daughters married King Richard's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, and the other, his cousin Henry, Earl of Derby, later King Henry IV. These facts sufficiently attest the social position of the owner of the letter book.

. . . . . [n]ous vous auons [escript] . . . . . ez heurez touchant la mariage des filles de Filliole [sceantes?] en vo*st*re [m?]einage a deux de noz chiual*e*rs Nientmeyns ne nous souynt alors coment no*st*re t*re*sch*e*re Cousine la Comitesse de H*e*reford estoit en traitee & bargayn ouesq*e* vous p*ur* mesme la mariage Si volons qe le traitee en qoi vous estes ouesq*e* ma d*ic*t*e* Cousine de la matiere au*ant*d*ic*t*e* vous voillez continuer non obstant noz au*trez* l*ett*rez & ent[ref]aire p*ar* manere q*e* p*ur* elle nous vous puissons sauoir bon gree Don*ez* souz no*st*re signet a no*st*re Manoir de Sh[e]n[e?] le viij^{e} i*our* de Maij

No. 5

This letter seems to be from an officer, perhaps a clerk, in the service of Lady Alice and her husband. Although it is greatly damaged, there is in it a plain reference to a journey to Scotland, which is somehow connected with one John de Waltham of London, tailor, and the signature is preserved—"William Maldone." Likewise, it alludes to "the affairs of my lord and yourself" in a way which suggests that the husband of Lady Alice (Sir Guy de Bryene) was still alive when it was written. An account dated "6–7 Richard II" (1382–83) was rendered at the Exchequer by John de Waltham for a journey to Scotland, which may be the one referred to.[2]

[1] *Cal. Close Rolls* (1392–96), p. 267.

[2] P.R.O., E. 101/319:7. Waltham is not, however, described as a tailor or as of London. A William de Maldon, in the reign of Edward III, was questioned as to his accounts "for the carriage of the rolls" (E. 101/334:13); but there is no certainty that he was the writer of the letter.

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. . . . . dame Jeo moi recomank a *vostre* seign*ur*esse at*an*t come Jeo say ou pluis puisse en desirant doier & sauoir . . . . . de *vostre* gr*a*ciouse estat qe dieux p*ur* sa m*er*cy longement tiegne en hono*ur* & ease Dautre part ma . . . . . [s]upplie de moi tenir p*ur* excuse de ceo qe ieo ne vous ay vewe gr*an*t piece come moy semble . . . . . [ti]elx occupacions & busoignes touchant lez affaires de mons*ieur* & le *vostre* sib*ien* come de vous mesmes . . . . . [j]eo puisse bonement Jeo vous verraye & vous dirray lez causes de mez excusac*i*ons qar certes . . . . . ie forsq*e* mons*ieur* son Sire & le *vostre* qe Jeo desire pluis de veoir et ma *tre*shon*ur*ee dame si vous rien . . . . . Jeo suy en Escoce vous pleise enuoier a Joh*an* Walth*am* Taillo*ur* de Londres qi demoert . . . . . de mon *sire* & le *vostre* et il vous deliu*er*a ceo qe vous voillez Treshon*ur*ee & *tres*gr*a*ciouse dame luy . . . . . garde & vous doigne ceo q*e* *vostre* coer desire Escr*ipt* a Londrez le xxviij° io*ur* doctobr*e*

le *vostre* humble *se*ruant Will*ia*m Maldone

Nos. 6–8

These three letters form a group and are by far the most interesting of the eight. Number 7 was written by Robert Lovell, who had married Lady Alice's daughter Elizabeth, and Nos. 6 and 8 apparently by her other son-in-law, John Devereux the younger, No. 6 to his young wife Philippa, and No. 8 to Lady Alice herself.

Robert Lovell was a wealthy young Essex landowner and a squire at the court of Richard II. He went to Ireland in the King's service, June 30, 1395, with Alexander, Bishop of Meath, chancellor of Ireland; and again, May 16, 1396, with the same; and May 23, 1397, the last time, with Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, lord lieutenant of Ireland.[1] His letter was almost certainly written soon after he reached Ireland the second time;[2] and it was written at Trim, Mortimer's castle in Meath. Young Lovell was then in the household of the man to whom, directly or indirectly, Chaucer owed his reappointment, that very year, as subforester of Petherton. His letter is particularly charming in its strong expressions of gratitude and love, and of the writer's evident concern about his mother-in-law and his eagerness to hear of her welfare.

Ma treshon*ur*ee & de trestout mon coer *tre*sentierement bien amee dame & miere Jeo moi recomanc a vous si *tre*sentierem*en*t come ieo say & pluis puisse en desirant sou*er*eignement doier & veraiment sauoir bones & ioiouses nouell*es* de vous & de *vostre* honorable estat Suppliant a luy *tre*shault & toutpuissant dieux Roy Celestre qil mottroie toutdiz tielx den oier & sauoir come vous sau*er*etz mesmes p*ur*penser mieltz & soheider & come mon coer *tre*sentierement le desire qar certes ma ioie est renouelle q*uant* ieo en ay bones nouelles de vous p*ar*ont vous supplie qe vous pleise *tre*ssouent p*ar* lez entreuenantz men ac*er*ter p*ur* *tre*sentiere ioie & leesce de mon coer Et *tre*shon*ur*ee dame & miere p*ur* ceo q*e* ieo sui bien certein q*e* vous moult plerroit doier de moi & de mon estat vous pleise sauoir qal dep*ar*tir de

[1] *Cal. Pat. Rolls* (1391–96), pp. 595, 712; *ibid.* (1396–99), p. 145.

[2] The date—June 3—is too early for his first trip; and it stands in the letter book between two letters of the year 1396.

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cestes iestoie sainz & heitez dieux mercier vous esmerciant & remerciant en quantqe ieo puisse de lez tresgrandes tendresce & chierte qe vous auetz ew & vnqore auetz de ma persone & des aultres ennumerables bontez queux vous ad pluz de vostre treshaulte gentillesse moi faire & monstrer saunz nulls mez desertz vous suppliant de vostre bone & graciouse continu[aunce] toutdiz enuers moi Et sascune chose soit pardeuers moy qe faire puisse a honour & pleisaunce de vous vous pleise moy comander voz graciouses voilloirs & pleisiers lez queux ieo suy & toutdiz serra prest dobeier & dacomplier a tout mon petit poair come ieo suy tressouereignement tenuz & obligez Ma treshonuree & de trestout mon coer tresentierement bienamee dame & miere la benoite Trinite vous eit en sa tresseintisme garde & vous ottroie bone vie a treslonge durre & bon acomplissement de voz honurables desirs Escript a Trim en Irlande le tierce iour de Juyn

Vostre humble filtz si vous plaist
Robert louell'

The last two letters were written at Calais about Michaelmas, 1396: No 6, evidently just before, though the date was not copied into the letter book; No. 8, dated Wednesday after the feast of St. Michael. No. 6 is clearly from husband to wife and is signed "Ever yours," while No. 8 is as clearly addressed to Lady Alice and is signed "Your son D . . er" . . . with hints of other letters in the name Devereux. Thus all circumstances point to young John Devereux as the writer of both. His letters are irritatingly brief since the great event at which he hints was the marriage of King Richard to the seven-year-old French Princess Isabel (called in the letters "the Queen of England"), which took place at Calais at this time with a splendor that made the chroniclers lyric. But perhaps the matter-of-fact allusions in the letter are more stimulating to the imagination than any attempt to describe the occasion. The letters read:

. . . . . coer tresbien amee compaigne Jeo vous salue tressouent desirant doier & sauoir auxi [de vous nouelles?] . . . . . me de ma persone de mesme Et quant de moy a la faisaunce dicestes iestoy en bon point loiez en soit dieux Et endroit des nouelles pardecea grant ordignance est faite a Caleys encontre la venue du Roy de France mais homme ne sciet vnqore pour certein sil vendra a Caleys ou noun einz le Roy de France & la Roigne Dengleterre soi remuerent deuers lez Marches de Caleys Marsdy proschein deuant le feste de seint Michel Treschiere & de trestout mon coer tresbien amee compaigne luy tresbenoite Trinite vous eit en sa garde & vous doigne ceo qe vostre coer desire. Escript etc.

Trestout le vostre

Treshonuree & tresgracieuse dame & ma tresreuerente Miere Jeo moy recomanc a vous atant come ieo say ou pluis puisse desirant tregraciouse dame & Miere doier & sauoir de vostre ease & saunte de vostre corps qe dieux pur sa mercy vous ottroie en manere come vous mieultz sauerez deuiser et en suppliant vostre tresgraciouse beneceon Et sil vous pleist ma treshonuree dame & Miere de moy sauoir a la faisance dicestes iestoy en bon point merciez en soit dieux Et endroit de nouellez pardecea graunt ordeignance est faite a Caleys encontre la venue le Roy du France Mais homme ne sciet vnqore pur certein sil vendra ou noun a

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Caleys einz le Roy de Fraunce & la Roigne Dengleterre se remuerent deu*ers* lez marches de Caleys Marsdy p*ro*schein apres seint Mich*el* darrein mais hom*me* ne sciet sil vendra a seint Omers ou noun T*res*honuree & t*resgra*cieuse dame & Miere aultr*e* ne vous say a p*res*ent escriu*ere* mais q*e* luy t*res*puissant Roy du ciel vous ottroie bone vie & longe & vous encresce en honeurs al entier desir de v*ost*re coer Escr*ipt* a Caleys Mescrerdy apres le feste du seint Michel

le v*ost*re filtz D[eu]er . . .

In those days of few letters and little news, one wonders what the two women thought of these two epistles, of which the second is so palpably a copy of the first. At all events, Lady Alice thought them worth preserving, perhaps for their report of a historic event in which she herself was interested. That she herself and her daughters were at court when the child-queen was welcomed to London is altogether probable; and that Geoffrey Chaucer, whose sister-in-law (as most scholars now believe), the newly made Duchess of Lancaster, had the little girl in her charge, was also in the throng can hardly be doubted. I have even ventured the guess (which I hope to publish soon with my arguments) that it was for this occasion that he may have written his "Rosemounde." However that may have been, Lady Alice de Bryene was certainly of that court circle in which he was a familiar figure.

In conclusion, it may be noted that in the Martin A. Ryerson collection of deeds and court rolls presented to the University of Chicago in 1924 there are documents that concern Lady Alice and her family, including a fine specimen of the Bryene heraldic seal.

EDITH RICKERT

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VOLUME XXV NUMBER 3

February 1928

MODERN PHILOLOGY

A *Journal* devoted to research in Modern Languages and Literatures

THE UNIVERSITY *of* CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

The Cambridge University Press, *London;* The Maruzen-Kabushiki-Kaisha, *Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Fukuoka, Sendai;* The Commercial Press, Limited, *Shanghai*

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Modern Philology is published quarterly by the University of Chicago at the University Press, 5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill. ¶The subscription price is $4.00 per year; the price of single copies is $1.00. ¶Orders for service of less than a half-year will be charged at single-copy rate. ¶Postage is prepaid by the publishers on all orders from the United States, Mexico, Cuba, Porto Rico, Panama Canal Zone, Republic of Panama, Dominican Republic, Canary Islands, El Salvador, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru, Hayti, Uruguay, Paraguay, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Samoan Islands, Balearic Islands, and Spain. ¶Postage is charged extra as follows: for Canada and Newfoundland, 15 cents on annual subscriptions (total $4.15), on single copies, 4 cents (total $1.04); for all other countries in the Postal Union, 25 cents on annual subscriptions (total $4.25), on single copies 6 cents (total $1.06). ¶Patrons are requested to make all remittances payable to The University of Chicago Press in postal or express money orders or bank drafts.

The following are authorized to quote the prices indicated:

For the British Empire: THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, Fetter Lane, London, E.C. 4, England. Yearly subscriptions, including postage, £1 1*s*. 6*d*. each; single copies, including postage, 5*s*. 3*d*. each.

For China: THE COMMERCIAL PRESS, LTD., Paoshon Road, Shanghai. Yearly subscriptions, $4.00; single copies, $1.00, or their equivalents in Chinese money. Postage extra on yearly subscriptions 25 cents, on single copies 6 cents.

Claims for missing numbers should be made within the month following the regular month of publication. The publishers expect to supply missing numbers free only when losses have been sustained in transit and when the reserve stock will permit.

Business correspondence should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.

Communications for the editors and manuscripts should be addressed to The Managing Editor of MODERN PHILOLOGY, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Entered as second-class matter July 13, 1903, at the Post-office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on July 15, 1918.

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

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MODERN PHILOLOGY

VOLUME XXV *February 1928* NUMBER 3

KAHERDIN AND CAMILLE

THE SOURCES OF EILHART'S *TRISTRANT*

In her study of the sources of the *Tristan* Miss Gertrude Schoepperle came to the conclusion that the original French Tristan romance ended with the return of the lovers from the forest and the death of Tristan at the hands of King Mark.[1] She believed the whole series of incidents from the return from the forest to Tristan's death, as we have it in the poetic versions, to be a continuation added in the second half of the twelfth century. She saw in this late compilation, which she called the *estoire*, the source of Eilhart's German version, Béroul (except the Continuation), Thomas, and the *Folie de Berne*. Eilhart's poem, in her opinion, although not authoritative in every detail, is in general a faithful reproduction of the *estoire*.[2] Thus she rejected the theory of the unity of the *poème primitif*, the most important contribution of Messrs. Bédier and Golther.

Miss Schoepperle was led to her conclusion primarily, it would seem, by her discovery in the latter part of Eilhart's poem of episodes which show the influence of the courtly literature that only came into vogue in North France, according to the commonly accepted view, in the time of Eleanor of Poitou.[3] No one has seriously questioned the presence of courtly traits in Eilhart's version, yet there has been no general acceptance of Miss Schoepperle's theory of the development of the romance, and objection has been made to her late date for the

[1] *Tristan and Isolt* (Frankfort and London, 1913), pp. 445 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 108 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 120 ff.

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poem from which the extant poetic versions seem to derive.[1] Mr. R. S. Loomis, in a recent article in which he attempts to prove Breri the author of the French archetype,[2] finds Miss Schoepperle's arguments for the late date of the courtly love elements in the *estoire* unconvincing. He believes such elements present in the romance from the beginning; Breri is the man who first mingled "colorful Celtic fantasy with the Provençal idealisation of love." He would place the date of Breri's work in the second quarter of the twelfth century.

It is the purpose of the discussion that follows to show that certain features of Eilhart's account of the outwitting of Kaherdin by Camille were borrowed from the romances of *Thèbes* and *Enéas*, and, consequently, that Miss Schoepperle's dating of the *estoire* was correct; but that this borrowing was done, not by the creator of the portion of the poem in which it occurs, but by a redactor—further, that the remaining courtly elements in this incident were introduced by the same or a later redactor. If this be true, courtly traits elsewhere in Eilhart may be due to redactors, perhaps the same redactor, and the original poem may have been free of courtly influence. Miss Schoepperle's strongest argument against the unity of the archetype would then lose its validity. While Eilhart's French source, i.e., the *estoire*, is of the latter half of the twelfth century, the source of the *estoire*, the archetype, may have been considerably earlier. Of the French Tristan romances, besides Eilhart, possibly Béroul and certain parts of MS 103 of the Prose Romance may go back to the *estoire;* Thomas and the Prose Romance, except MS 103 and its derivatives, seem to be based upon the archetype.

The story of Kaherdin and Camille as Eilhart relates it is, briefly, as follows:

After the meeting on the highway Tristan and his companion Kaherdin arrived as agreed at the Queen's tent at Blanche Lande. The Queen received Tristan and sent Kaherdin to Camille. Kaherdin at once began to seek the favor of Camille. But Camille would have none of him: she is no peasant girl to be won with so brief a wooing. Indeed, she intends never to take a lover. If he had been five years in her service, obedient to her every wish, he would not have gained

[1] Cf. F. Lot's review in *Romania*, XLIII (1914), 128; E. Vinaver, *Le Roman de Tristan et Iseut dans l'œuvre de Thomas Malory* (Paris, 1925), p. 91.

[2] *Modern Language Notes*, XXXIX (1924), 319 ff.

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what he seeks. But, she concludes, if he were her countryman and of equal rank, and agreeable to her kinsmen, she might take him; he is such a seemly fellow.

Kaherdin was at his wits' end and would that he had never begun. But now the Queen wished to retire with Tristan. So she told Kaherdin that for Tristan's sake she would give him an *amie* for the night; he might choose either Brangien or Camille. Kaherdin hesitated, for he thought the Queen might not be in earnest; but finally convinced, he thanked her and chose Camille.

Now, while Kaherdin, upon his bed, was having his shoes taken off, Camille went to the Queen and asked if it were really her desire that she should lose her honor. The Queen answered "No," and told her to take the pillow, which she (the Queen) kept under her head when she longed for Tristan and could not sleep, and to lay it under Kaherdin's head; then she would have nothing to fear, for he would sleep soundly. So Kaherdin was deceived.

When he awoke next morning and discovered how he had been tricked he was much put to shame, but he had yet to endure the taunts of Camille. He was so vexed that if his ears had been cut off not a drop of blood would have come out of them.[1]

Miss Schoepperle compared this story with the type of courtly lyric known as the *pastourelle*, of which we have examples from the second half of the twelfth century, and pointed out a number of resemblances. She concluded that the *Tristrant* incident had been composed under the influence of the courtly lyric and offered it as evidence of the late date of the *estoire*.[2]

We cannot deny that certain features of the incident, those contained in the dialogue between Kaherdin and Camille, recall the *pastourelle*, although, as Ferdinand Lot said in his review of Miss Schoepperle, we need not necessarily postulate a *pastourelle* because a maid rebuffs a presumptuous gallant and tells him that she is no peasant girl to yield to such hasty wooing.[3] But whatever the ultimate

[1] Ed., Lichtenstein, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker*, Vol. XIX, ll. 6660–6804. I have shown in my unpublished dissertation, *The Courtly Elements in Eilhart von Oberge's "Tristrant"* (Chicago, 1925), chap. i, that Lichtenstein's text follows closely the original of Eilhart's poem. J. Van Dam (*Zur Vorgeschichte des höfischen Epos* [Bonn and Leipzig, 1923], pp. 40 ff.) came to the same conclusion.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 121 ff.

[3] *Loc. cit.* See also the Tarcon-Camille incident in the *Enéas* discussed below.

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source of these features be, and it may have been a *pastourelle*, their immediate source seems to have been the *Roman de Thèbes*. The poet of *Thèbes* relates how Queen Jocaste, accompanied by her daughters Antigone and Ysmeine, and on her way to a parley with the Greeks, meets a party of knights, among them Parthonopeus. Antigone and Parthonopeus fall in love at sight. Parthonopeus approaches and salutes Antigone courteously, but a knight accompanying the ladies answers in their stead. Parthonopeus, not to be thwarted, addresses the princess again. We quote the dialogue that then takes place, and compare with it the passages from Eilhart which correspond:

Parthonopeus pas ne s'oblie Mout li prée qu'el seit s'amie:	Do begunde der here Kehenis zu Gymelen minne suchen do enwolde sie es nicht ruchen. idoch en liz her des nit, ez were ir leit adir lip, vaste he ir ane lach.
"Par Deu, ço respont la pucèle, "Cestre amor serreit trop isnèle. "Pucèle sué, fille de rei: "Legiérement amer ne dei, "Ne dei amer par legerie, "Dont l'on puésse dire folie. "Ensi deit on preier bergiéres "Et ces autres femmes legiéres. "Ne vos conois n'onc ne vos vi "Ne mais ore que vos vei ci: "Se or vos doign d'amer parole, "Bien me poez tenir por fole.	die vrauwe do zu im sprach 'wa tut ir hen uwirn sin? ja set ir wol daz ich nicht bin eine geburinne daz ir mich bittet umme minne in so gar korzir zit: ich wene ir ein gebur sit. wie mochte ez anders geschin?'
	'ich rate uch uf die truwe min daz ir ez nimmir werdet lut: ja enwil ich nimmir kein trut. daz sage ich uch vor war: hetet ir ouch vunf jar zu allen mime bote stan, dennoch werez ungetan des ir gewugit wedir mich.'
"Por ço nel di, celer nel quier, "Ne vos eüsse fortment chier, "Se estiez de tel lignage "Que vos fussiez de mon parage, "Et ço fust chose destinee	do bedachte die vrauwe sich und sprach do her wedere 'ir dunket mich so bedirwe, weret ir min lantman und mir wol genozsam

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"Qu'a femme vos fusse donnee
"Car beaus estes sor tote gent
"Onc ne vi mais home tant gent."[1]
"Parlez en," fait ele, "o ma mére,
"Et par le conseil de mon frére,
"Qui voz parenz conoist et vos
"Seit acordez li plaiz de nos.
"Se il l'agréent, jo l'otrei."[2]

und gevilez minen vrunden
daz sie uch min wol gunden
und uns daz gezeme,
ich wene ich uch wol neme."[3]

The resemblance between the two passages is striking. Situation, elements of the narrative, even the order of these elements are almost identical: (1) a strange knight approaches a lady and without more ado asks her love; (2) the lady refuses and rebukes him for his haste: (3) why so fast? (4) She is no shepherdess (peasant girl) that he should thus seek her love; (5) but if he were her equal in rank, (6) for he is such a seemly fellow, and (7) if her relatives agreed, (8) she might take him. It seems impossible to doubt kinship between the two passages. Unless we are to assume a common source, for which we find no justification, one poet must have imitated the other. Of the two, the *Tristrant* poet is more probably the imitator, and for the following reasons:

1. We know that the romance of *Thèbes* is one of the oldest of the French romances. In its treatment of love it shows only slight traces of courtly influence; love, in fact, does not play a conspicuous part in the romance. In manner it is still close to the earlier *chansons de geste*. In many episodes of the *Tristrant*, on the other hand, we have, as Miss Schoepperle has shown, a very evident attempt of the poet to make his story conform to the courtly ideal. Consequently, other things being equal, we should expect the *estoire* to be of later date than the *Thèbes*.

2. In the passage from *Thèbes* it is not surprising to find Antigone intimating that she might after all accept the love of Parthonopeus, if his rank, etc., were satisfactory; for the author has already told us that she fell in love with him at sight, and later she does accept him as her lover. But why should the *Tristrant* poet let Camille also intimate that she might accept Kaherdin? There has been no preparation

[1] *Roman de Thèbes* (L. Constans ed.; Paris, 1890), Vol. I, ll. 3919–40.
[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 3945–49.
[3] Ed. Lichtenstein (referred to hereafter as O), ll. 6672–6702.

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for such a remark on her part, nor does she ever grant Kaherdin her favor; on the contrary, she calls upon the queen to save her honor and defends herself with the magic pillow, as the story demands. Thus in Eilhart, Camille's remark simply hangs in the air without connection either with what precedes or follows. The explanation seems obvious: The *Tristrant* poet took over the dialogue between Antigone and Parthonopeus as he found it, failing to notice the inconsistency that he thereby introduced into his own story.

We shall consider later Camille's declaration that she will never take a lover, and her reference to long and obedient love-service, the one point at which the *Tristrant* and *Enéas* accounts of the dialogue differ materially.

Other traits in the Kaherdin-Camille incident which Miss Schoepperle would explain by the *pastourelle*, the ruse by which Camille escapes and her taunting of the would-be lover next morning, much more probably come from a popular tale of the outwitted-gallant type, a tale which Miss Schoepperle herself recognizes as the basis of our incident. In her discussion of popular tradition in the *estoire* Miss Schoepperle cites a number of examples of the type from various countries and periods.[1] Its chief features as they appear in folk-tales are: A gallant seeks the love of a maid against her will; the maid decides to outwit him. They come to the meeting place, but by means of a charm she puts him to sleep. Next morning she taunts him with his failure.[2] Here we plainly have the essential elements of the Kaherdin-Camille incident. There is thus no necessary connection between the incident and courtly literature. Such an outwitted-gallant story, plus the passage from *Thèbes* and the reference to love-service, are sufficient to explain Eilhart's version—with one exception, the figure of Camille, which we shall now take up.

Camille is an intriguing figure in the *Tristrant*. She appears suddenly and unheralded in the middle of the story, and disappears just as suddenly a few scenes later; and she plays a rôle which from the preceding portions of the poem we should expect to fall to Brangien.

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 257 ff.

[2] Cf. the Swedish, Danish, and Scotch ballads cited by Child, *The English and Scotch Popular Ballads* (Boston and New York, 1886–89), I, 390 ff. See also variant F of the ballad of Broomfield Hill, *ibid.* Miss Schoepperle (p. 258) also cites a similar tale from J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1890), I, 36 f. Miss Schoepperle gives an excellent Bibliography.

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It is not strange, therefore, that scholars should long since have expressed the opinion that she does not belong in the *Tristan*.[1] The suggestion has been made that she is related to the lady of the same name in the *Enéas*;[2] but, as far as the writer is aware, no one has collected the material that bears upon the point. We shall now attempt to do this.

Camille makes her entry into the *Tristrant* in the train of the Queen at Blanche Lande, at the meeting arranged by Tristan to convince Kaherdin of the beauty of Isolt and of her love. Our Kaherdin-Camille incident forms the conclusion of this episode. From their hiding-place in a thornbush the two heroes watch the procession pass: cooks with their pots and pans; hunters, etc.; at length the King; the chamberlains of the Queen with their attendants; and, finally, one after the other, three beautiful ladies, each more beautiful than the preceding: first, Camille of Schitriele; next, Brangien; last, and of course most beautiful of all, the Queen. Kaherdin, amazed by their beauty, takes each in turn for the Queen.[3] We know from Miss Schoepperle's study[4] that this episode as related by Eilhart is essentially a combination of (1) the Chievrefoil motif of a meeting which the lover secures with his mistress almost under the eyes of her husband, and (2) the story of the lover's boast of his distant mistress.[5] Neither motif is necessarily related to courtly literature. The climax of motif (2) is the appearance before the judges of the fairy mistress, dazzlingly beautiful. As in the *Tristrant*, the effect of the lady's beauty is heightened by the arrival before her of a number of attendants each of whom is herself so beautiful as to be taken in turn for the lady. When the latter finally arrives, young and old press forward to see her.[6]

Turning now to the *Enéas*,[7] we find that it is in a train, similarly described in detail, that the Camille of the *Enéas* first appears, in the

[1] W. Golther, *Tristan und Isolde in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters und der neuen Zeit* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 80; E. Kölbing, *Tristrams Saga ok Isondar* (Heilbronn, 1878), p. cxxxix; Kelemina, *Untersuchungen zur Tristansage, Teutonia XVI* (Leipzig, 1910), pp. 42, 50.

[2] See W. A. Nitze, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XIII (1914), 448.

[3] O, ll. 6402 ff.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 138 ff.

[5] Cf. Marie de France's *Lanval*, and *Graelent*.

[6] Cf. Marie's *Lanval* (ed. Warnke[2]), ll. 473 ff.

[7] Ed. Salverda de Grave (Halle, 1891), ll. 3909 ff.

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military train which arrives to aid Turnus in driving out the Trojans. One after the other the chieftains are described as they pass, and finally the climax of the incident is reached with the arrival of the Amazon Camille, on whose beauty, dress, and mount the poet dwells with especial delight. Her appearance causes a tumult in the city; everyone wants a look at the lady "ki tant ert proz et tant ert bele." The very evident similarity of this scene in the *Enéas* to his source may have suggested to the *Tristrant* poet the addition of Camille to his galaxy of beauties. As Mr. Bédier says, "la loi de ce joli motif poétique veut que le conteur tire plusieurs fois parti de l'émerveillement croissant de ses personnages."[1] The latter would also make more impressive the beauty of his own heroine by introducing—in a secondary rôle, as her attendant—one of the most brilliant figures of the great literary success of the day. For such the *Enéas* undoubtedly was.

The kinship between *Tristrant* and *Enéas* is still more apparent in the Kaherdin-Camille incident. The starting-point of this incident, we recall, was a story in which the lady repels the advances of a suitor and defends herself by means of a pillow or some other sleeping charm. Now, like the Camille of the *Tristrant*, the Amazon Camille of the *Enéas* is averse to gallant adventure, in fact, to love at all:

> Le jor ert reis, la nuit reine;
> ja chamberiere ne meschine
> environ lie le jor n'alast,
> ne la nuit nuls oem n'i entrast
> dedenz la chambre o ele esteit.[2]

Here in the *Enéas* we find perhaps the source of Camille's declaration in Eilhart that she will never have a lover. This trait, it will be recalled, was missing in the *Thèbes* account of the dialogue.

Camille of the *Enéas*, too, is approached by an outspoken suitor, Tarcon, who addresses her thus:

> En bele chanbre soz cortine
> fait buen combatre o tel meschine.
> Venistes ça por vos mostrer?
> Ge ne vos voil pas achater;
> por tant blanche vos vei et bloie;
> quatre deniers ai ci de Troie,
> ki sont molt buen de fin or tuit;
> cels vos donrai por mon deduit
> une piece mener o vos ...[3]

[1] J. Bédier, *Le roman de Tristan par Thomas* (Paris, 1902), I, 335.
[2] Ed. Salverda de Grave, ll. 3977–81.
[3] *Ibid.*, ll. 7087–95.

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She replies in no uncertain terms:

> Ne vinc pas ça por mei mostrer
> ne por putage demener,
> mais por faire chevalerie.
> De vos deniers ne voil ge mie,
> trop avez fait fole bargaigne;
> ge ne vif pas de tel guaaigne.[1]

Finally, Camille of the *Enéas* has a pillow made from the feathers of the miraculous bird *calade*.[2]

The resemblance between the two Camilles is obvious, and in the similarity of *Enéas* and the *Tristrant* sources we now see why the *Tristrant* poet might have thought of borrowing the figure for his story. The author of the *Enéas* cannot have been the borrower; his narrative is based upon his source, Vergil's *Aeneid*.[3] On the other hand, there are a number of reasons for believing that the *Tristrant* poet was the borrower; but that this poet was a redactor, not the creator of the romance.

As we have already said, Camille has no place in the *Tristrant*. It is Brangien, Miss Schoepperle admitted,[4] who would naturally have had the part of the maid in the outwitting of Kaherdin in the older tradition. She had been the Queen's attendant and confidante from the beginning. We have referred to Camille's sudden appearance in the story at Blanche Lande. In the last scene in which we meet her, the second tryst at Blanche Lande, she is so obviously out of place that the poet considers it necessary to tell us that Brangien is dead, before he relates his story.[5] It is difficult to believe the creator of the Tristan poem responsible for so colorless an exit of one of his most important characters. Further, Brangien, early in the story, in the account of the substitution in the marriage bed,[6] had shown herself jealous of her honor and had yielded only after repeated pleading of the Queen. Certainly it is she that we should expect in the rôle of the decorous maid here. Again, we have referred to the inconsistency between Camille's remark in her dialogue with Kaherdin that under certain conditions she might accept his suit, and the outwitted-gallant story, which, we must not forget, is the basic motif of the incident.

[1] *Ibid.*, ll. 7117–22.

[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 7461 ff. Cf. Camille's reputation as an enchantress in later medieval literature. According to Bruce (*The Evolution of Arthurian Romance* [Göttingen, 1923], 1, 410), this probably goes back to the *Enéas*.

[3] VII, 647 ff. Cf. Salverda de Grave, *op. cit.*, Introd., p. xlix.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 211. [5] O, ll. 7560 ff. [6] *Ibid.*, ll. 2760 ff.

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This clearly points to interpolation of at least this portion of Camille's rôle. And there is still another inconsistency in Eilhart's narrative that suggests that Camille has been substituted for Brangien: In the procession at Blanche Lande, Brangien was not only described as more beautiful than Camille, but Kaherdin showed his preference for her:

do geduchte Kehenise
an allem ir gebere
daz sie vele schoner were
den Gymele die da vor reit.
iz were im lip adir leit,
he muste ir doch den pris lan.[1]

Why, then, in our incident should it be Camille that he chooses for his *amie* and not Brangien? Finally, Thomas, in his version of the *Tristan*, relates the incident of the deception of Kaherdin, but says nothing of Camille; it is Brangien who plays the rôle of the maid.[2]

For these reasons we feel justified in regarding Camille as a secondary development in our incident, and, for that matter, in the *Tristan* altogether. Introduced originally to add luster to the procession at Blanche Lande, the redactor, noting her resemblance to the *spröde* Brangien, kept her for his cushion story.[3]

As for the passage from the romance of *Thèbes*, the dialogue between Kaherdin and Camille, the following considerations indicate that it, also, is an interpolation: In the first place, Camille alone is concerned in it; Brangien does not appear. Second, it is not closely related to the chief motif of the incident, the magic-pillow story; the story would be complete without it, and would better begin with Isolt's offer to Kaherdin of an *amie*, i.e., after the dialogue. Further, and most important, Camille's remark that under conditions she might accept Kaherdin points, we have already seen, plainly to interpolation.

The long and faithful love-service to which Camille refers in the dialogue is a commonplace of courtly literature. Its connection with what precedes and follows is extremely loose—it does not appear in

[1] *Ibid.*, ll. 6488 ff.

[2] Cf. the Norse *Saga* (ed. Kölbing), chap. lxxxvii. Thomas alters the outcome of the incident by making Kaherdin finally—on the third night—successful. The French Prose Tristan has omitted the incident.

[3] In another article I hope to show that Isolt's celebrated love-monologue in the first part of Eilhart's poem also derives from the *Enéas*.

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the *Thèbes* account, on which the *Tristrant* was drawing, at all. It belongs with the dialogue. Its existence in the poem apart from the dialogue is obviously out of the question. If the dialogue was interpolated, the "love-service" was added, either at the same time or later.

Thus all the features which associate Eilhart's version of the story of Kaherdin and Camille with courtly literature appear to have been interpolated, and what is true of this incident may, of course, be true of others. In the original version of the incident, in the primitive French Tristan romance, we should possibly have found a story based upon the folk-tale of the outwitted gallant, with Brangien in the rôle of the maid, as in Thomas.

If the traits that we have discussed come from the romances of *Thèbes* and *Enéas*, then the *Tristrant* was, of course, written after those two romances. By the *Tristrant* we mean Eilhart's French source, the *estoire*. It might be suggested that Eilhart himself is responsible for the presence of these traits in his poem, but this is extremely improbable. It is generally recognized that Eilhart followed his source closely.[1] He occasionally condensed and omitted, but practically never added. Moreover, we know from MS 103 of the prose *Tristan*, where she appears,[2] that Camille was already present in the French tradition. MS 103 is here probably following the version of the *estoire*.[3] Recent investigation[4] indicates that Eilhart translated his *Tristrant* in the early 1170's. The date of the French *estoire* would then be the 1160's.

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[1] Cf. Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, Introd., p. cxx; W. Golther, *op. cit.*, p. 77; Miss Schoepperle, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 ff.

[2] Cf. J. Bédier, *op. cit.* (Paris, 1905), II, 376.

[3] I.e., what has been known in the past as the Béroul-Eilhart version. Cf. J. Bédier, *Romania*, XV (1886), 482 ff.; W. Röttiger, *Der heutige Stand der Tristanforschung. Programm des Wilhelm-Gymnasiums zu Hamburg* (1897), p. 26; W. Golther, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

[4] K. Wagner, *Eilhart von Oberg Tristrant*, I (Bonn and Leipzig, 1924), pp. 6 ff.; J. Van Dam, *Zur Vorgeschichte des höfischen Epos* (Bonn and Leipzig, 1923), pp. 85 ff.

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ALMAIN AND ERMONIE AS TRISTAN'S HOME

In a previous paper published in *Modern Philology* (XXII, 159 ff.) I proved Loenois, i.e., the Pictish territory of Lothian, to have been Tristan's home in the common source of the Vulgate redactions (Eilhart, Berol, Prose), and concluded by stating that this version is considered by all scholars as being far more reliable than the Thomas version, so that it may be taken for granted that Loenois was Tristan's home also in the *poème primitif*. The probability of this view is raised almost to certainty, if we take into consideration the fact that Tristan himself and his father have Pictish names.[1]

The Thomas version gives different names for Tristan's home. In *Sir Tristrem* we are told that, when Tristrem had slain Morgan and subdued his country, "Al com to his hand Almain and Ermonie" (905–6). This passage is not quite clear. Was Almain besides Ermonie, which is attested by the German and the Norse translation as well, the hero's heritage or was it Morgan's duchy? It is mentioned only here, while Ermonie is named previously five times. The hero's father is called "the child of Ermonie" (74). Tristrem was born in *Hermonie* (532). At Mark's court he has a longing to go there (762). He actually goes there (807) and thence to Duke Morgan, from whom he claims "mine hirritage Hermonie" (849). However, in the other two Thomas redactions Morgan is a *Breton* and his country, *Bretaigne*, is not taken possession of by Tristan. This fact renders it more likely that Almain was not Morgan's duchy, but was, like Ermonie, occupied by Tristan as his heritage, and that the English minstrel had merely forgotten to mention Almain at an earlier place as one of the countries of Tristan's father. This oblivion would be quite in harmony with the unlogical desultory style of the English minstrel. The view that Almain was, as well as Ermonie, a possession of Tristan's father, is greatly strengthened, nay is rendered practically sure, by the fact

[1] About M. J. Loth's opposition to this statement (in his *Contributions*) cf. my review in *Zeitschrift f. frz. Spr.*, XLVII, 231 f. About the name of Tristan's father cf. my article in Herrig's *Archiv*, CXXIX, 134 ff.

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that the German version also mentions two countries as once belonging to Tristan's father, one of which was Ermenie (*Parmenie*), while the other is unnamed (329, 5623). The unnamed country cannot have been *Lohnois*, which the poet knew as being Tristan's home in the Vulgate version (cf. my former article, p. 162). It is likely that it was *Almain*. The fact that at the very place where the English version mentions Almain and Ermonie as becoming Tristan's property, Gottfried says: "Hie mite was Tristande Sin lehen und sin sunderlant Verlihen uz sin selbes hant" (5623 ff.), seems to me to prove that Almain cannot have been Morgan's country, but must have been a second country that once belonged to Tristan's father. The disagreement of the Norse version is of no account because the latter is here in any case corrupt, since it represents Ermenia as a town. We are no doubt fully justified in ascribing to Thomas both the feature that Tristan's father had two countries one of which was Ermenie and the other not Loenois, and the other feature that he held one of them as a fief from Morgan;[1] but it would have been unnatural if Thomas had given a name only to one of the two countries. Now there is a priori certainly no ground for suspecting the genuineness of the name (apart from the form) recorded in the English version for the second country. M. Bédier indeed treats Almain as "une bourde de plus à imputer au conteur anglais" (I, 30; II, 109). This seems to be poor criticism, for M. Bédier has not shown anywhere that this minstrel was wont to make *bourdes* of this kind. He is certainly wrong in thinking that Almain was meant to be Morgan's duchy. He has altogether overlooked the striking agreement of the English and the German translation at the very same place.[2] He himself, in his reconstruction of the Thomas version, has not seldom accepted the English translation in preference to the two others, if the latter did not show a positive agreement. We are just as much justified in preferring Almain as in the English translation.

If Loenois is accepted as Tristan's home in the original poem, are we to exclude both Almain and Ermonie? Are they, by that very fact, proved to be changes introduced by Thomas? Not necessarily, since

[1] M. Bédier admits of this in his reconstruction.

[2] The agreement is partly even verbal: "Al com *to his hand* Almain and Ermonie" (905–6)—"Hie mite was Tristande Sin lehen and sin sunderlant Verlihen *us sin selbes hant*. . . . . Er hæte do *se siner hant* Sines vater erbe and al sin lant" (5623–34).

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it is perfectly admissible that Tristan's father was ruler over more than one country.[1] However, one condition has to be fulfilled by those two countries, provided they be admitted as equally primitive as Loenois: They must be neighboring countries to Loenois, i.e., to Lothian, or have such a situation that their being united with Loenois under a common ruler could appear plausible. I am now going to examine what countries may be designated by those names, and will, for practical reasons, begin with Ermenie.

I. ERMENIE

The forms of the name recorded in our extant texts are (cf. Bédier, I, 2): Ermenia (Saga; here a town in "southern Bretland"), Ermonie-Hermonie (*Sir Tristrem*), Armonie-Armenye (Low German fragment), *Parmenie* (Gottfried). The archetype of the Thomas redaction probably had Ermenie: *o* for *e* is a common graphical variant; *er*>*ar* is dialectic; *P* is probably a graphical distortion of *H*.[2] Ermonie is also admissible as the form used in the archetype.

The reader of the texts must get the impression that neither Thomas nor his translators had a definite idea which country was meant by Ermenie. So much, however, seems to be plain that their indications point to the Continent: to Brittany or to its neighborhood.

The Saga, the most reliable of the translations, calls Ermenia a town and a port in Bretland, more exactly in *sydri Bretland* (chap. xxiv). Since the most southern part of insular *Bretaigne*, Cornwall, is in this text always called Kornbretaland and is treated as a province of England (chap. ii) or as bordering on England (chap. xxiii), southern

[1] Two translations of Thomas, as we saw, give Tristan's father two countries. In *Durmart* Josefens is "rois de Gales et des Danois" (vs. 449; *Danemarche* was his wife's dowry). Galehot had conquered thirty kingdoms (Lancelot, I, 201); to King Rother seventy-two kings were subject, etc. We know that in medieval history there were many cases of more than one country being under a common ruler. M. Bédier (II, 194) rejected not only Almain, but also Ermonie, because, in his scheme, *y* (=Berol-Eilhart), Thomas and the Prose are independent redactions, so that the agreement of any two of them overrules the third (II, 192 f.). I doubt very much the correctness of this scheme, the practical results of which are that *y* is almost always preferred, because, if it is different from the Prose, it is considered as superior, and Prose and Thomas never agree in opposition to *y*. I still cling to the old view that *y* and Prose form together the Vulgate and Thomas is formally co-ordinated to the latter. A criticism of M. Bédier's scheme is to be found in Professor R. Zenker, "Die Tristansage und das persische Epos von Wîs und Râmîn," *Rom. Forschungen*, XXIX, 328 ff.

[2] Cf. *Pasquitan*> *Aquitan*, *Equitan* (hero of a lay) (explained by myself in *Zeitschr. f. frs. Spr.*, XLIX, 240 f.), and *Evroïc* (York), variant *Euruyn* in Chrétiens Erec (vs. 2131)> *Prurin* in Hartmann's version, vs. 2353 (intermediate form probably with *H*).

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Bretland in the Saga cannot mean anything else but Brittany (cf. the same meaning of *Sytri Bretland* in the "Guiamars ljoð," Strengleikar, No. 1[1]). This Bretland, the country of Tristram and of his father Kanelangres (chap. i), is said to be distant (*fjarlægt*, chap. x) from the country of King Markis, which is England, Kornbretaland included; and to pass from Kornbretaland to *syðri Bretland* a sea-voyage was necessary (chaps. i, xiv, xxiv, xxv). Kanelangres is, however, not the ruler of the whole country called Bretland, but only of a portion of it. His enemy, Duke Morgan, whose subjects are called Bretar (Britons) (chaps. xiii, xxv), is his liege lord (chaps. i, xxiv, xxv). We are told that the Norwegian merchants who landed in Bretland could not speak either *brezku* (British) or *völsku* (French), and could therefore not converse with the inhabitants (chap. xviii). Obviously the inhabitants of Bretland knew French, and only French, besides British, i.e., Bretland, was Brittany. The part of Bretland that had belonged to Kanelangres and was reconquered by Tristram, above all the town Ermenia, was bestowed by Tristram on Roald (chap. xxv) and was inherited by the sons of the latter (chap. lxviii). After having related a visit of Tristram to his home, i.e., to that district of Bretland, the Norse translator goes on to say that this Bretland had at that time as ruler an old duke, one of whose sons was Kardin (chap. lxix). We see here that the Saga, at least implicitly, identifies the Bretland of Duke Morgan with the Bretland of the old duke who according to the Vulgate redaction is called Hoel and resides at Carahes (Carhaix) in Brittany. There can be no doubt, then, that for the author of the Saga, Ermenia, Tristram's home, was a town and port in Brittany. Tristram was therefore a Breton as well as his enemy, Duke Morgan. *Bretland*, in all the passages mentioned here, means Brittany.[2] It extends as far as the fjall Michaelis (Mont Saint-Michel, chap. lxxviii), and the son of its ruler, Kardin, conquers Namtersborg (Nantes, chap. lxxiv).

The English translation does not go so much into details as the Saga, is more vague in its geographical indications, but generally con-

[1] Cf., too, what Wright says of an Anglo-Saxon map: "In Armorica for instance the author has placed the people, whom he calls in Saxon *Sudbrettas*" (quoted in Deutschbein, *Wikingersagen*, p. 146).

[2] But in another passage (chap. xlv), where the peace concluded between *Irland* and *Bretland* is related, *Bretland* is a synonym of England that is mentioned immediately before (about the various meanings of *Bretaigne* I must refer the reader to my discussion in *Zeitschr. f. frz. Spr.*, XX and XLIV², 78 ff.).

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firms, or does not contradict, those about Tristram's home in the Saga. Ermenie is not yet a town. Navigation is necessary for passing from King Mark's court in England to Ermenie or vice versa. Tristrem's father Rouland was a vassal of Duke Morgan (stanza 3), whose country is not named; but so much is sure that it is distinguished from *Bretain*, the country of the duke called in the Vulgate *Hoel*. For, when Tristrem left the country of the sons of *Rohand* (=Roald), i.e., Ermonie (cf. supra), "into Bretain he ches" (vs. 2641); but this *Bretain*, i.e., Brittany, may have been thought of as adjacent to Ermonie and to the country of Duke Morgan, though this is not expressly stated and though the omission of the mention of a sea-voyage could not surprise us in a text of so desultory a character as is the English *Tristrem*.

Gottfried, in spite of his loquaciousness, is the least clear of the translators. Tristan's father, Riwalin, is an independent ruler of Parmenie; but it was *ein sunderz lant* that he held in fief from *li duc Morgan* (vss. 329–30; cf. Bédier, I, 3, n. 1). In contradiction to this, Gottfried distinguishes in another passage (5623) *sin lehen und sin sunderlant;* for if there the *lehen* was also the *sunderlant*, we should miss the information that Tristan also reconquered his own country. Besides, *sunderlant* cannot have a meaning compatible with the word "fief."[1] Morgan is called *ein Britun* (327 ff.); his subjects are *Britune* (5349, 5365 ff.); his country is *Britanje* (5301, 5313, 5365). Parmenie is situated *jensit Britanje* (3095 f.), from a Cornish standpoint. *Britanje* is here evidently the country of the *Britun* Morgan, from which Parmenie cannot have been far off (5271–5313). People who move from Parmenie to *Kurneval*, which country, together with *Engelant*, was ruled by King Marke (424), or vice versa, go on board a ship (469, 1581, 5172). Tristan journeys from *Almanje* (Germany) via *Normandie* to *Parmenie* (18614 ff.) and thence to a duchy situated *zwischen Britanje und Engelant*, bordering on the sea and called *Arundel* (1869 ff., 18717 ff.); no sea-voyage is mentioned. This duchy in which *Jovelin* (<*Houelin*), (diminutive of *Houel*), the father of Kaerdin, rules and to which the town *Karke* (<*Carehes*) belongs, clearly corresponds to the *Bretaigne* (=Brittany) of the other translations of Thomas, of Thomas' own text and of the Vulgate redaction. During

[1] In Lexer's dictionary *sunderlant* is translated *besonderes, einzelnes, eigenes Land.*

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his stay in the duchy of Arundel[1] Tristan sent for help to *Rual's* (=Roald's) sons, on whom he had bestowed *Parmenie* (18784 ff.). They came with a small army to Karke. No sea-voyage is mentioned either on this occasion or when their home journey is related (18934 ff). Unless Gottfried did not know what was meant by *Almanje* or *Normandie* (which is impossible), he, too, must have thought Parmenie to be a continental country.[2]

According to the Saga, Ermenie is, as we saw, a portion of the country ruled by Cae(r)din's father, i.e., Brittany, while in the other two Thomas versions it is distinguished from the latter, but seems to be adjacent to it. In all the three versions Tristan's father was a vassal of Morgan, duke of Brittany; but the fief he held from him is, at least explicitly, Ermenie only in the Saga, the latter being in this text the only domain of Tristan's father. M. Bédier gave preference to the German and English versions in his reconstruction of this portion of the Thomas redaction (I, 3). The *sunderlant* would hardly be plausible as a pure invention, while the dropping of it is natural, since, after all, the possession of only one country was to be considered the normal thing.

We may then safely affirm that Thomas either identified Ermenie with a portion of Brittany (Saga) or placed Ermenie somewhere near Brittany (*Sir Tristrem* and Gottfried). I doubt very much, however, if in the latter case he had a particular region in mind, and I doubt still more if his continental localization is primitive, and agree with M. F. Lot,[3] who thinks these geographical indications to be erroneous.

[1] Gottfried or Thomas does not seem to have had a clear idea about the situation of Arundel. This was the name of an ancient county in Sussex. E.g., in a summary of English history added to a MS of Wace's *Brut* (ed. Le Roux de Lincy, II, cxix), *la dame* (*comtesse*) *d'Arondele* is mentioned as being married to *Jehan sans terre* (afterward king of England). In *Durmart* (vs. 6703) a certain *quens Braiains* [< *Briens?*] *d'Arondel* is among the princes who take part in a tournament. In the pseudo-historic *Suite Merlin*, *Arondel* is also wrongly localized; for it is *en Cornouaille par devers Bredigan* (cf. *Zs. f. frz. Spr.*, XXXI, 272), and belongs to *la terre le roi Yder de Cornewaille* (ed. Sommer, p. 190/37) (this king is also mentioned in *Durmart*, vs. 6655, with this geographical attribute, which rarely or never occurs elsewhere); but *Cornouaille* in this romance is somewhere in the north of England or in Scotland (probably because *Cornouaille* and *Leonois* were neighboring countries as explained in my first article, pp. 183 f., and *Leonois* was confused with *Loenois* in Scotland); therefore Arondel is not very far from *Carduel* (=Carlisle) (pp. 190/10–13, 198/38), or on the border of *Escoce* (198/23: *en la marce d'Escoche al chastel d'Arondel*, not far from *Loenois* (=Lothian) (198/28 ff.) and from *Estrangoire* (*ibid.*) (=Strathmore, cf. *Zs. f. frz. Spr.*, Vol. XXVIII), in the country of *Norgales* (probably Cumbria) (160/32 ff).

[2] Gottfried also used *Britanje* in the sense of England (e.g., vss. 431 ff.; cf. Hertz, n. 35).

[3] *Romania*, XXV, 25.

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This scholar says: "On trouve dans Thomas lui-même une contradiction prouvant que Tristan n'est pas un Armoricain." He has in mind the passage in one of the Thomas fragments where Tristan, being in *Bretaigne* (=Brittany), says to Kaherdin: "Jo sui en estrange païs" (ed. Bédier, vs. 2396). I may add that a few lines later (vs. 2401) Tristan says: "si en ma terre fuce."[1] This proves indeed that for Thomas, Brittany was not Tristan's country. However, it does not flatly contradict Thomas, but only the Saga, according to which Ermenie is part of Brittany, and with which M. Lot wrongly identified Thomas. Nevertheless it seems to contradict in a less striking way also the version of the English Tristan and Gottfried which, as I think with M. Bédier, here represents Thomas; for no doubt it is strange that Tristan calls the whole of Brittany an *estrange païs*, if one portion of it, though not the one where he then resided, was the fief that he held from a duke of Brittany.

Moreover, when we read the long account of Tristan's stay with Cae(r)din's father in Brittany both in the Thomas fragment and in the translations, it is really impossible to avoid the impression that this country, in which the population and their ruler were so kind to Tristan and in which the son of the ruler became his most intimate friend and the daughter his wife, was not the same *Bretaigne* as the one that had formerly belonged to Morgan, against whom and against whose subjects Tristan and his father had waged bitter wars. But Tristan's home Ermenie was necessarily adjacent to that *Bretaigne* which once belonged to Morgan, since Tristan's father was also ruler of a fief of Morgan's. Therefore, if Morgan's country was originally not Brittany, Tristan's home, the situation of which is determined by that of Morgan's country, can no longer be maintained to have been originally either part of Brittany (Saga) or a region adjacent to Brittany (Gottfried, *Sir Tristrem*). We may add that primitive insular Celtic stories had no interest in continental countries besides Celtic Brittany; therefore Ermenie, not being Brittany, either must once have been an insular territory, or else cannot have been primitive. Thus the contradictions in Thomas' redaction prove that his localization of Ermenie on the Continent is unreliable. Hence we are at

[1] Thomas, vs. 2401, is also to be found in the Saga, chap. xcvi: "Ef ek væra i minu landi."

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liberty, nay even bound, to look for Ermenie in the insular Celtic territory.

Formerly, before M. J. Loth had brought forth his Cornish theory,[1] he had proposed to identify Ermenie with the Isle of Man which was once called *Eubonia* (thus, e.g., in Nennius), *Eumania* (in Tigernach's Irish chronicle).[2] But he had also admitted as a possible etymon the Irish name *Ur-muwan* (=Ormond), Latinized *Ormonia*, *Ermonia* (but these Latin forms are hypothetical). More recently M. Loth,[3] under the enticing influence of his Cornish theory, looked for Ermenie in Cornwall, in spite of the fact that our romance clearly states and postulates that Tristan's country is different from Marc's and at a considerable distance from it. He found a place called *Harmony* at the frontier of Devonshire, probably identical with a *manoir* called *Ermenheu-Hirmeneu* (recorded by the *Domesday Book*), the Old Cornish name of which may have been *Hir-moniu*. This *manoir*, then, would have been converted by legend into a country, nay a kingdom (vulgate and archetype).

But M. Loth, like the old scholiast of the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* or the author of the *Dindsenchas*, offers us a choice of *causae:* Hermenie might also be *une méprise pour "Henmoniu," lu "Hermoniu"* and designate the region of St. David's, called in Welsh *Mynyw*, in the eighth or ninth century *Moniu*. He thinks this hypothesis to be confirmed by the *Carloon* passage in Berol and Marie's *Chievrefoil*, which I have discussed in *Modern Philology*, XXII, 169 ff. He concludes: "En somme, c'est le Sud-Galles qui paraîtra répondre le mieux aux exigences du roman." M. J. Loth is not aware that this view is hardly compatible with his hypothesis of the Cornish origin of the Tristan legend. For why should a Cornish legend have chosen a Welshman, not a Cornishman, as hero?

Professor Röttiger[4] drew the attention of his readers to an incident peculiar to the Prose Tristan,[5] in which Tristan delivered the *pays du Servage*, situated *sur la côte de "Norgales"* (the river *Marse*, mentioned there, is probably the Mersey), and thence sailed to *la Petite Bretaigne*.

[1] No doubt M. Loth owed this hypothesis to M. Muret, whose article he knew (cf. p. 88, n. 3).

[2] *Revue celtique*, XVIII, 315 ff.

[3] *Contributions*, p. 89.

[4] *Der heutige Standl. Tristan forschung* (189F), p. 4.

[5] Löseth, §§ 61 ff.

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The Palamedes MS B.N. f. 355, reproducing this incident, contains the additional information that the sailors who steered Tristan's ship, "avaient été pendant sept ans au service du roi de la Grant Hermenie."[1] Professor Röttiger considers this minor trait as original. He thinks that sailors well acquainted with the coast of *Norgales*, where Tristan on his arrival had been shipwrecked, were chosen, and concludes that *Hermenie* was somewhere on the coast of *Norgales*. This argument stands on a rather weak foundation, as the text of MS B.N. fr. 355 is a very late one, and as the passage admits of other explanations. If the author of the passage knew Hermenie as Tristan's home, he may have chosen sailors who had been in the service of the king of Hermenie, because they were Tristan's countrymen, but then Hermenie may have been situated anywhere, e.g., as in the Thomas versions, in or near Brittany, which was the goal of Tristan's voyage. In Thomas, however, Tristan's father was not a king (he was so in the Vulgate and no doubt also in the archetype), and his country was hardly such as to deserve the epithet *grant*. This epithet seems to me to point rather to the oriental *Hermenie*, i.e., Armenia (about the use of the latter in the Old French stories cf. Hertz, *Tristan*, n. 3, and Langlois' *Table*); for oriental towns and countries are often found with that epithet (*Constantinoble la grant, Troies la grant, Rousie la grant, Inde la grant*),[2] and we actually find *la grant Armenie* twice in Couldrette's *Mellusigne* (vss. 4957, 5767; var. *Ermenie*, vs. 6115) and also in the prose version (p. 24) (=Asiatic Armenia). At least a confusion with Armenia may have taken place and may have given rise both to the epithet and to the conception of Hermenie as a kingdom.

M. Muret, in his review of Professor Röttiger's treatise,[3] took the latter's suggestion as a starting-point for his explanations of the name Ermenie. He therefore turned his attention to Wales. He merely mentioned the view that Ermenie might be St. David's (Mynyw, Menevia) in South-Wales, and proposed as an explanation of his own the identification with Carnarvon in North-Wales, referring to a passage in Giraldus Cambrensis: "Kairarvon id est castrum de Arvon. Dicitur

[1] *Ibid.*, § 640.

[2] Only in the *Suite Merlin*, BN 337, I find exceptions to this rule: *Claellus de Northumberlande la grant* (p. 38), *roi Lac d'Orcanie la grant* (p. 37); but no doubt in both cases the adjective was added, because in the same list of knights we also find *li rois Loth d'Orcanie* and *li rois Clarions de Northumberlande*, and a distinction was desirable.

[3] *Rom.*, XXVII, 608 f.

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autem Arvon provincia 'contra Mon' [the ordinary meaning of the preposition *ar* is "on"], eo quod sita sit contra Moniam insulam [*Mon, Monia* was the name of the island Anglesey]."[1] I may observe that in Old Welsh both *b* and *m* in certain positions, e.g., after *r*, regularly become *v* (later written *f*), while the older spellings were often preserved, so that *b, m, v(f)* might alternate with one another.[2]

I also refer in this connection to a note by E. C. Quiggin,[3] who quoted from an Old Irish text: "He [Labraid Longsech] went eastward till he reached the island of the Britons and the speckled youths of the land of Armenia." Quiggin thought (as it seems, without knowing M. Muret's review or the Ermenie of the Tristan romance) that *Arvon* must be meant by *Armenia:* "A course in the main easterly from any port between Drogheda and Arklow would bring him to Arvon, which in early Irish spelling would be Armon." A copyist, unacquainted with this name, may have replaced it by *Armenia.*

No less interesting is Professor M. Deutschbein's discovery of the use of *Armonia, Armonica* (adjective?) for Wales in a *Vita S. Oswaldi* (composed about 1160) (*Wikingersagen*, pp. 179 f.): "quomodo Pendam fugaverit in Armoniam, id est Walliam; regem Pendam paganum in Armonicam Waliam fugam inire compulerat. Est itaque locus iste conterminus finibus Armonicae Waliae quod Waliae quondam pars maxima dicta est Armonica."[4] Professor Deutschbein showed that in the same text *Armonia, Armonica,* also designates Brittany: "fugavit in Armonicam . . . . fugit in Armoniam ad regem Alanum Solomonis nepotem."[5] A long time ago W. Hertz[6] had pointed out that the Anglo-Saxon chronicle in its Introduction represents the *Bryttas* of Great Britain as having come from Armenia, thus rendering Bede's *de tractu Armoricano.* H. Suchier, in Stimming's edition of the Anglo-Norman *Boeve de Haumtone* (p. cxcv), is no doubt right in believing that the

[1] *Arvon* (*Arfon*) was the name of the *cantref;* the town Carnarvon, the *Segontium* of the Romans, was called in Welsh *Caer* (*Saint*) *yn Arfon* (cf. J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, pp. 233–34).

[2] Cf. Strachan, *An Introduction to Early Welsh*, §§ 12 f.; Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, I, § 284; Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus*, p. 237.

[3] "Armon, Armenia," *Revue celtique*, Vol. XXXVIII (1920).

[4] Unfortunately he does not say in express terms, nor can I, not being in touch with a large library, find out whether this particular *Vita* was composed in England or on the Continent; for there was also a Breton *Vita;* cf. Baesecke, *Der Münchner Oswald* (1907), p. 264. Professor Deutschbein speaks of a tradition in England (p. 180).

[5] Note that *Armoni* (*c*)*a*, when designating Wales, seems to have needed the explanation *Walia*, while, when designating Brittany, it could stand by itself.

[6] *Tristan*, n. 3.

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Anglo-Saxon author here thought of Asiatic Armenia; for other legends, of which this author had also some knowledge, make the Scots and Picts come from Scythia (Scythia = Scotia). But when Armorica was termed *Armoni(c)a*, there was evidently no confusion with Asiatic Armenia. Was it merely a graphical distortion or does it presuppose the influence of Welsh *Armon-Armonia?* Professor Deutschbein did not attempt to explain how Wales came to be called *Armoni(c)a*. Was it because on the one side both Wales and Brittany were called *Britannia*, on the other side Brittany was also called *Armorica* (>*Armoni(c)a*)? Or was *Armoni(c)a* a Latinization of *Arvon-Armon*, extended to the whole of Wales? The passage *Armonica quondam pars maxima Waliae* may be a reminiscence of the original meaning of the name, though *maxima* would be an exaggeration. If *Armoni(c)a* is not to be found in any other text but the *Vita S. Oswaldi* in which both meanings of *Armoni(c)a* are attested, the assumption may be made that there was a confusion of names.

H. Suchier[1] identified the country of *Hermin*, king of the *Hermins* in *Boeve de Hamtone*, with Tristan's home Ermenie which he thought to be Brittany. Hermin's country is called *Egipte* in the Anglo-Norman version, but *Ermonie* in the English translation of it and *Hermenie Ermenie* in the continental French versions. *(H)ermenie*, which no doubt is the right name and from which the names of the king and the inhabitants are derived, seems to be part of *Egipte*,[2] but is the Asiatic Armenia transplanted to the Nile. Originally, however, it may have been Wales (not Brittany!), confused with the homonymous oriental country, if the name of Wales may be supposed to have been in this Viking romance *Armonia* or *Armenia* as in the above-named texts. The name of the pagan king *Yvori* (if it is to be equated with Welsh *Ivor* = Norse *Ivar*) and especially *Abreford*, the name of the capital of the Hermins, would point to Wales, not to Brittany. H. Suchier considered the first component of Abreford to be Welsh *aber* (= "mouth of a river"); but no doubt Abreford, if Welsh—and this is likely—is the town Haverford (-West) in Pembrokeshire, an important trading-place in medieval times, as Professor Deutschbein[3] demonstrated, and a Viking settlement.[4] Its name was

[1] *Op. cit.* [2] Cf. Fassung I, 735–43. [3] *Wikingersagen*, I, 204.

[4] Cf. Alexander Bugge, "Norse Settlements round the Bristol Channel," *Contributions to the History of the Norsemen in Ireland*, Vol. III (Christiania, 1900).

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originally *Hafrsfjörđ* (*hafr* = "ram"; *fjörđ* = "firth"). There was in Norway a town of this name (cf. Cleasby-Vigfusson, *Icelandic-English Dictionary*, *s.v.* "hafr"). *Hafr* (*f* sounded as *v*) was confused with Welsh *aber*, as *fjörđ* with English "ford." Thus we have a number of arguments in favor of the view that Wales or part of it was once called *Armenie* or *Ermenie*.

Merely for the sake of completeness, I mention H. Zimmer's identification of *Permenie* with *Bernicia* (Northumberland) in *Zeitschr. f. frz. Spr.*, XIII, 101, an explanation that is altogether untenable, and my own derivation of *Permenie* from *Hybernia* in the same periodical, XX, 136, a view that I have given up for a very long time.[1]

The attempts to explain Ermenie are, as we see, rather numerous. Some of them might be formally admissible, but none materially, if Ermenie is supposed to go back to the original of the romance; for none meet the requisite I stated above: If Ermenie is to be the primitive home of Tristan, the *condicio sine qua non* is that it was situated near *Loenois* (= Lothian).

Now there is a territory which would fulfil this condition and the name of which is equal in form to one of those proposed by M. J. Loth as etymon of *Ermenie*. I quote from authorities on Celtic history. W. F. Skene[2] says:

Between the kingdom of Northumbria and that of the Strathclyde Britons lay two small districts termed *Calatria* and *Campus-Manann*. Calatria was the district extending from Falkirk to the shore of the Firth. . . . . The Celtic name of this district was Calathros.[3] . . . . West of this lay the district called *Campus Manand* or *Manann*.[4] The name *Manand* is the same in form with the Irish name of the Isle of Man also called *Manand*. The epithet *Campus*, or "plain," was probably applied to it to distinguish it from the island. The Welsh form of the name is *Manau*, and the Isle of Man was likewise known to the Welsh by that name. The district they termed *Manau Gododin*, to distinguish it from the island, and it is described in the Saxon and Welsh additions to the *Historia Britonum* as "Regio que vocatur Manau

[1] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 162.

[2] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, pp. lxxx f.

[3] I mention in passing that this region, called *Calateria* in a charter of King David (Skene, *Chron.*, p. lxxxi, n. 1), is the scene of the action in the "lai del Desiré: En Escoce a une contree Ki Calatir est appelle[e] Encoste de la Blanche Lande Juste la mer ki tant est grande" (cf. my note in *Zs. f. frz. Spr.*, XLIX, 122). The neighboring district *Loeneis*, also mentioned in this lay (cf. *ibid.*), with the town of Edinburgh (*Daneborc*) is the scene of the action of the *lai Doon*.

[4] Cf. Tigernach's Irish annals (ad a. 711): "Strages Pictorum in campo Manand a Saxonis" (*Saxon Chronicle: betwix Hæfe and Cære*—the Avon and the Carron [*op. cit.*, n. 2]).

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Gododin in parte sinistrali," or the north of Britain. The name is still preserved in that flat and barren moor forming the parish of Slamannan, and called of old *Slamannan Muir*. The name *Slamannan* is the Gaelic *Sliabh Mannan*, the word *Sliabh* meaning a "moor," but it certainly extended as far as the river Almond, and may possibly have included the whole of the modern county of Linlithgow; and as this county approaches at the Queensferry within a short distance of the opposite coast of the Firth, it may have even extended beyond it, and left another trace of its name in the county of *Clackmannan*.[1]

J. Rhys says:

It [i.e., the permanent settlement of the Picts on the southern side of the Firth of Forth] is called in Welsh Manaw of the Gododin, to distinguish it from another Manaw beyond the Forth, as well as from the Isle of Man, which appears in the same language as the Island of Manaw. The Pictish settlement included the part of Lothian in which Edinburgh is situated, and a portion of the Pentland hills. . . . .[2]

And at another place:[3]

The region called by the Welsh the land of Manaw, a name which survives in Slamannan Moor, in which the river Avon rises, in the county of Linlithgow, and also in Clackmannan, which suggests that another piece of Manaw lay north of the Forth, both having possibly been included in the territory of the people whom Ptolemy calls Dumnonii. Their county touched two salt waters, the Firth of Forth and the Firth of Clyde or the Irish Sea. Adjoining them, close to the former, was another piece of the ancient Manaw, called by the Welsh the Manaw of the Gododin: these were the people known in Ptolomy's time as Votadini,[4] and placed on the coast from the Firth of Forth to the confines of the land which he considered the Brigantes to have inhabited as their own [called after them *Bernicia* = Northumberland]. Before leaving this district south of the Forth, it may be mentioned that next to nothing is known of the relation in which the Picts of Lothian and of Galloway stood to their kinsmen in the north. . . . .

J. Rhys knows also a place called *Dun Mannan*, or Fort of Man, in Ireland.[5]

The Manau in Scotland was the scene of many wars. It formed the greater part of what Skene termed "the debatable lands."[6] As here the boundaries of the four kingdoms and nations (Angles, Picts,

[1] Cf. also Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I, 237–38.

[2] *Celtic Britain* (4th ed.), p. 112. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 155–56.

[4] About this etymology cf. also J. Loth, *Rev. Celt.*, XL, 9.

[5] *Hibbert Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion*, p. 324 n.

[6] *Celtic Scotland*, I, 237.

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Britons, Scots) approached one another, "it possessed a very mixed population and was the scene of most of the conflicts between these four states." Manau had a special importance for the Welsh, because it supplied them (especially the North-Welsh) with two important dynasties. "*De regione quae vocatur Manau Guotodin* Cunedag [Cunedda] came with his sons, 116 years before the reign of Maelgwn, the most powerful of his descendants [i.e., in the first part of the fifth century], and took possession of North-Wales, after having expelled the *Scotti* [i.e., the original Goidelic population?] *cum ingentissima clade*" (Nennius, § 62). Cunedda and his family were North-Britons who emigrated from Manau at the time "when the Picts succeeded in possessing themselves of a part of Manaw."[1] Some of Cunedda's (8–9) sons and one of his grandsons gave their names to provinces of Wales.[2] At a later time, when Kynan, son of Cadwaladr, died, his son-in-law Mervyn (Merminus) became *rex Brittonum* in Wales. He was the father of King Rhodri the Great (†877), and is said to have been originary of Manaw, where no doubt part of the population was still British.[3] The tract *De Brachan Brecheniauc et cognatione eius*, written by a Welshman, connects several more or less famous personages of Wales with Manaw in Scotland.[4] One of Brachan's sons, buried in Manaw, was called Arthur.

Let us now consider the linguistic side of the hypothesis. J. Rhys[5] said of the Gaelic or Irish form of the name: "[Irish] *Manann* (also written *Manand*) is the genitive, but it is also used as the nominative, which should have been *Manu*."[6] According to R. Thurneysen,[7] the Irish forms were nominative *Mana*, genitive *Manann*. The only scholar who, to my knowledge, gave an explanation of the various

[1] Cf. Rhys, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[2] Cf. J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, pp. 116 ff.; J. Loth, *Mabinogion*², II, 348 and 326 ff., where Cunedda's pedigree is printed from a MS of the tenth century. San Marte, *Gottfried von Monmouth*, p. 226, says: "Eine Tochter des Cunedda Wledig ist nach den wälschen Sagen Anlawd map Gwen, welche Mutter der Eigr (Igerna) war, die den König Arthur gebar." I cannot check this statement, which must be at least partly erroneous, since *map* means "son," not "daughter." In the *Brut Tysylio*, Eigr is the daughter of Amlawd Wledic (cf. J. Loth, *Mab.*², I, 243, n. 2; J. E. Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 100, n. 31). Amlawd was a man; for *wledic* meant *dux*.

[3] Cf. Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 143; J. E. Lloyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 323 f. In spite of an objection made by Professor Lloyd (*op. cit.*, p. 324, n. 14), I think that *o dir manaw* (="from the land of Manaw") cannot be applied to the Isle of Man; for no doubt, to designate the latter and to distinguish it from the Manaw in Scotland, *ynys* (=*insula*) *manaw*, not *tir* (=*terra*) *manaw*, would have been used.

[4] Cf. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I, 160, n. 79.

[5] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 663, n. 2.

[6] Cf. nom. *Eriu*; gen. *Erenn*, Ireland.

[7] *Die irische Helden- und Königssage*, p. 62.

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Welsh forms of the name, was H. Zimmer in his *Nennius Vindicatus* (pp. 269–70). Commenting on Nennius' (*insula*) *Eubonia*, i.e., *Manau* (§§ 8, 14), he wrote:

Im Kymrischen ist Mon = Anglesey and Manau, wie auch Nennius angibt = Man. So heisst denn auch die Insel Anglesey bei den Römern immer Mŏna. Die Insel Man kommt zuerst bei Plinius (*Histor. Natur*, IV, 30) vor: inter Hiberniam ac Britanniam Mona et Monapia. Hier ist in Monapia das o Angleichung an Mona. In des Ptolomaeus Angabe einer Μανατία πόλις an der Ostküste Irlands steckt vielleicht durch einen Irrtum die Insel Man . . . .; ein Μανατία mit p ist als echt irisches Wort unmöglich, aber gut brittannisch. Das -apia in Manapia ist dasselbe wie in gall. Menapii, Geldapa etc. . . . . zu einem *apa = lat. aqua, und Manapia ist eine Bildung wie altgermanisch Scadinavia (Scandinavia), ahd. Rhinaugia, gr. Μεσσάπιοι (cf. Ἀπία Morea). Aus diesem Manapia kann aber auf geradem lautgesetzlichem Wege nur altkymr. Manab, nicht Manau werden. Wir haben im gall.-britt. Zweig des Keltenvolkes neben -apa, -apia (= lat. aqua, gr. Ἀπία) aus indogerm. *akvā, "Wasser," akviā "Insel" einen Stamm ab. . . . . Hierher gehört altbrittannisch Abona (Fluss) = kymr. afon (d.h. avon), ir. abann. Wie altbritt. ap zu altkymr. ab, so musste altbr. ab zu aw, au werden. Durch Verwechslung beider Wörter fast gleicher Bedeutung wurde im Altbrittannischen, aber nach des Plinius Zeit, Manapia zu Manabia, woraus Manau. Beda bezeichnet beide Inseln, Anglesey und Man, d.h. also kymr. Mon und Manau, mit Meuaniae insulae (*Histor. eccl. gent. Angl.*, II, 5, 9). Bei Orosius (*Histor.*, I, 2, 82) haben die Handschriften Meuania, Euania, Euonia (Zangemeister, *Orosius*, S. 30), von denen keine Lesart ein wirkliches Wort ist, ebensowenig wie Beda's Meuania und des Nennius Eubonia. Aus Menavia, wie Orosius wohl im 5. Jahrhundert für Manavia schrieb (= kymr. Manau), entstand durch Schreiberdummheit im 6. oder 7. Jahrh., für welche Zeit Meuania handschriftlich belegt ist (s. Zangemeister, *loc. cit.*), Meuania, indem u und n versetzt wurden; hieraus als letzte Entstellung Euania, Euonia und endlich Eubonia bei Nennius, welche Form auch die alten Annales Cambriae in Harl. 3859 zum Jahre 584 und 684 haben.

In a note Zimmer referred to other cases in which a graphical distortion of a topographical name has persisted and even superseded the phonetically correct forms:

Die Entstehung von Meuania aus Manauia ist also ganz analog der Verstümmelung Jona aus Joua (Walahfrid Strabo hat richtig Eo, Beda Hi), wie der Name bekanntlich in der alten vor 714 geschriebenen Handschrift der Vita Columbae noch lautet. Hebrides ist analog im Mittelalter aus den Hebudes geworden (s. *Sitzungsberichte der Berl. Akad* [1891], S. 283 N.). So sind also vom 7. bis 13. Jahrh. für drei östlich [*sic!*] von Brittannien gelegene

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Inseln grobe Entstellungen der Namen eingetreten. Die Bezeichnung des schottischen Hochgebirges als Grampian Mountains

is due to a change of *mons Graupius* (Tacitus) into *Mons Grampius*.[1]

I think that Zimmer's explanation is plausible. I merely object to the derivation of *Eubonia* from *Euonia*. The letter *b* could not be introduced like this, but presupposes no doubt a *v*, which in its turn would postulate an earlier *m* (cf. supra about the interchange of *m*, *v*, *b* in the British language).[2] Indeed, to Nennius' *Eubonia* would correspond *Eumania* in the Irish annals of Tighernac, according to M. J. Loth (cf. *supra*). I cannot verify this assertion; but the *Eumania* passages in those portions of the annals of Tighernac and the annals of Ulster that are reprinted in Skene's *Chronicles* are not sure to refer to Manau. Dealing with the Ulidians, they might perhaps refer to *Emain Macha*, the court of King Conchobar in Ulster. The forms recorded are *Eamain*, *Emhain*, *Eumania*, *Umania*, *Eufania*. Skene did not equate them with *Eubonia* in his Index. Nevertheless, *Eumonia* is postulated as an earlier form of *Eubonia*, and as *Euania* was prior to *Euonia*, there existed no doubt also a form *Eumania* as a variant of *Manau*. As **Menauia* (*Manauia*) became *durch Schreiberdummheit* (metathesis) (*M*)*euania* (Bede) > (*M*)*euonia* (concerning the aphaeresis of *m* in Celtic, I refer to my observations in *Zeitschr. f. frz. Spr.*, XLIV², 95), so another metathesis turned the latter forms into *Eumania*—*Eumonia* (= *Eubonia*).

Zimmer's explanation refers to the Isle of Man; but since the latter and the district in Scotland had exactly the same name, the name variants of the one may be also those of the other, and in any case the variants of the one may have been transferred to the other by confusion. That there was confusion we can see from a Nennius MS, mentioned by Camden (according to San Marte's edition, note to § 8), which adds to *Eubonia* [*insula!*] *id est Manau* the word *Guotodin*. Besides I am sure that the *Eubonia* in the *Annales Cambriae* designates,

[1] *Pentland* (Hills or Firth) for *Pehtland* (= land of Picts; cf. my paper in *Mod. Phil.*, XXII, 189) may be considered as another example, the lower part of *h* being hardly different from *n* (cf. *Lohot* > *Ilinot* in Wolfram; as to *i* cf. *Lac* > *Ilax*, gen., in *Erex Saga*, p. 132; *Girflet le fil Do* > *Fofreit fis Idoel* in Wolfram's *Parzival*). In my first article I explained the *n* of *Pentland* as anorganic. There I failed to mention *Petland* in Saxo Grammaticus, IX, 305; *Peghtes*, *Peyghtes* in the alliterative *Morte Arthure*, vss. 3533, 4125, and *Pelande* in *Fergus*, vs, 316.

[2] Zimmer himself says on another occasion (p. 237): "Im Irischen und Welschen sind seit dem 6. Jahrh. *b* und *m* intervokalisch in dem Laute *w* zusammengefallen, während man bis heute *b* resp. *m* schreibt; dies ist bei selten vorkommenden Wörtern sowie den Schreibern unbekannten Fremdwörtern eine fortwährende Quelle von Irrtümern."

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at least in one case, the district in Scotland, not the island, as both Zimmer (in the long passage quoted above) and M. J. Loth[1] presumed.[2] But these two scholars seem to have made their mistake because they were not aware of the existence of another Manau besides the island. The earthquake recorded "ad a. 684" might refer to either Manau; but the entry "ad a. 584" *Bellum contra Euboniam* obviously corresponds to what Tighernac and the annals of Ulster recorded "ad a. 582 and 583": *Cath* [="battle of"] *Manand in quo victor erat Aedan mac Gabhrain*, resp. *Bellum Manonn in quo victor erat Aedhan mac Gabhrain.* The victor is a well-known Scottish king of *Dalriada* (=Argyll), and there cannot be any doubt that he was waging wars in the so-called "debatable lands" that bordered on his own territory, not in the distant Isle of Man. Skene[3] took it as a matter of course that the Irish entries have reference to Manau in Scotland (he did not mention the corresponding Welsh entry).

**Eumonia* (ancient form of *Eubonia*) and **Eumania* are forms from which might be derived French *Ermonie, Ermanie, Ermenie,* a slight graphical distortion being postulated once more.[4]

It seems to be possible also to derive *Ermenie* from *Manau* without making use of the forms just mentioned. *Manau* would be Latinized into *Mania;* which would yield in French *Manie.* There is a chronicle, called *Chronica regum Manniae et Insularum* (ed. P. A. Munch, Christiania, 1860), written in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (cf. *Introduction*, p. xxvi). Also the charters contained in the Appendix of the edition and belonging to the same centuries always call the island *Mannia.* In a letter addressed in 1320 by the barons of Scotland to the Pope we find Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, Lord of Man and Annandale, called *dominus Mannie* (Skene, *Chron.*, p. 291).[5] There were many other Latinizations, in which essential elements of the word were simply omitted; cf. *Annandale*>*Anandia* (*op. cit.*);

[1] *Mabinogion*², II, 373, 376.

[2] The *Annales Cambriae* frequently record events of the history of Scotland.

[3] *Celtic Scotland*, I, 160 f.

[4] I do not know if *eum-*>*-erm* may be compared to *gu*>*gr*, a change frequently to be observed in proper names of French romances, e.g., *Hongrefort* (Sommer, *Lancelot*, II, 299) =*Honguefort* (P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, V, 124 ff.); *Guingamor* =*Gryngamore* (Malory), *Meleag(u)ant*>*Mellyagraunce* (Malory), etc.

[5] In Layamon's *Brut* (III, 7) the name of the island is *Maneie* (addition to Wace quoted by Schofield, *PMLA*, XVIII, 12); *-eie* for- *ie* seems to be an analogous form; cf. *Norweie* (Norway), *Galveie* (=Galloway, just opposite to Man!), *Feneye* (=*Fenenie;* cf. Schofield, *op. cit.*).

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Northumberland > *Northumbria* (frequent); *Gallwydel* (Welsh; Irish *Gallgaidel*) > *Galweidia, Gallowethia*, etc. (= Galloway; cf. Skene's Indices to *Chronicles* and *Celtic Scotland*); *Aerergaidhel, Arregaithel* (= Argyll) > *Argathelia, Argadia, Ergadia* (cf. Skene, *ibid.*); *Cata-nes* (= Caithness) > *Cathanesia, Cathania* (cf. Skene, *ibid.*); etc.

The first syllable of the name *Ermenie* may have been a word meaning "region" or "district" or such like and employed to distinguish the district in Scotland from the Isle of Man. It would be natural that such a word, being commonly used for this purpose, would amalgamate with the proper name, just as in English "Man" is hardly used without "Isle of," while islands such as Sark or Jona or Tiree are not in need of such a designation. In fact, the name *Manann*, designating a "territory" in Scotland, has been preserved to us in such fusions: *Slamannan* and *Clackmannan*. Moreover, we found in the examples quoted above words that might have formed such compounds: *Campus Manand* in a Latin-Irish text and *dir manau* in a Welsh text. *Dir* is the lenated sandhi-form of *tir* (= *terra*) and was no doubt at least as frequent as the latter. Could not *dirmanau* (thus it probably used to be written in the MSS) be treated as a compound and yield the Latinization *dirmania*, which in its turn would yield French *dermanie?* In this form *d* might have been interpreted as the preposition *d'* and omitted.[1] In expressions such as *li rois* (*le roiaume*) *de dermanie*, "de" might have been considered as pleonastic. The "emendation" *li rois dermanie* (= *d'Ermanie*) was no doubt greatly facilitated and encouraged by the existence of a kingdom *Ermenie* of different derivation (= Asiatic Armenia or Wales or Brittany).

There was another Celtic noun, the anteposition of which might have served to distinguish Manann-Manau in Scotland from the Isle of Man. Professor Pedersen[2] says: "Not clear is Middle Irish *or* 'Ufer, Rand,' Welsh *or* 'Rand,' Modern Cornish *urrian*, Old Breton *orion* gl. *oram*, Middle Breton *euryen* 'Ufer, Rand,' Modern Breton *or*

[1] In my paper *Alain de Gomeret* ("Festschrift Morf"), p. 21, I quoted examples of *d'* (or even *de*) being omitted before geographical names and wrongly introduced before names of persons. I add to them Hartmann's *Destrigaleslant* < *le roiaume d'Estregales, floresta de Armantes* (Span. *Demanda*) < *forest de Darnantes* (cf. *Zeitschr. f. frz. Spr.*, XXXV, 26), *of Dorkeine* (*Arthour and Merlin*, vs. 8357) < *d'Orcanie;* Turpin's sword was called *Almice, Almace, Dalmuce* (Roland, vs. 2089), the hero of a lay by Marie de France *Yonec, Yonet, Dyonet, Dyomet.*

[2] *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, I, § 127/4, n. 2.

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'Rand.' " At another place,[1] in speaking of the *r*-suffixes, he mentions: "[Irisch] *airer* [neut.] 'Küste, Hafen, Gegend' zu Irisch *or* 'Ufer, Rand.'" The longer word occurs in a passage of the tract *De situ Albaniae*, composed about 1165, probably by a Welshman, perhaps Giraldus Cambrensis.[2] The author gives four explanations of the name *Arregaithel* (=Argyll). The first of them seems to be the right one: "*Arre*gathel dicitur quasi *Margo* Scottorum seu Hibernensium, quia omnes Hibernenses et Scotti generaliter Gattheli dicuntur." Skene says about this name:

> In the Irish Annals the form of the name is *Airergaidhel*, *Airer* signifying a district [Reeves's *Adamnan*, p. 397]. The Scotch form is *Earrgaoidheal* from *Earr*, a limit or boundary, and this approaches most nearly to the form of the name in the old description, with its etymology of margin or limit of the Gael. The oldest name is that probably in the Albanic Duan, where it is termed *Oirir Alban* [Skene, *Chronicles*, p. 59], or the coast lands of Alban [not rather the land bordering on Alban?], from *Oirthir* [*sic!*], a coast or border, and we find the name *Oirir* applied to it in the Book of Clanranald, which distinguishes the *Oirir a tuath*, or northern *Oirir*, and the *Oirir a deas*, or the southern *Oirir*, from each other.[3]

In *Chronicles*, page lxxxvii, he remarks, without mentioning a source, that Argyll was also termed *Oirirgael*.

Probably the word *or* meant not only "margin," "limit," "border," but also "borderland," what the Germans called *Mark* and the French *marche*, as did Latin *margo*. *Ormanann* or *Ormanau*, Latinized *Ormania*, might have meant the borderland called *Manann-Manau* or the land bordering on *Manann-Manau*. *Ormanie* might have been changed into *Ermanie*, because *o* and *e* (proper names were often or even usually written with small initials) were graphically similar, often undistinguishable (whence innumerable cases of interchange in proper names), also owing to confusion with the *Ermenie* of different origin. However, I think we had better assume the etymon of *Ermenie* to have been a compound of the derivative of *or* with the *r*-suffix, viz., *oirir*, *airer*, since we actually found the latter to have formed compounds that were names of regions. The second component could be the name of a people (*Oirer Gaithel*)[4] or the name of a region (*Oirer*

[1] II, § 395/3. [2] Skene, *Chronicles*, p. 136. [3] *Celtic Scotland*, III, 48–49.

[4] *Oirir Gaithel* = the region belonging to the Goidels . . . . , just as *Airer Dalriatai* (*Annals of Ulster*) meant the country of the Dalriads (J. Rhys, *Celt. Brit.*, p. 275), "the coastlands of Dalriada" (Skene, *Celt. Scot.*, I, 376, 377, n. 55).

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Alban; about Alban cf. *infra*). Likewise, there could exist, and probably did exist, a compound *Oirir Manann. Manann* in Scotland being rather rarely recorded in Irish documents, it is not surprising that no example of *Oirir Manann* is attested. *Oirir* not only meant "margin," *margo*, "borderland," but also "coast" (Manann bordered on the Firth of Forth), "district." Now in Irish *oi* became *ai* and then a monophthong at a very early time,[1] and about the same time the word became monosyllabic. Thus *Oirir Goithel* was changed into *Airergaidhel, Aerergaidhel, Arre(r)gaithel, Argathelia, Argadia, Ergadia, Argialla, Argyll* (for these forms cf. Skene, *Chronicles*, Index. I add to them *Herergaidel* in the *Chronicle of Man* [ed. Munch], p. 7).[2] In the same way *Oirir Manann* would have become *Armanann, Ermanann.* Now all these forms are Irish-Gaelic. A Welsh equivalent of Irish *oirir*, derived from *or* (which was also Welsh), is not attested. Probably it would not have yielded the same forms. But no doubt Gaelic *Armanann, Ermanann*, adopted by the Britons (e.g., in a saga), would have become *Armanau, Ermanau*, Latinized *Armania, Ermania.* In this way the French forms would be most naturally explained (cf. *Armanie*, variant of *Armenie*, in Prose Melusine, p. 429).

Besides, the first component may have been the prefix and preposition Irish *air* (later *er*), British *ar* (in *Arvon;* cf. *supra* and *Arecluta* = Dumbarton), Gaulish *are* (in *Aremorica, Aredunom*), Greek περί.[3] This prefix had in Irish also the meaning "east"; *Airmumu* = "eastern Munster."[4] Thus Airmanann may have meant "eastern Manann" and may have become in Welsh *Armanau*, Latinized *Armania.*

Even *Mania-Manie* itself (written with small initials) might have been read *Ermania-Ermanie*, if there was some mark or blot in front of or above the *m* similar to the abbreviation of *er* (a sort of apostrophe) (cf. in the *Lai del Cor*, vss. 433 f., *mainers: Kadoiners*, to be emended *mains: Kado*[*a*]*ins*, and *Zeitschr. f. frz. Spr.*, XLVII, 163), or, if Tristan was said to be originary *demanie* or his father was called *rois demanie*, the *e* of the preposition might have been taken as the

[1] Cf. Pedersen, §§ 38, 39, 347/12–17.

[2] *Oirgialla-Airgialla*, whence *Oriel* in Ireland, is a different word; here *oir* seems to mean *aureus* (cf. Skene, *op. cit.*, I, 286 f.).

[3] Cf. K. Meyer, "Zur keltischen Wortkunde," *Sitzungsberichte der preuss. Akad.* (1919), pp. 374 f.; Pedersen, *Grammatik*, I, 91; Dottin, *Manuel ... de l'antiquité celtique*, pp. 60, 88.

[4] K. Meyer, *op. cit.*

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abbreviation of *er* (cf. in the Bliocadran prologue *K'a m(er)uelles*, read by Potvin as *Kammuelles*). Such misreadings, too, were favored by the existence of a name *Ermenie* of other derivation.

Thus there is also a choice of explanations, if we identify *Ermenie* with *Manann-Manau* in Scotland.

A confusion of Ermenie = Manann with *Ermenie* = Brittany (cf. *supra*) may have been the reason why Thomas transplanted Tristan's home from Scotland to the Continent; but I am inclined to think that this shifting was rather caused by the ambiguity of the name *Bretaigne*. The latter was connected with Morgan who was the liege lord of Tristan's father. Morgan's *Bretaigne* must have been once—if Morgan's rôle was original, and that is the assumption which was our starting-point—near *Loenois* (Lothian). Then it obviously was the kingdom of the North-Britons or Britons of that part of Scotland which was called *Cumbria* or *Strathclyde*. It may have been exceptionally called *Britannia* (its usual name in French was *Norgales* or *Estregales;* cf. my article in *Zs. f. frz. Spr.*, Volume XXVII, and also XLIV², 83 f.), because its inhabitants were commonly called *Britones*.[1] It was however natural that in the twelfth century, when the kingdom of the North-Britons had ceased to exist and the nationality and even the speech of the North-Britons were gradually lost, the terms *Bretons* and *Bretaigne* applied to them were likely to be misunderstood and interpreted as Bretons and Brittany.

Nevertheless there was one inconvenience in Thomas' shifting Morgan's country from Scotland to the Continent, namely, that Brittany was already playing an important part in the Tristan romance as the home of Iseut as Blanches Mains. Therefore Thomas seems to have avoided an identification in express terms, and Gottfried, to avoid even an implicit equation, called Iseut's home the duchy of Arundel. While in the Vulgate the ruler of Brittany has preserved the old and original title of king, Thomas, in order to adapt the situation to the contemporary state of things, represented Brittany as a duchy,[2] and therefore transferred the title of "duke" from Iseut's father to

[1] Cf. M. Deutschbein, *Wikingersagen*, pp. 144–45, and the Index of Skene's *Chronicles*.

[2] M. Bédier (II, 266) has adopted the title of "duke" for the ruler of Brittany in his reconstruction of the *poème primitif*, wrongly believing that this title is also to be found in Eilhart and the Prose Romance.

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Morgan, for whom as the ruler of the North-Britons it was inappropriate. After Morgan's country had been identified with Brittany, it was a matter of course that the country of his vassal, Ermenie, should become a continental region too, a portion of Brittany, or bordering somewhere on Brittany. It could not be identified with Brittany, since the country of Tristan's father could not be identical with that of Morgan.

If the linguistic side of the hypothesis is considered satisfactory, it cannot be denied that the Pictish district of Manau, bordering on the North-British kingdom and on Lothian, partly coinciding with the latter in its wider sense, fulfils strikingly well the conditions postulated by the function of Ermenie in the Tristan romance.

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[*To be continued*]

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TWO NOTES ON CHAUCER'S SEA-FIGHT

The following illustrations to line 69 in Chaucer's *Legend of Cleopatra*, "He poureth pesen upon the hacches slider," I happened upon by the way of Schultz's *Das höfische Leben* (2d ed.), II, 356, and Rudolf Schneider's *Die Artillerie des Mittelalters*, page 179.

The first is from an account of a sea-fight off Naples in 1283 between the French fleet of Charles of Anjou and the combined Spanish and Sicilians. It is found in Saba Malaspina's chronicle, the last part, which is not in Muratori's *Scriptores*, but in Rosarius Gregorio's *Bibliotheca Scriptorum qui Res in Sicilia Gestas sub Aragonum Imperio Retulere*, II (Panormi, 1792), 407, and runs as follows:

Catalani ad haec, et Syculi, qui jam non minus dolis, quam armis vincere didicerant, ut facti jam victores, bellum vincendo celeriter valeat expedire, cum non possent quantumcumque plures numero Gallicam exterminare vigorem consideratione mortis, ignem accensum, vasa figuli, solpilas,[1] et caccabos terreos plenos sebo, et saponis artificeata mistura, jactabant ad superiores Gallicorum tabulas galearum, ad hoc videlicet, ut pedes Gallici, talia inesperti certamina, lapsu liquoris hujusmodi lubride laberentur, nec ad defensionem possent stare Gallici, si defluentibus pedibus aut intus ruerent, vel undas fluerent in nigras . . . . altera quidem figulorum vasa jactabant calce pulverulenta completa, quam unda nulla tetigerat, ut Gallicorum visus calcis hujusmodi volatili pulvere tenebrescerent, ne viderent.

Here, by throwing clay pots or bombs full of grease, or of specially prepared soap, you make the upper decks of the enemy so slippery that they fall on to the deck below and get hurt, or else overboard and drown. It might have been added that on such a footing, even if they escaped, they could neither attack nor defend well.

The second is in the twenty-third chapter of Aegidius Romanus' *De regimine principum*, written for Philippe le Bel when prince, say in 1280. In enumerating the ten ways of getting the better of your enemy at sea, he thus describes the ninth:

Nona cautela est, habere multa vasa plena ex molli sapone, quae cum impetu proicienda sunt ad naves hostium, et hoc super loca illa, in quibus contingit hostes exsistere ad defendendum naves. Nam vasis illis confractis in huismodi locis, loca illa per saponem liquidum redduntur adeo lubrica, quod hostes ibi ponentes pedes statim labuntur in aquas.[2]

[1] *solpilas*, meaning "unknown."

[2] Schneider, p. 29. Schneider's "critical" text is probably better than that of the early prints of Aegidius.

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It is the same thing—the fighting decks, made slippery by bombs of soft soap, slide the hapless marines into the water. One might ask if in the World War, when so many medieval tricks were revived, the slip-bomb also was tried.

Chaucer's "shearing hooks," his "grapenel so full of crooks," and his "pots full of lime" correspond to the *ferrum curvatum*, the *uncos ferreos*, and the *calx alba pulverisata* of Aegidius' sixth, seventh, and eighth devices.[1]

These quotations buttress the opinion generally held, I suppose, concerning the passage, namely, that the peas were to make the decks slippery,[2] and they render less attractive the brilliant suggestion that "peas" is from a misreading in some original of *pois* ("peas") for *poix* ("pitch").[3] Certainly a deck-covering of dried, round whole peas, as hard as wood, would make a precarious footing for sailors, fought they barefoot, fought they shod.[4]

I agree with Schofield that "gonne" in line 58—"With grisly soun out goth the grete gonne"—is cannon, and not missile. Cannon had been in use for a half-century; but the difficulty is to find a parallel for "out" = "off." Of course it is quite as appropriate for a cannon to "go *out*" as to "go *off*"—or as for a trumpet to "go *up*," as it does in line 56. The first citation in the *New English Dictionary* for "go *off*" = "explode" is from Gosson's *School of Abuse*, published in 1579. For "go *out*" in this sense one might cite Skelton's *Garland of Laurel* (1520), line 623:

> With that I herd gunnis *russhe out* at ones,
> Bowns, bowns, bowns! that all they out cryde;

and perhaps *Piers Plowman*, C, XXI, 293:

> Setteth bowes of brake and brasene gunnes,
> And *sheteth out* shot ynowh,

where the sense is possibly "shot *off*."

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[1] Of these only the sixth and seventh appear in the basic fourth-century treatise of Vegetius (Bl. IV, chap. xlvi). Such details, however, may be postponed to a later article.

[2] See, for example, Skeat's note to this line; but Skeat is wrong in supposing that it was on one's own deck one poured the peas—in order to repel boarders.

[3] *Kittredge Anniversary Papers* (Boston, 1913), p. 145.

[4] Some may prefer to think that the peas were in a mixture like pease porridge.

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THE PRECEPT OF PLAGIARISM IN THE CINQUECENTO

The Aristotelian theory of poetic imitation has of late not been without its students and exponents, some of whom have duly traced the theme and its derivatives down from the classic ages into the eighteenth, even the nineteenth, century;[1] the plagiarism aspect of the ancient canon of μίμησις, however, seems in recent years to have been curiously neglected as a subject for study.[2] Accordingly, though I am here proposing to point out various manifestations of the plagiaristic imitation essentially in the land and century (the Italian *Cinquecento*) in which it found its widest following, a brief preliminary outline of the main points in its previous development is indispensable.

The first significant appearance of a theory of literary imitation occurs in the fourth century B.C. in Aristotle's *Poetics*, with its famous discussion of μίμησις—later translated as *imitatio*, *imitazione*, *imitation*, etc. But Aristotle's μίμησις is imitation of nature, truth to life, almost realism in the best sense of that ill-used word; he says nothing at all of imitating other writers. It was in the course of the three following centuries that μίμησις in some untraceable way took on this entirely different meaning, in which, by the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (first century B.C.) it was already definitely established. Dionysius devoted a whole work, περὶ μιμήσεως, to imitation,[3] dividing it into three books which treated, respectively: (*i*) of imitation in it-

[1] See especially W. G. Howard "Ut pictura poesis," *PMLA*, XXIV, 44 ff.; cf. also John W. Draper, "Aristotelian Mimesis in the Eighteenth Century," *ibid.*, XXXVI, 372 ff.; etc.

[2] E. Stemplinger's elaborate study, *Das Plagiat in der griechischen Literatur* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1912), occasionally touches on the matter, but not in a way to be of any value to the present study.

Professor Draper's article (see n. 1) mentions a number of eighteenth-century English theorists who upheld literary imitation in the plagiaristic sense, but discusses their work as if they (or at least the post-Renaissance) were responsible for thus perverting Aristotle's μίμησις. The present paper should show, *inter alia*, that the strong classic tradition of imitation which came down to the Renaissance was precisely the plagiaristic and not the Aristotelian canon. The advocates of plagiaristic imitation in eighteenth-century England cited by Professor Draper should therefore be regarded as deriving from (or reverting to) the medieval and the early Renaissance tradition rather than as themselves perverters of Aristotle.

[3] In the remaining pages of this study, the word "imitation," when unqualified, will always signify the "imitation of other writers."

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self, (*ii*) of authors to be imitated, (*iii*) of methods of imitation. Unhappily this work has not come down to us, and Dionysius' other work on literary composition, *περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων*, has nothing to say on the matter. From this time on, however (indeed, for some time previously), the idea of imitating other writers as an essential precept for attaining literary eminence flourished and quite overshadowed the earlier, Aristotelian, sense of *μίμησις* or *imitatio*. Exactly how this came about we do not know; possibly it arose through the accidental exaltation of a precept intended for beginners only[1] into a literary canon set up for the finished artist. We can only say that by the first century B.C. it was rampant, and that among the Alexandrians and Romans it held powerful sway. It has even been suggested (on what original authority I do not know) that the marvelous library at Alexandria was built up and cherished with the prime idea of providing material for future imitators.[2]

Another Greek work on literary style, usually known by its Latin title as *Demetrii de elocutione* (not by Demetrius Phalerius of the fourth century B.C., to whom it was long ascribed, but possibly by some other Demetrius of the first century B.C.), had probably been written shortly before the time of Dionysius. Here, too, the "newer" imitation was already recognized, though it is mentioned very casually; we read in chapter or section 112: *τὸ δὲ ποιητικὸν ἐν λόγοις ὅτι μὲν μεγαλοπρεπές* . . . . , etc.:

A touch of poetic diction adds to the elevation of prose. Even a blind man can see that, as the proverb has it. Still, some writers imitate the poets very crudely. Or rather, they do not imitate them but transfer them to their pages as Herodotus has done. Thucydides acts otherwise. Even if he does borrow something from a poet, he uses it in his own way, and so makes it his own property.[3]

In the same first century B.C., two Roman theorists definitely inculcated *imitatio* as a method of rhetorical composition. One of these

[1] As a precept for the tyro, of course, it still is often emphasized. Stevenson closed his familiar exposition of the value of "playing the sedulous ape" with the words: "That, like it or not, is the way to learn to write" (see R. L. Stevenson, *Memories and Portraits* [biographical ed.; New York, 1905], pp. 55–59). The passage is cited under the caption "Learning to Write" in a current handbook for students of English composition (C. T. Copeland and F. W. C. Hersey, *Representative Biographies* [New York, 1910], pp. 127 ff.).

[2] Cf. W. Rhys Roberts, *Demetrius on Style* (Cambridge, 1902), p. 22. Mr. Roberts' Introduction includes a brief but useful discussion of two or three of the Alexandrian theorists.

[3] Translation by W. Rhys Roberts, *op. cit.*, § 112. This last phrase anticipates the Horatian "Publica materies privati iuris erit, si . . . . ." Cf. p. 298, n. 2, below.

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is Cicero, who prescribed it early in the second book of his *De oratore;*[1] where, after narrating in detail the admirable results of young Sulpicius' studious imitation of Lucius Crassus, he concluded: *Ergo hoc sit primum in praeceptis meis* . . . . ("Let this, then, be the first of my precepts: to assign a model for imitation; and in such a way that the best aspects of that model may most diligently be studied. Then must come practice, until the imitator really resembles his chosen model . . . .").[2] The other, that uncertain author who was not Cicero, in the opening pages of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, noted *imitatio*, "by which we are moved with earnest diligence to make ourselves similar in our compositions to someone else"[3] as one of the orator's three means of attaining excellence in the qualities required of him.

In the following century (the first of the Christian Era) two famous treatises discussed, among other matters, imitation; one somewhat briefly, the other in considerable detail. The former was the Greek *περὶ ὕψους* traditionally known as *Longinus on the Sublime*, though it was composed (almost certainly) two centuries before Longinus' time, and its title does not strictly mean *On the Sublime;* in this work we are urged to imitate and emulate great writers who have been before us; and, in doing so, the unknown author carefully adds, we are not committing theft.[4] The more detailed treatment we find in the *Institu-*

[1] The *De oratore*, according to Cicero himself in one of his letters (*Fam.* i. 9), comprised the whole theory of eloquence as Isocrates and Aristotle had expounded it. The very general sense of "orator" in Cicero's mind is suggested by a brief passage earlier in the same Book ii: "Age vero," inquit Antonius, "qualis oratoris, et quanti hominis in dicendo, putas esse historiam scribere?" To this the answer is "Si ut Graeci scripserunt, summi; si ut nostri, nihil opus est oratore; satis est non esse mendacem." Thus the essential characteristic of the orator would seem to be, not "eloquence" in the modern sense, but skill in literary (prose) composition.

[2] It is noteworthy that Cicero goes on in this passage to sound an elaborate warning against imitating trivial qualities, or even defects, in the model. It is the essentials that must be noted and imitated; not the unimportant, perhaps undesirable, mannerisms: ". . . . illum quem ante delegeret imitando effingat atque ita exprimat, non ut multos imitatores saepe cognovi que aut ea quae facilia sunt, aut etiam illa quae insignia ac paene vitiosa, consectantur imitando." (The sixteenth-century text I have followed for the purposes of this study—*Venetiis*, [*M.D.*] *LXXIX*—misprints the penultimate word *consectaretur*. Cf. the *De oratore* ii. 22. 90 in *M. Tulli Ciceronis Rhetorica recognovit* . . . . *A. S. Wilkins*, Tomus I, Oxonii, [1901].)

[3] "Qua impellimur cum diligenti ratione ut aliquorum similes in dicendo velimus esse."

[4] Cf. H. L. Havell, *Longinus on the Sublime* (London: Macmillan, 1890), XIII, 2 and 4; XIV, 1.

J. W. Draper (*op. cit.*, pp. 380–81) suggests that the vogue of Longinus (in eighteenth-century England) would act against interpreting *μίμησις* as imitation of other writers. In the light of the passages here cited, however, the contrary would seem to be the case.

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tiones oratoriae of Quintilian, who was for many centuries an authority on matters of literary composition second only to Cicero; and in actual influence, through the greater detail of his instructions, possibly even greater than Cicero.

In the tenth book of his *Institutiones* Quintilian takes up at some length the important matter of imitation. In the first chapter of the book, he echoes in a slightly altered form what had been said some scores of years before in the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, dividing the essential means of the rhetorician into three, with *imitatio* in the central position. This chapter (*De copia verborum*) is primarily devoted to the consideration of the various authors whose works should be studied by the man who wishes to acquire a true command of words; the following chapter (X, ii: *De imitatione*) treats exclusively of the methods to be used in imitating. It begins:

From the study of these authors, and of others worth reading, one should acquire a copious vocabulary, a variety of metaphors, and a method of composition; then attention should further be given to the copying of all their good qualities. For undoubtedly a great part of art consists in imitation; since, while invention came first and is most important, it is helpful to copy the things that have in the past been well invented. For the whole conduct of life is based on this: that what we admire in others we desire to do ourselves. . . . .

First of all, then, imitation in itself is not enough . . . . but even those who do not aspire to the highest achievement should try to excel rather than merely follow their model.[1] For a man who tries to surpass another may perhaps succeed in equalling, if not in excelling him; but the man who thinks he must follow in another's footsteps can never quite come up with him: a follower must always necessarily be behind. . . . .[2]

Thus everything that pertains to this branch of study must be examined with the greatest nicety. First, as to whom we should imitate; since there are very many who have striven to copy the worst and the most faulty models. Then as to what it is, in the writers we have chosen, that we should endeavour to follow; for even in great authors there occur faulty passages,[3] blamed by the learned in their criticisms of one another. If only writers today would take good models and surpass them in excellence, instead of taking bad models and excelling their faults. . . . .

The first requisite, therefore, is to appreciate what one is going to imitate,

[1] "Sed etiam qui summa non appetunt contendere potius quam sequi debent . . . . ."

[2] Michelangelo's well-known dictum against imitation, "Chi va dietro altrui non gli va innanzi," constantly cited as an original apothegm, is thus merely a quotation from Quintilian.

[3] Cf. p. 295, n. 2, above.

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and to know why it is good. . . . . And a matter to be avoided (in which many err) consists in thinking that poets and historians should be imitated by the orator, or that orators and lawyers should be imitated by poets and historians. Every type of composition has its own appropriate laws and ornaments. . . . .

Then, after a suggestion that the best model should not necessarily be the only one,[1] but that minor models should at times be selected for imitation on specific points, there comes the final precept: Imitation should not be of the words alone;[2] we must study, in addition, how fittingly our great models have treated of men and events; the excellence of their judgment; the nature of their method; and how they have planned everything, even what seems purely ornamental, for success.[3]

By the close of the first century of the Christian Era, therefore, there was ample authority for imitation as a rhetorical precept; and this authority was destined, as time showed, to have full weight for very nearly fifteen centuries more.

It should, perhaps, at this point, be recalled that in the later Roman period and subsequently through the Middle Ages rhetoric and poetic were frequently considered almost as one subject, at least in so far as general precepts were concerned.[4] Thus Cicero's rhetorical works (including, as a rule, the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*) were constantly held valid for poetics also, far down into the Renaissance; so that, for example, in the charming woodcut of a "Tower of Learning" (if we may call it so) in the 1535 edition of the *Margarita philosophica* we are shown the departments both of *rhetorica* and of

[1] "Non qui maxime imitandus etiam solus imitandus est . . . . ."

[2] "Imitatio autem non sit tantum in verbis . . . . ."

[3] I have freely translated or paraphrased above from the second chapter of Book x, *passim*. The Latin passages in question will be found without difficulty in any edition of Quintilian, as the chapter is a short one; the copy I have used was printed at Lyons in 1549, *Apud Seb. Gryphium;* a sixteenth-century text of Quintilian is really more to my present purpose than one (possibly far more accurate) of the nineteenth or twentieth century. In the Gryphius volume, the *De imitatione* chapter occupies pp. 519–23. At one point, near the opening of this chapter, Quintilian rather strikingly defends neologisms and new methods of expression: "Cur igitur nefas est reperiri aliquid a nobis quod ante non fuerit?" This is a position that few, save the literary free-lances, were bold enough to maintain in the first half of the sixteenth century. As far as Latin composition was concerned, there was then the (adequate) reason that Latin had become a dead language, which in Quintilian's time, of course, it had not been; the sticklers for a purely *trecento* usage in sixteenth-century Italian writings, however, had perhaps less justice on their side.

[4] For the *quattrocento* ideas on this point, see (e.g.) G. G. Pontano, *Actius dialogus*, the most pertinent pages of which are now conveniently accessible in R. Kelso and M. W. Bundy, *Girolamo Fracastoro "Naugerius . . . . ,"* "University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature," Vol. IX, No. 3 (Urbana, 1924), pp. 75–80.

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poesis ruled over by old "Tullius"; Aristotle, incidentally, reigning in *logica* alone.[1] For since Aristotle and the other Greek (and Alexandrian) theorists were little known and less studied through the Middle Ages until well into the *Cinquecento*, Cicero, with Quintilian (and Horace),[2] remained for many centuries the great authority on both rhetoric and poetic theory. Significant in this connection (aside from such evidence as the *Margarita* affords) is the fact that Cicero's *de oratore* and Quintilian's *Institutiones* were among the earliest classic works to be printed (in 1465 and 1470, respectively), while Aristotle's *Poetics* did not issue from the press until some forty years later.

In the opening years of the sixteenth century, therefore, imitation as a precept, be it in rhetoric or poetics, was inevitably connected with the Ciceronian idea of imitating others rather than with the Aristotelian imitation of reality. Indeed, no modern reference to the Aristotelian theory was made (as far as I know) until 1529, when it was briefly touched upon by Trissino in the first book of his *Poetica*.[3] By

[1] *Margarita Philosophica* . . . . , Basileae, Henricus Petrus . . . . , 1535, sig. e8v° (facing p. 1). This woodcut, *Typus grammaticus*, seems to have first appeared in the 1503 edition. The *Margarita*, originally composed by the fifteenth-century German Gregorius Reisch, was extremely popular in expanded versions through the sixteenth century. It had a score or more of editions, including an Italian translation (by Gio. Paolo Gallucci) printed at Venice in 1594.

[2] Horace's *Epistola ad Pisones* (usually dubbed his *Ars poetica*), though unquestionably authoritative, had but little to say of imitation. Ll. 131 ff.,

"Publica materies privati iuris erit, si . . . .
Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
Interpres, nec . . . . ."

seem to allow of imitation if it be not too extravagantly servile; and in l. 318 we find the budding poet spoken of as *Doctum imitatorem*. This last phrase was probably intended to suggest the true Aristotelian μίμησις rather than our secondary *imitatio* (as Vicenzo Maggi first suggested in his *In Horatii librum de arte poetica interpretatio*, printed as an appendix to his elaborate edition of Aristotle's *Poetics*; see *Vincentii Madii Brixiani et Bartholomaei Lombardi Veronensis in Aristotelis Librum de Poetica Communes Explanationes* . . . . [Venetiis, 1550], p. 359). None the less, Horace's *Ars* might well be thought not inconsistent, in so far as it went, with the imitation precepts of Quintilian and Cicero. The swift, glorious abuse in the twentieth of his *Epistolarum Liber I* ("O imitatores, servum pecus, ut mihi saepe Bilem, saepe iocum vestri movere tumultus . . . .") was, after all, brief and incidental; far too light even to be noticed as against the ponderous weight of authority on the other side. Horace is, in brief, despite his famous phrase, practically negligible as an influence in the development of the imitation theory, however great his influence may have been in other matters of poetic.

[3] See *Tutte le opere di Giovan Giorgio Trissino* (Verona, 1729), II, 2. This book was first printed at Vicenza, in 1529, seven years earlier than Daniello's *Poetica* which is generally thought to contain the earliest modern mention of Aristotle's imitation. Cf. Joel E. Spingarn, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance* (New York, 1899), p. 28. (The error is repeated in the second and third editions, of 1905 and 1912, respectively, and in the Italian translation printed at Bari in 1905.) Cf. also Lane Cooper, *The Poetics of Aristotle* . . . . (Boston, 1923), p. 105; and R. C. Williams, "The Originality of Daniello," *RR*, XV, 121. The error of the two last probably derived directly from the first.

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1550, however, the *Poetics* had become less unfamiliar; and in the second half of the century, Aristotle's μίμησις became a commonplace.

Now the number of treatises on literary theory written and printed in the *Cinquecento* was enormous.[1] In (roughly) the first half-century, however, many of them do not mention any sort of imitation; in the second, they are as a rule either still more silent on the subject, or else entirely converted to the Aristotelian sense, utterly ignoring the question of imitating other writers. But there are a few who do write to our purpose; and among them, for the earlier period (i.e., previous to 1560), we may notice Giovan Francesco Pico (1512), Pietro Bembo (1513), Girolamo Vida (1527), Bernardino Daniello (1536), Speron Speroni (1542), Giulio Cammillo (1544), Gorolamo Muzio (1551), Giovambattista Giraldi (1554), Antonio Minturno (1559), and Bernardino Parthenio (1560). For the later period (1560–1600), two men only need claim our attention: Francesco Patrizio (1562) and Lodovico Castelvetro (1570).[2]

At the very outset comes a note of warning in the dubious letter written by Pico to the learned Bembo (September 19, 1512). Pico doubts the value of this promiscuous imitation of a single author, quotes Plato against it, and cites Horace's *imitatores servum pecus*.[3] If we imitate at all, we should imitate many rather than a single author;[4] but (here is a striking note) ability is on the increase, not dying; "We are greater than the ancients in my opinion," says Pico. If they were greater than we, how can we hope to straddle into their stride? If (as Pico believes) we are greater, shall we not ludicrously waddle when we narrow our stride to theirs? Rhetorical style should change with the changing years; however, if you must have imitation, you will err less in imitating many than in imitating one.

In a friendly letter of reply (dated from Rome, January, 1513), Bembo combated this view. He was at the time busily engaged in the really noble and valuable task of standardizing the literary language of Italy—a sorely needed reformation which he admirably accomplished (for he really did, essentially, accomplish it) through the pub-

[1] Cf. the partial bibliographies compiled by R. C. Williams and W. L. Bullock, *MLN*, XXXV, 506–7, and XLI, 254–63.

[2] The dates in parentheses after each name indicate: for Pico and Bembo, the date of composition of the work to be cited; for the rest, the date of first printing.

[3] Cf. p. 298, n. 2, above.

[4] Cf. p. 297, n. 1, above.

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lication in 1525 of his *Prose della volgar lingua*. In this connection, striving to outlaw all irregular local and dialect forms, he was naturally forced to emphasize the usage of a few great writers, primarily Petrarch and Boccaccio, whom he set up as models of good use. Imitation then, at least in matters of vocabulary and syntax, was to him a vitally essential matter. Unfortunately perhaps, following Quintilian's precept, he did not confine his faith in imitation to the matter of language alone;[1] and he answered Pico's letter with a thorough refutation all along the line, discussing the matter mainly from the point of view of Latin composition—where imitation was (and is) at least far less objectionable.

Imitation, in Bembo's view, is indispensable, and should further be of the nature of emulation.[2] As for imitating all good writers: there must be one best; why then not concentrate on the best? The greatest modern writers show imitation; those who do not do so write pretty feeble Latin. Imitation must also be whole-hearted; as Cicero wrote: "Imitation is that whereby we are moved with earnest diligence to make ourselves in our compositions similar to someone else."[3] We cannot be similar to many;[4] where should we end if we strove to combine the clarity of Caesar with Cicero's majesty, Sallust's brevity with Livy's richness, etc.? Both in poetry and oratory these observations hold; and Cicero and Vergil should be our great models: Cicero for all prose, be it scientific or literary, since it is absurd to suppose we could invent any better style than that which Cicero inherited and perfected; Vergil, essentially, for epic poetry. If you would write lyric or dramatic poetry, choose your model and strive to emulate him.—Unhappily, however (Bembo adds), he can hardly hope by his feeble letter to convince one whom Cicero and Vergil[5] have failed to convince.[6]

In 1525, Bembo's *Prose*[7] (apparently composed in large part long

[1] Cf. p. 297, n. 2, above. [2] Cf. p. 296, n. 1, above.

[3] I.e., the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium;* cf. p. 295, n. 3, above.

[4] In Bembo's insistence upon one model rather than many, he is following Cicero (who had prescribed a single model) as against Quintilian. Contrast p. 299, n. 4, above.

[5] Cicero, presumably, by precept; Vergil, by example, as an imitator of Homer.

[6] See *passim*, the slender volume *Io Francesci Pici ad Petrum Bembum de imitatione libellus* followed by *Petrus Bembus Ioanni Francesco Pico S.P.D. . . . . ;* "Venetiis, per Ioan Ant, eiusque fratres de Sabio. Anno Domini M.D. XXX." There were other printings: (?) Strasburg, 1513(?); Lyons, 1532; Argentinae (Strasburg), 1535; Paris, 1578; etc.

[7] *Prose di M. Pietro Bembo nelle quali si ragiona della volgar lingua scritte al Cardinale de' Medici che poi e stato creato a Sommo Pontifice et detto Papa Clemente Settimo divise in tre libri,* "Impresse in Vinegia per Giovan Tacuino nel mese di Settembre del M.D. XXV."

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before) first issued from the press. In this volume are laid down various rules for Italian grammar and composition, based essentially on the usage of Petrarch and Boccaccio. Imitation is thus, in a sense, the whole basis of the work; and here most justifiably, for the establishment of good use in Italian. However, the book is of little importance to our present discussion, as it hardly touches upon imitation in itself, taking the main principle for granted. It is in Vida's *De arte poetica*, printed two years later, that we find the next definite discussion—and the most striking one—of imitation.

Vida prescribes thefts (*furti*) in so many words, declares that he glories in his own stealings, and urges all writers to join with him; continuing:

> Then, if any writer is far superior to all the rest, I bid you learn power and skill in composition from him; you must constantly strive to resemble him as far as possible. . . . . But meanwhile, I warn you, do not on that account abstain from exploiting the works of other poets,[1] using their phrases, and taking various treasures from them all. Let us take from one a well formed plot, from another the arrangement, the sense of the phrases, and phrases themselves. It is no shame to speak sometimes with another's mouth. If you plan to steal from well-known poets, however, tread rather more warily, and be careful to disguise your stolen lines by altering the key words; put your readers off the track by changing the arrangement; let the appearance be altered, the impression different. . . . .[2]

And though this sounds like satire, it apparently was serious in intent.

Soon after this frank expression of the precept, Daniello,[3] milder far in tone, added one interesting point: If the plagiarist excel his model, he may thus legitimize his theft.[4] Daniello's work is to us per-

[1] Cf. p. 297, n. 1, and p. 299, above (Quintilian and Pico).

[2] Girolamo Vida *De arte poetica* iii: ". . . . Tum quamvis . . . . , etc." (e.g., in *Marci Hieronymi Vidae Cremonensis . . . . Opera*, "Lugduni, apud Antonium Gryphium, 1566," pp. 193–94). This passage is even more striking, it seems to me, than are the lines (occurring shortly after this point) chosen for translation by Professor George Saintsbury (see *Loci critici* . . . . [Boston, 1903], pp. 85–86).

[3] For a brief (and very favorable) sketch of Daniello, see R. C. Williams, "The Originality of Daniello," *RR*, XV, 121–22. Daniello, however, had been anticipated in at least two of the main innovations there attributed to him: the mention of Aristotelian imitation, and the use of blank verse for epic translation. Trissino's precedence *re* Aristotelian imitation I have noted elsewhere (p. 298, n. 3, above); Daniello's use of *versi sciolti* in his translation of *Aeneid* ii (so Professor Williams; but was it not *Aeneid* xi?) had been anticipated by the attractive and ill-fated Ippolito de' Medici, whose *Aeneid* ii in *versi sciolti* had been printed in 1540 and composed at least five years before that (since Ippolito died in 1535). Five other authors likewise preceded Daniello in this; each of them (with Ippolito de' Medici) contributing one book to *I Sei Primi Libri del Eneide di Vergilio, Tradotti*. . . . Vinetia: Comin de Trino, 1540 (reprinted in 1541 and 1544[?]).

[4] Daniello thus adds a new argument to that of Quintilian in favor of attempting not only to equal but to excel the chosen model (cf. p. 296, n. 1, and p. 300, above). The

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haps of greater importance than either Bembo's letter or Vida's *Ars poetica*, since he is here treating in Italian of Italian composition; not, as was the case essentially with both the others, of the neo-Latin. Imitation for modern Latin composition is almost inevitable, since the language is no more in daily use;[1] it is quite a different matter to defend imitation for writers of a modern tongue.

Daniello's mention of the matter is indeed only incidental; but what he has to say is highly pertinent:

. . . . The writer should use extreme care and diligence in making his materials (or subjects) to be regarded as truly his own property rather than another's, by giving them the most perfect form of which he is capable. . . . . If, on the other hand, they be treated trivially and without any distinction, they may easily be stolen by anyone whatsoever and written out with greater skill and beauty; so, after being ours, they will become the property of another. . . . .[2] This happened to a sonnet which I remember having seen, composed by M. Giovanni Aurelio [Augurello] and then so happily imitated by our most learned M. Pietro Bembo . . . . that Augurello himself often confessed to me that he had been greatly excelled and that the theme of which he had been the first inventor could now reasonably be called Bembo's rather than his.[3]

Speroni's *Dialogo della rettorica*, half-a-dozen years later, hardly mentions imitation by name; but the well-known passage in which Broccardo outlines his past studies, halfway through the dialogue, gives some interestingly practical details as to method, and incidentally shows poetics essentially included under rhetoric. The highest type of rhetorical exercise, the demonstrative, is practically equated here with literary prose; and in this treatise on rhetoric is included a disquisition upon meter, and even upon Petrarchesque verse-writing, as a prominent feature.

The studies by which Broccardo made himself an eloquent and

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idea of justification by excellence became quite widely current; it was referred to (and accepted) by John Milton over a century later: ". . . . Such kind of borrowing as this, *if it be not bettered by the borrower*, among good authors is accounted Plagiare" (*Eikonoklastes*, xxiii). Plagiarisms such as those of Shakespeare, for example, were thus in the Renaissance considered fully justified.

[1] This argument was actually used by Giulio Cammillo (in 1544), and also by the famous J. C. Scaliger in his *Poetices* (1561); see *infra*.

[2] Here Daniello has evidently in mind the following of a single rather than a multiple model. Cf. p. 300, n. 4, above; also p. 297, n. 1, and pp. 299, 301 (Cicero and Bembo, as opposed to Quintilian, Pico, Vida).

[3] See *La poetica di Bernardino Daniello Lucchese*, "In Vinegia per Giovan' Antonio di Nicolini da Sabio, l'anno de nostra salute MDXXXVI," pp. 74–75. Daniello also cites here the example of Boccaccio and others, but the case of Bembo and Augurello most clearly makes his point. Cf. p. 294, n. 3, and p. 298, n. 2, above (Demetrius and Horace).

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learned writer fall into two sharply contrasted parts: He considers one bad, or at least inadequate; the other presumably satisfactory.[1] He first describes how for a long time, largely under the guidance of Trifon Gabriele (a remarkably unproductive *arbiter elegantiarum stylae* of the period), he busied himself studying the words of Petrarch and Boccaccio, making himself a right grammarian, and composing for himself a "*rimario* or dictionary in the vulgar tongue." He says:

> In this, according to the alphabet I entered clearly every word the two great masters once had used; beyond that, in another volume, I set down their various methods of describing objects, day, night, wrath, peace, hatred, love, fear, hope, beauty; so compiled that no word nor phrase ever escaped me that the *Novelle* or the *Sonnets* did not give me in example.—*See you now to what a depth did I descend, and in what narrow prison chained myself!* . . . .

With this sudden and quite unexpected condemnation of the narrow method he had previously followed, Broccardo prepares for something of a contrast. And indeed, studying Petrarch once again, "giving attention to his *method* with greater caution than at first, I observed," he says, "certain matters as I thought of the highest import to the poet. . . . ." Thus he now began to note, not exact words and phrases, but the general principles; instead of studying by rote, he analyzed method, and formulated, however crudely, general rules. In place of learning Petrarch's words by heart, he noted their types and nature; he observed Petrarch's constant use of metaphor, his avoidance of exact verbal repetition, his fondness for contrasts, and the rest.[2]

Sperone, then, in brief (if we accept as his own the views he makes Broccardo voice), doubts the value of mere verbal imitation, and urges the following rather of a great writer's method. This is essentially no more than an amplified adaption of one feature in Quintilian: "Imitation . . . . should not be of the words alone. . . . ."[3]

Giulio Cammillo's *Trattato della imitatione*, though first printed in 1544, two years after Speroni's *Dialogo*, had perhaps been composed at about the same time. Cammillo makes in general the same points as

[1] This marked contrast, though unequivocally implied, seems curiously to have escaped the modern critics. Francesco Cammarosano, for example (*La vita e le opere di Sperone Speroni* [Empoli, 1920], pp. 71–72) does not note at all Broccardo's disparaging comment on the first half of his method.

[2] See *I Dialogi* [*sic*] *di Messer Speron Sperone*, "In Vinegia, nell'anno. M.D. XLII. In casa de' figliuoli di Aldo," pp. 146–49.

[3] Cf. p. 297, n. 2, and p. 300, above (Quintilian and Bembo).

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Speroni, and has hardly any new ideas at all of any moment, though his thirty-five-page treatise is nominally devoted to imitation only. In the form in which we have it, the work opens with a reference to Erasmus' opposition to the imitators of Cicero. Cammillo refuses to regard this opposition as in earnest; for imitation is essential, he declares (how unpleasant, he notes later, are the works of those who eschew imitation!); we must follow the best authors; and the one (or two) best only, not the many.[1] He then passes on to suggestions as to how we should imitate our author: We must try to resemble him, not to be the exact same, else we shall be dubbed thieves; we should therefore imitate, not his words alone,[2] but his general rhetorical method—and on this pretext the bulk of the treatise is then devoted to a detailed discussion of various rhetorical figures, etc.[3]

Though he writes in Italian,[4] Cammillo has essentially in mind, like Bembo and Vida, Latin composition; much of his argument applies to writing in dead languages alone. Yet here and there he suggests that the same methods would apply for students of a modern tongue; specifically, as his treatise is addressed to Francis I, for those who write in French.[5] His work in any case, despite its title, is of more interest for what it has to say of various tropes than for its attitude toward (or analysis of) imitation.[6]

[1] Cf. p. 300, n. 4, and p. 302, above; also p. 297, n. 1, and pp. 299, 301 (Cicero, Bembo, Daniello, as against Quintilian, Pico, Vida).

[2] Cf. p. 297, n. 2, and pp. 300, 303, above (Quintilian, Bembo, Speroni).

[3] See *Di M. Giulio Camillo, Tutte le opere* . . . . , "In Vinegia appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, et Fratelli. MDLV," pp. 197–232. Two of Cammillo's minor incidental arguments are possibly worth repeating, if only as indicative of his general method: He suggests (p. 217) that if we have chosen and imitated our model well we cannot be criticized without the criticism applying also to the model; and he notes (p. 218) that "he who imitates one truly excellent model imitates at the same time the perfection of a thousand," i.e., of those whom the model himself had imitated and incorporated in his work.

[4] As a general rule, with comparatively few exceptions, *Cinquecento* treatises in Latin were intended to apply to neo-Latin composition; those in Italian, to writing in Italian. This simple and rather obvious fact has been of late too often overlooked.

[5] See, for example his apostrophe, "O christianissimo, o felicissimo Re Francesco . . . . . etc.," on p. 210.

[6] Two Latin works which appeared within a year of Cammillo's *Trattato* should perhaps be mentioned here: Calcagnini's *De Imitatione Commentatio* (in *Caelii Calcagnini* . . . . *opera aliquot*, "Basileae per Hier. Frobenium et Nic. Episcopium, mense martio M.D. XLIIII," pp. 269–76), and *Bartolomaei Riccii de imitatione libri tres ad Alfonsum Atestium principem, suum in literis alumnum* . . . . , "Venetiis, apud Aldi filios. M.D. XLV."

Calcagnini makes several interesting points: Some part of eloquence is doubtless a matter of natural gift, but more comes from imitation; the author to be imitated depends upon the genre; taking over whole passages from an author is *plagium* not imitation, imitation is primarily a matter of the choice of words; imitation is essential for the budding

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Less than a decade later, Muzio, in one of the most interesting and least studied *Poetics* of the century, suggests, soundly enough, a method of subconscious imitation:

> . . . . You must read much, and sometimes make attempt
> To shape translations of choice passages
> From famous foreign authors;[1] often write,
> And learn by heart whole chapters at a time;
> Studying great writers only. Then, when later
> You take your pen in hand, and give expression
> On paper to your thoughts, your composition
> Will savour of the styles you earlier steeped in,
> As garments of the rose-leaves they have lain with. . . . .[2]

This is excellent advice, and might well profit many writers of the twentieth century; but it seems to have found little following in the *Cinquecento*. It concerns us here simply as an interesting but practically isolated development of the general theory.

In 1554 appeared Giraldi's *Discorso dei Romanzi*, devoting several incidental pages to the imitation canon. Here the influences are almost purely classical: Although Giraldi is writing in Italian, on a matter purely of Italian literature, he begins his remarks on imitation with an expansion of the pseudo-Ciceronian tag, without acknowledgment; he continues and concludes with recommendations obviously based (though equally without acknowledgment) on Quintilian. "Imitation as it seems to me," he writes, "is nothing other than a diligent and thoughtful study we pursue in order to become through what we learn similar to some outstanding writer. . . . ."[3] This implies, he

author, but is useless and dangerous for mature writers; etc. But as he treats of Latin composition only, the significance of Calcagnini's observations is definitely limited.

Ricci's treatise is quite elaborate, and especially interesting in its judgments and anecdotes of contemporary Latin writers; but its importance is lessened by the fact that it was written specifically with a view to improving the Latin compositions of a boy of twelve. Its conclusion (see f. 87v.) is the normal one for the time, and is (opposing Calcagnini) specifically applied to both the tyro and the mature writer: ". . . . id unum primum, & postremum ei praecipimus, ut optimum semper auctorem sibi habeat egregie propositum, ad cuius omnem scribendi rationem, suam & ipse totam dirigat, atque conformet orationem."

[1] Authors, be it noted, as opposed to a single author; cf. p. 297, n. 1, and pp. 299, 301, above; also p. 300, n. 4, and pp. 302, 304 (Quintilian, Pico, Vida, as against Cicero, Bembo, Daniello, Cammillo).

[2] See *Rime Diverse del Mutio Iustinopolitano. Tre libri di Arte Poetica* . . . . , "In Vinegia, Appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari e Fratelli. MDLI," p. 70. Muzio's advice almost fuses into one the first two chapters in Quintilian's Book x (on the reading of good authors, and on imitation); making the second an unconscious instead of a conscious sequel to the first.

[3] Cf. p. 295, n. 3, and p. 300, above (pseudo-Cicero, Bembo).

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goes on to say, not merely a noting of the words the model used,[1] but a careful study of his constructions and methods. To poet and orator alike this applies; imitation must be of the whole body and method of the model's work—a copying of him at all points. Bembo, he notes, was remarkably successful in resembling Petrarch[2] in this way, especially in one of his Asolani poems. Finally, imitation must always be at the same time emulation;[3] an eager attempt, i.e., to surpass the model imitated.[4]

Giraldi has thus merely taken over and repeated the ideas of Cicero and Quintilian. Minturno, who is next to be considered, shows something at least a little more akin to originality—but not much. He was the author of two elaborate treatises on poetics: one in Latin, *De poeta*, printed in 1559; the other in Italian, *Della poetica*, printed four years later. Both treat in extensive detail of versification, where they have in common very little. Both treat also at some length of more general matters of poetic theory; and here they have so much in common that the one is often a very literal translation of the other. Thus, as far as imitation is concerned, the two are practically identical; and Minturno is evidently strongly influenced by Quintilian. Before coming to imitation in itself, he discusses, just as Quintilian had done, the importance of reading standard works by the best authors.

As to imitation proper, Minturno declares that it is of great importance whom we select as model; but we are not likely to make a mistake, since "for us there is but one Petrarch, in making ourselves similar to whom we should place all our energies and zeal."[5] This

[1] Cf. p. 297, n. 2, and pp. 300, 303, 304, above (Quintilian, Bembo, Speroni, Cammillo).

[2] Evidently Giraldi, both in his precepts and in this example he adduces, believes in imitating one model rather than many. Cf. p. 300, n. 4, and pp. 302, 304, above; also p. 297, n. 1, and pp. 299, 301, 305 (Cicero, Bembo, Daniello, Cammillo, as against Quintilian, Pico, Vida, Muzio).

[3] Cf. p. 296, n. 1, and pp. 300, 301, above (Quintilian, Bembo, Daniello).

[4] See *Discorsi di M. Giovambattista Giraldi Cinthio . . . . intorno al comporre de i Romanzi . . . .*, "In Vinegia appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari et Fratelli. M.D. LIIII," pp. 150–59. Giraldi prefaces this passage with a careful note that he is here discussing not "that imitation of human action whereby the writer is called poet" (i.e., the Aristotelian μίμησις), but merely stylistic imitation.

[5] Here the *Poetica* says of Petrarch exactly what the *De poeta* had of Vergil: ". . . . conciosia che tra noi un sol Petrarca si truovi, a cui di farci simili ogno opera ed ogni studio por debbiamo." The *De poeta* ([Venetiis, 1559], p. 561) had declared: "Quando in Epicis unum ex nostris dumtaxat habes Virgilium, cuius te similem ut facias omni studio atque labore sit enitendum." A few lines later comes the justification, again in almost identical terms: "Cum enim ex aliis ille pleraque assumpserit, multa etiam inverterit, cur id tibi non permiseris quod sibi ille quidem licere existimavit?" And in the *Poetica:* "Conciosiacosa che perciochè quegli ha tolto molte cose da gli altri, molte parole anchora ha mutato, niuno altro a se stesso non conceda quel che stimò quegli essergli permesso?"

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does not mean, however, that we should not find things to imitate in others as well.[1] Imitation, furthermore, must not be exact, except in the case of a foreign author; we should use our imitated matter to make something new, as bees turn flowers into honey.[2] The best imitator will not take over the exact matter and the very words of his model,[3] but will rather adopt the same method of composition and the same forms of speech.[4]

One year after the printing of Minturno's *De poeta*, and three years before the appearance of its Italian equivalent, there came out the most pretentious work of the century dedicated exclusively to imitation: Bernardino Parthenio's *Della imitatione poetica*.[5] Parthenio was an ardent admirer of Cammillo (whose writings, he notes at one point with regret, had been dispersed and ill edited), and his work follows essentially Cammillo's plan: a (comparatively) brief discussion of imitation, leading up to an analysis of rhetorical or poetic tropes and figures which occupies the greater portion of his space.

In brief, Parthenio's position is as follows:

Every prudent writer will follow some great model; and that model must be one, not many,[6] else we wander in uncertainty. They are not only fools but mad who oppose imitation; Pico, though an admirable scholar, is not to be followed in this matter. Imitation is, "as Cicero defines it, a faculty by means of which we strive with diligent thought to be similar in our compositions to someone else";[7] and the best people use it: Vergil imitated Homer; Bembo, Petrarch. We must, however, make what we borrow into our own: Horace clearly

[1] Cf. p. 297, n. 1, and pp. 299, 301, 305, above; also p. 300, n. 4, and pp. 302, 304, 306 (Quintilian, Pico, Vida, Muzio, as against Cicero, Bembo, Daniello, Cammillo, Giraldi).

[2] The simile here is a classic commonplace which Cammillo and others had already employed in the Cinquecento.

[3] Cf. p. 297, n. 2, and pp. 300, 303, 304, 306, above (Quintilian, Bembo, Speroni, Cammillo, Giraldi). Minturno, shortly after this passage, justifies neologisms, both in the Latin and Italian, as Quintilian had done (cf. p. 297, n. 3, above) and Pico, perhaps, hinted at. Quintilian, for all his obvious influence here, is never mentioned in Minturno's discussion of imitation; but his name is cited elsewhere in the volume.

[4] See *L'Arte Poetica del Sig. Antonio Minturno* . . . . , "In Venetia, Per Gio Andrea Valvassori, del M.D. LXIII," pp. 444–46.

[5] Parthenio subsequently reversed Minturno's linguistic procedure; for in 1565 appeared at Venice his (apparently somewhat expanded) translation of the Italian work into Latin, with the title *De poetica imitatione*.

[6] Cf. p. 300, n. 4, and pp. 302, 304, 306, above; also p. 297, n. 1, and pp. 299, 301, 305, 307. Parthenio is in line with Cicero, Bembo, Daniello, Cammillo, and Giraldi, as opposed to Quintilian, Pico, Vida, Muzio, and Minturno.

[7] Cf. p. 295, n. 3, and pp. 300, 305, above (pseudo-Cicero, Bembo, Giraldi).

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showed the possibility of this when he wrote: "Publica materies privati iuris erit, si Nec circa vilem, patulumque moraberis orbem; Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus Interpres. . . . ."[1] There is some difference between orator and poet (the former being more familiar, akin to the comic poet), but both must take their words and modes of speech from the best authors, or rather from one best in each case. Imitation is, we must note, of two kinds: one, the essence of poetry, we leave to Aristotle; it is the other alone which we are now considering. This imitation must not be so exclusive as to forbid originality; it is praiseworthy indeed to invent and find for one's self;[2] but in the main, imitation is indispensable. By assiduously studying the works of the perfect writer, and by practice in imitating him, we can gradually through our efforts reach a stage at which the right words with beautiful conceits will come of themselves to our pen from memory, so that we eventually become involuntary and unconscious imitators.[3] Highly to be praised also is he who so imitates as to disguise his borrowings, which may be done in various ways: by using somewhat different words; by employing varied figures, etc.; by reversing metaphors; by expanding the original; by contracting it; and so following. To these rhetorical subterfuges the rest of the volume is then devoted.[4]

Parthenio's work marks the apogee of the imitation canon. For the six decades which preceded it, the various writers' works I have tried to analyze may be taken as thoroughly typical—at least of the ideas of all serious authorities who mention imitation. Except for Pico (who, though condemning it, yet felt obliged to admit that there might be some argument in favor of imitating, not one, but many good authors), all recommend plagiarism, some more, some less enthusiastically.[5]

[1] Cf. p. 294, n. 3, and pp. 298, 302, above (Demetrius, Horace, Daniello).

[2] Cf. p. 297, n. 3, and p. 307, n. 3, above (Quintilian, [Pico,] Minturno).

[3] This eventual result is similar to that aimed at by Muzio, though Muzio would attain to it (without any earlier conscious imitation) by means of a mere steeping of one's self in many authors; cf. p. 305, n. 2, above.

[4] *Della Imitatione Poetica di M. Bernardino Parthenio*, "In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, M.D. LX," pp. 10–110, *passim*.

[5] To the writers of serious treatises of the various types we have considered, we might add, as also earnestly prescribing imitation, men like Dolce and Ruscelli, authors of cheap *Rimarii* and popular handbooks of poetics.

Annibal Caro's qualified approval of imitation (in his *Apologia* [Parma, 1558], esp. pp. 29 ff.) I have left out of consideration, as the *argumentum ad hominum* was in that case too powerfully active. Caro in this *Apologia* was interested solely in formulating rules by which he could defend (against Castelvetro's criticisms) a certain *canzone* of his, which he had composed, almost certainly, without any thought of such rules.

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Muzio alone, suggesting a method that might well seem sound, even to the twentieth century, avoided urging conscious literary theft. From now on, however, after 1560, imitation as a precept rapidly lost favor.

In 1561 J. C. Scaliger[1] urged imitation for writers in Latin; but even so declared it not essential. Parthenio himself, twenty years after, got out an edition of Horace, with notes by which he demonstrated (as his title-page observes) "the art of the poet, and the road to Imitation and to writing poetry";[2] but *imitatio* here might well, for all his volume shows to the contrary, be intended for the Aristotelian. An occasional other writer in the last four decades of the century may speak of imitation, especially for Latin composition. But by and large, imitation, after 1560, was a dead issue. Most treatises indeed, from this year on, either do not mention *imitatio* and *imitatione* at all, or use the words exclusively in the Aristotelian sense.[3] The one or two who cite them otherwise do it solely to condemn; and of these last, two only need to be considered here.

First, Patrizio, in his *Della rhetorica* of 1562, mentions the plagiaristic imitation merely to declare it inadequate. In the light of Cicero, Quintilian, and Dionysius, he does not yet venture to condemn it utterly; but he does question its value, and declares that Cammillo

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It must be noted, on the other hand, that the period was not without some very noisy opposition to the imitation canon; especially to the almost universal imitation of Petrarch. This is not to be found among the serious and academic writers; it was voiced (mainly between 1525 and 1555) by the literary free-lances of the time, the more popular and journalistic writers, who, though often bitter enemies one of another, yet had this cause in common. Francesco Berni, Pietro Aretino, Niccolo Franco, Lodovico Martelli, Anton Francesco Doni, *et al.*, constantly voiced their disgust at the *petrarchevolini impetrarchevolati* and all imitators, in comic, satiric, or occasionally serious diatribes. Aretino was the most often serious and the soundest on this point (see especially his letter to Lodovico Dolce, *Del primo libro de le lettere di M. Pietro Aretino* [Parigi, 1609], pp. 122–23). The works of these whimsical writers, however, are strictly outside our present scope; so, albeit with distinct regret (for they are far more readable than the serious theorists), I must confine my notice of them to this passing statement.

[1] *Poetices* (Geneva, 1561), V, 1.

[2] See *Bernardini Parthenii Spilimbergii in Q. Horatii Flacci Carmina atq. Epodos Commentarii quibus Poetae artificium & via ad imitationem atq. ad Poetice scribendum aperitur*, "Venet., M.D. XXCIV."

[3] E.g., Giason Denores, *Della rhetorica* (1581), *Poetica* (1588); Patrizio, *Poetica* (1586); T. Tasso, *Discorso dell'arte poetica* (1587); G. Zinano, *Il sogno ovvero della poesia* (1590); etc. Already in 1554, G.-B. Pigna in his *I Romanzi* (the great rival of Giraldi's *Discorsi*, which had been printed earlier in the same year) mentioned imitation only in the Aristotelian sense; so, naturally (beginning in 1548, when the first commentary on the *Poetics* was printed), did almost all the many commentators on Aristotle.

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(the dispersion and mutilation of whose works he, too, deplores) erred in believing men to achieve excellence by the imitation of Cicero, Vergil, Boccaccio, or Petrarch, and in putting all his faith in imitation.[1] Second came Castelvetro, with his famous *Commentary on Aristotle*, to deal all imitation a quite crushing blow.

Though Castelvetro earlier, in his attack of 1558 on Caro,[2] had made his criticisms largely on the basis of Petrarchan usage, it was then to some extent a matter more of vocabulary and grammar than of ideas, phrases, figures, and the like; so that he attacked Caro's composition perhaps less as a theorist of poetic than as a grammarian.[3] Be that as it may, his 1570 treatise on Aristotle's *Poetics* manifests an objection to the imitation canon of such bitterness that he would not so much as use the word "imitation" in any connection at all;[4] not even to translate Aristotle's *μίμησις*, which he rendered (not unhappily, perhaps) *rappresentazione*. As to plagiarism, he flatly condemned the whole practice of imitating other authors, and boldly censured even Petrarch for having on occasion done so. Incidentally, he offers certain rather quaint details. He writes:

And I must note that there are some of these pilferers (who expect to be considered poets) so abandoned that they dare to maintain that it is permissible to steal things thought of by another poet, since the theft is made without loss to him. Jestingly they say: "If you don't believe so, go and look among his works to see if anything is missing, after all our pilfering. . . . ."[5]

[1] See *Della Retorica . . . . di M. Francesco Patritio*, "In Venetia, appresso Francesco Senese, M.D. LXII," pp. 56–57.

[2] *Ragione d'alcune cose segnate nella Canzone d' Annibal Caro . . . . .*, Modena, 1559 (?).

[3] Indeed, he put some early versions of his strictures into the mouth of a certain *Grammaticuccio*, whether spontaneously or as a result of some gibe from Caro does not seem quite clear. One or two of his points, however, are definitely literary rather than grammatical: e.g. "Il Petrarca non avrebbe invitate le Muse con cosi fatte parole *Venite a l'ombra de' gran gigli d' oro . . . .* percioche egli non suole (quantunque prenda le 'nsegne de le famiglie . . . . per gli huomini de le famiglie . . . .) attribuire cose sconvenevoli a la lor natura. . . . ." Caro defended himself (cf. p. 308, n. 5, above) by pointing out that Petrarch, after all, should not be imitated too slavishly; and it may well be that the horror of imitation Castelvetro showed in 1570 was not entirely unconnected with the disastrous outcome of a series of criticisms which he himself had earlier thus based in large measure on the imitation canon.

[4] His action thus created something of a precedent for certain faddists of our own day who write of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and refuse to countenance even the word "Renaissance."

[5] See *Poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata, et sposta per Lodovico Castelvetro . . . . .*, "Stampata in Basilea ad instanza di Pietro de Sedabonis l'anno del signore M.D. LXXVI," pp. 216–17. Castelvetro's thrust is here directed at a phrase in Castiglione's *Prologo* to the *Calandria* of Bibbiena, written over fifty years previously.

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He then pronounces an anathema upon this and other similar flippancies, and solemnly declares, in conclusion, that these robbers of the works of others should be held in abomination as ungrateful, worthless, and deserving of all heavy punishment.

This sounded the death knell of imitation as a serious literary precept;[1] it marked, at the same time, the passing of Cicero and Quintilian as authorities on literary technique, and the complete return to Aristotle.

The history of the imitation canon in the *Cinquecento* is, then, briefly this: It was widespread in the opening years of the century, as a natural result of the vogue of Cicero and Quintilian. Only one serious voice of any weight, that of Giovan Francesco Pico, raised an early protest; and that protest was immediately silenced by the arch-authority of Bembo. During the next fifty years, theorist after theorist urged the validity of literary imitation, differing only as to matters of detail, and constantly using (almost always without acknowledgment) one or another classic precept. The pseudo-Ciceronian definition is repeated by *Bembo*,[2] Giraldi, and *Parthenio*. Bembo, Daniello, Cammillo, Giraldi, and Parthenio adhere to Cicero's idea of a single model; Pico, Vida, Muzio, and Minturno follow Quintilian in preferring many. Bembo, Speroni, Cammillo, Giraldi, and Minturno believe, as Quintilian had, that imitation "should not be of the words alone." Bembo, Daniello, and Giraldi echo Quintilian's precept that we should not merely follow but endeavor to surpass our model; that we can thus make ourselves rightful owners of what was once the literary property of another is suggested (after Demetrius and Horace) by Daniello and *Parthenio*. Quintilian's justification of neologisms, hinted at by Pico, finds an echo in Minturno and Parthenio. And so on.

No serious opposition to the theory developed until more than half the *Cinquecento* had gone by; but then imitation, doubted by Patrizio in 1562, violently attacked by Castelvetro in 1570, fell so

[1] Sporadic attempts to revive it were made, of course, from time to time during the next two centuries, especially, perhaps, in eighteenth-century England (cf. John W. Draper, *loc. cit.*); but all were ultimately unavailing. So, in one respect at least, the Greek seems to have permanently dispossessed the Roman; Aristotle, to have finally deposed Cicero and Quintilian.

[2] Writers whose names appear here in italics are those who acknowledged their classic sources. The rest wrote, for the most part, almost as if each idea in question were their own original thought.

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swiftly into disfavor that it is hardly mentioned (save in the Aristotelian sense) by any other treatise in the last four decades of the century.

In the light of these facts, two points of some significance emerge: First, that the influence of Cicero and Quintilian in the field of rhetoric and poetic lasted well through the first half of the sixteenth century, and definitely yielded to Aristotle (despite earlier sporadic references, etc.) only after 1560. Second, that, until well into the second half of the *Cinquecento*, plagiarism (or what is little short of it) was not only countenanced but deliberately urged on budding authors by the most influential literary theorists of the day.

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THE MANUSCRIPT OF *PARADISE LOST*

The transcript of the first book of *Paradise Lost*, more or less known to Milton students for many years, has recently become accessible in the Pierpont Morgan Library.[1] It was first noticed by Bishop Newton, who states in his edition (1749–52) that the printer Tonson was in possession of such a manuscript "copied fair for the press with the Imprimatur by Thomas Tomkyns chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury."[2] Sotheby described it in his *Ramblings in Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton* in 1861 and reproduced two pages and the *imprimatur* in facsimile. While recognizing the likelihood that Tonson inherited the document along with the copyright of the poem from Brabazon Aylmer, who would in turn have had it from the original publisher Simmons, Sotheby argued (p. 199) from the clean condition of the manuscript and from the number of variations between it and the printed text that this could not have been the copy from which the first edition was set. He concluded that it was rather an independent transcript made for the licencer and preserved by him as the document authorizing publication. Masson and later A. W. Pollard, in the introductions to their editions of the poems,[3] accept the manuscript as the press transcript but without examining Sotheby's arguments, and doubt has remained in the minds of Milton students as to its true status. The question is obviously important enough from the standpoint of the genealogy of the *Paradise Lost* text to be worth settling one way or the other.

The a priori probability would seem to be, certainly, that the official *imprimatur* was inscribed on the original copy and that the printer, after carrying it to the Stationers' Company for the signature of the warden (in this case Richard Royston) and using it in setting the text, preserved at least the portion of it which bore the authorization in order to protect himself against prosecution. If it is true that

[1] It is being collated for the Columbia edition of Milton by Professor Frank A. Patterson, who has kindly allowed me the use of his materials. I am indebted also to Mr. Roger Howson, of the Columbia Library, and to Miss Belle deCosta Greene, of the Morgan Library, for valuable assistance.

[2] I, xxxvii.

[3] Masson, *Poetical Works*, II, 6; see also *Life of Milton*, VI, 507. For Pollard's statement, see *The Poetical Works of John Milton* (Macmillan, 1904), p. x. The notice of the manuscript in Hanford, *A Milton Handbook*, p. 148, is based on Sotheby.

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the licencer objected to the eclipse passage (I, 594 ff.) there was good reason why Simmons should have stitched together the particular pages that have come down to us, protected them with blank sheets at the end, and taken care that they did not share the fate of the rest of Milton's copy.[1]

We need not, however, depend on such inferences for the main fact. Re-examination of the manuscript itself shows conclusively that it is indeed a part of the copy prepared by amanuenses[2] at Milton's direction for the press and that it was actually used in setting Book I of the 1667 text.

The most conspicuous and decisive piece of evidence is to be found in the traces, hitherto unnoticed, of a series of numbers from 1 to 8, crudely written in the margins by another hand than that of the original copyist, at thirty-two-line intervals beginning with line 495 of the poem. The "1," the "2," the "4," the "5," the "7," and the "8" opposite lines 495, 527, 591, 623, 687, and 719, respectively, are clearly legible. The "3" and the "6," which presumably stood opposite lines 559 and 655, have disappeared through damage to the manuscript at these points. Opposite line 751 there occurs the letter *D*. The numbers obviously represent the printer's calculation of pages, and they correspond exactly to the third signature of the 1667 text, which begins with line 495 and runs thirty-two lines to the page. The *D* marks the beginning of the fourth signature, and is reproduced in the 1667 edition.

Why the pages of signature *C* and not those of the earlier signatures were thus indicated may easily be inferred. The compositor began to set in galley, but finding that he could by a little crowding make the lines of the poem correspond to the lines of type without running over,[3] he did precisely as a modern printer might do—he made

[1] The preserved manuscripts of the minor poems contain part of a press transcript of the later sonnets, but this was not the copy finally used by the printer (see *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 479).

[2] The original hand is identical with that which wrote the entries on p. 249 of Milton's *Commonplace Book*. The error "sealy" for "scaly" (l. 206), subsequently corrected, confirms what is otherwise clear enough, that this amanuensis was copying, not taking dictation.

[3] The ornamental initial made it necessary to run over in the first three or four lines of each book. Elsewhere he never fails to get thirty-two lines of the poem on a page, although he is occasionally forced to print the last word above or below in the space left blank at the end of the preceding or following line. We may assume that after establishing the first page in each later book he proceeded throughout the poem as he had done for the last part of Book I.

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up the page forms of the first two signatures, and paged the third as he went along. Spacing off the text ahead saved the trouble of counting up for each page while he was setting it. The *D* was to show him when he had finished this signature and to remind him of the proper symbol for the next.[1]

With this assurance that the Morgan MS really passed through the hands of the printer we can readily discount the difficulties suggested by Sotheby. Regarding the cleanness of the copy I cannot speak, for I have seen only a photostat. The divergences in the two texts, though very numerous, need not trouble us. The changes, as, for example, the elimination of large numbers of final *e*'s, are for the most part such as a printer would naturally make in the interests of economy in composition, or they represent simply his judgment of style as opposed to the author's. The violence that is done to the text by certain of the rule-of-thumb alterations or of the more haphazard ones shows clearly enough that they were none of Milton's.[2]

More significant for the present discussion is the close adherence of the printed text to the manuscript in many of its minute idiosyncrasies. Both have, for example, "mans" in line 1, "Amrams" in line 339, etc., without the sign of possession, but "Siloa's" in line 10 and "Ely's" in line 495; and both employ the plural "seat's" in line 796 and "arm's" in line 84 against "seats" in line 383 and "arms" in line 269. The situation is equally clear in the case of the spelling of certain classes of words in *y*. Milton had evidently taken pains in the manuscript to have these brought into conformity with his own standard of correctness. Thus the copyist's original writing of "soyle" (l. 242), "voyce," "armyes," and "Idolatryes" is altered to "soile," "voice," "armies," and "idolatries," etc., these and one or two larger eleventh-hour corrections being in a different hand from the main body of the

[1] A similar set of symbols indicating page and signature is to be found in the manuscript of Harrington's *Ariosto* described by Greg, *Library*, September, 1923, pp. 102 ff. I have been unable to consult either this manuscript or the transcript of Herbert's poems mentioned by Palmer (*Life and Works of George Herbert*, I, 176) as probably the printer's copy for the 1633 edition. Oddly enough both Greg and Palmer comment on the surprisingly clean condition of these manuscripts.

[2] For example, ll. 227–31, where the manuscript has

> ". . . . till on dry land
> He lights, if it were land that ever burn'd
> With solid, as the Lake with liquid fire,
> And such appeared in hue; as when the force
> Of subterranean winds. . . . ."

The 1667, by reading "fire;" "hue," gives a wrong application to the simile.

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text. But the corrector was careless and often failed to make the appropriate alterations, as in "delayes" (l. 208), "choyce" (l. 261), and "soyle" (ll. 562, 691). The spellings in the 1667 text, with few exceptions, follow those of the manuscript in their variations. A minor point, finally, in confirmation of the fact that the 1667 text was set from the Morgan MS, is to be found in line 25. The copyist first wrote "the eternal" and then deleted "the." He did this so faintly, however, that the compositor failed to notice it and printed the original reading, the correction being subsequently made in the errata.

From the facts thus established interesting conclusions are suggested with regard to the printed text of *Paradise Lost* in its relation to Milton's wishes. The circumstance that the proof of the 1667 edition must have come to him already paged perhaps discouraged him from making many alterations. But it is a fair question whether any proof ever came to him at all. At least, I am unable to point to a single clear author's change in the earliest issue of the 1667, and it is difficult to believe that if he had had the text read to him, however hastily, before the sheets were struck off he would have failed to carry out some of the designated improvements which the corrector of the manuscript had only partly succeeded in executing. What treachery of printer Simmons or what incapacitating personal or domestic circumstances lie behind these facts we can only guess. Later, Milton returned to the task of perfecting both the poem and the printed text. The errata list which first appeared in later issues of the 1667 edition contains corrections, like the famous "for we read wee," which are *aut Miltonius aut diabolus*, and the 1674 edition, though it was set from the 1667, goes much further in restoring spellings to which the poet attached importance, sometimes returning to the manuscript, sometimes improving on it. But such corrections are a mere drop in the bucket, and, as if to compensate for the occasional alterations which Milton managed to detect the need of as the proof was read to him, the 1674 printer has indulged in a new set of clearly unauthorized departures from the manuscript in points where it was adhered to in the edition of 1667. Obviously there is a modicum of truth in Bentley's theory of a secret corrupter of the Miltonic text, and merit still to be acquired in Elysium by the pious yet daring editor who will

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undertake to carry out *ad unguem* the fastidious poet's minute intentions. Such a restoration, however, is to be made, not by consulting the oracles of classic taste, but by scanning in detail the data afforded by the manuscript and the early prints, and its results will not be startling to the reading public.[1]

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[1] The Columbia edition, which reprints the 1674 text, will give also the readings from the early issues. There is not even the approximation of such an *apparatus criticus* for *Paradise Lost* now available, and the modern reprints of the originals are not to be trusted in *minutiae*. In suggesting the possibility of a restoration of the *Paradise Lost* text, at least in the first book, to a form which it never had except in idea, I do not forget Professor Grierson's painstaking and skilful effort in his recent edition of the *Poems*, nor do I quarrel with his eclectic normalization of certain of Milton's spellings, though it might be argued that if the poet commonly spelled "blood" in two ways and the prints so give it, the inconsistency should be allowed to stand as the record of his indifference. But Professor Grierson evidently did not have access to the Morgan manuscript, which would have furnished him with more than one deliberate Miltonic choice of the sort which he rightly considers it important to preserve.

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NEW DATA ON KEATS'S FRIEND REYNOLDS

In view of the personal intimacy and the close intellectual companionship indicated by Keats's letters to his friend John Hamilton Reynolds, it is surprising how scattered and how scanty the printed information about Reynolds is. Except for incidental mention here and there in works on Keats, on Thomas Hood (whose wife was Reynolds' sister Jane), and on a few other contemporaries whose lives Reynolds touched in one way or another, the only important discussions of him as a personality in his own right are the following, and all of them are very brief:

1. An obituary notice in *The Athenaeum* for 1852,[1] marked "Dilke" in an editorial file of that journal in which the authorship of many articles is indicated, according to information communicated to me by Mr. John Randall, who for many years up to 1925 was sub-editor of *The Athenaeum* and its successor. Dilke had known Reynolds for about thirty-five years. This *Athenaeum* obituary was reprinted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1853.[2]

2. A communication signed "T. M. T." in *Notes and Queries* for October 4, 1856;[3] also evidently written from personal acquaintance and knowledge. A number of later bits in *Notes and Queries*[4] add a few details.

3. A very brief article in Allibone's *Critical Dictionary of English Literature*, 1870.[5]

4. Essays on Reynolds' *The Fancy* and *Peter Bell* in Sir Edmund Gosse's *Gossip in a Library* (1891).

5. The discussion by "R. G." (Sir Richard Garnett) in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1896).[6]

[1] The issue of November 27, p. 1296.

[2] *Op. cit.* (N.S.), XXXIX[1], 100.

[3] *Op. cit.* (2d ser.), II, 274.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 219; *ibid.* (4th ser.), VIII, 408, 489; *ibid.* (8th ser.), V, 361; *ibid.* (10th ser.), II, 67; *ibid.* (11th ser.), V, 88, 172, 237, 337; *ibid.* (12th ser.), III, 360; also CXLVI, 119.

[5] III, 1778.

[6] XLVIII, 50, in the original edition; XVI, 936, in the reissue of 1909.

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6. The Introduction by Mr. John Masefield in his reprint of *The Fancy* in 1905.[1]

7. A sufficiently large portion of chapter viii, "Keats and His Circle," in Henry C. Shelley's *Literary By-Paths in Old England* (1906),[2] to be singled out from other discussions merely incidental to Keats or Hood or someone else.

Some study of Reynolds enables me to supply corrective or supplementary material on several topics that are given subheadings below.

I. DATE OF BIRTH

Through the kindness of the vicar of St. Mary's Parish, Shrewsbury, I am able to state that the date of Reynolds' birth as given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*—September 9, 1796—is two years too late. John Hamilton Reynolds, son of George and Charlotte Reynolds, was baptized at St. Mary's on September 29, 1794.[3] This date fits better with various bits of circumstantial evidence that caused me to doubt the *D.N.B.* date, of which the following are most worth mention:

1. The record of Reynolds' entrance at St. Paul's School says that in March, 1806, he was "aged 11."[4]

2. The obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1853,[5] says Reynolds was "aged 58" at the time of his death during the preceding November.

3. Leigh Hunt, who must have known the facts, thought Keats, who was born October 31, 1795, was younger than Reynolds—was the youngest of the three promising "young poets," Shelley, Reynolds, and Keats, whom he discussed in the *Examiner* for December 1, 1816.[6]

4. In Reynolds' biographical sketch of his fictitious Peter Corcoran in *The Fancy*, he assigns to Peter his own birthplace, Shrewsbury, and his own birthday, September 9, but makes the year 1794.[7]

5. If 1796 were the correct date, we should have this amazing dis-

[1] Elkin Mathews, London, with illustrations by Jack B. Yeats.

[2] Pp. 221–44. The material had mostly appeared previously in an article by Mr. Shelley in the *Lamp*, XXVIII (July, 1904), 451.

[3] Information from the Parish Register communicated to me in a personal letter from Rev. Cyril E. Jarman, vicar of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, March 9, 1926.

[4] R. B. Gardner: *The Admission Registers of St. Paul's School from 1748 to 1876* (London, 1884), p. 231.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 100. [6] *Op. cit.* (1816), p. 761. [7] *The Fancy* (London, 1820), p. vi.

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play of precocity, perhaps second only to that of Chatterton in the history of English literature: Reynolds wrote and published *Safie* when but a few months past seventeen years of age; wrote and published *The Eden of Imagination* before he was eighteen; probably wrote and published an ode on Napoleon at Elba when but a little past eighteen; wrote and published *The Naiad* and was an extensive contributor and trusted dramatic reviewer for an important weekly newspaper, the *Champion*, before he was twenty. Even with two years added to the age, this is a sufficiently remarkable record.

My letter from the vicar of St. Mary's suggests the probability of error in other dates heretofore given for members of the Reynolds family. The late Amy Lowell thought the oldest child was Eliza, who married a Mr. Longmore of Chelmsford, Essex, before Keats knew the family;[1] but the date of this daughter's baptism was November 20, 1799. Mariane (or Marianne), one of the sisters with whom Keats corresponded, was said by Buxton Forman to have been born February 23, 1793;[2] but the evidence of the Parish Register puts her baptism at St. Mary's on April 27, 1797. Rev. Mr. Jarman found no record of Jane Reynolds' baptism; but obviously the date Forman gave for her birth—November 6, 1794[3]—cannot be correct if her brother John was born in September, 1794. In one instance the Parish Register is in harmony with Forman's date: he says the youngest sister, Charlotte, was born May 12, 1802; the date of baptism is May 16, 1802.

II. GEORGE REYNOLDS, THE FATHER

Up to the publication of Henry C. Shelley's article in the *Lamp*[4] no one seems to have known much more about John Hamilton Reynolds' father than that he was writing-master at Christ's Hospital. Mr. Shelley and Mr. Walter Jerrold in his life of Hood[5] supplied a portrait and some information, but the data I am able to give in the following paragraphs are almost wholly new.

The George Reynolds who later became writing-master in Christ's Hospital was born in London, probably in January, 1765, for he was baptized January 20 of that year at St. Olave's, Hart Street, E.C.

[1] *John Keats*, I, 197.

[2] Forman, *Complete Works of John Keats* (Glasgow, 1901), IV, xviii.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. xix.

[4] P. 320, n. 2, above.

[5] *Thomas Hood, His Life and Times* (1907).

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"He was the only son of Noble Reynolds of St. Michael, Cornhill, who was a freeman of the City of London and of the Barbers' Company."[1] From March 16, 1774, to October 13, 1779, George Reynolds was a pupil in the school in which many years later he taught; he was a "Blue Coat boy."

When or where George Reynolds completed his education and began to teach, I have not learned; but during his residence in Shrewsbury he was a teacher, being described in a record of baptism of 1799 as "writing master" and in a record of 1802 as "school master."[2] In 1803 the Reynolds family must still have lived in Shrewsbury, for in that year the boy John Hamilton entered Shrewsbury School.[3] The removal of the family to London probably took place late in 1805 or early in 1806, March 4, 1806, being the date of the boy's entrance at St. Paul's School.[4]

George Reynolds was not appointed writing-master in Christ's Hospital, however, until May, 1817, though the school records show seven years' previous service by him as usher in the writing-school of the Hospital.[5] This service as usher need not have been consecutive; part of it may even have preceded the employment in Shrewsbury; at any rate, during a portion of the time between 1806 and 1817 this worthy schoolmaster's major employment can be shown to have been in the Lambeth Boys' Parochial School and the Female Asylum, Lambeth.

There are in the British Museum, bound in with other small educational pamphlets, but duly catalogued under the name "George Reynolds," five little textbooks—previously unnoticed in relation to this family—from the title-pages of which I copy the following portions:

1. *The Teachers Arithmetic* . . . . on the Rev. Dr. Bell's System.[6] . . . . By George Reynolds, Master of the Lambeth Boys' Parochial School, and Writing Master to the Female Asylum, Lambeth. . . . . 1812.[7]

[1] I quote from a letter from T. E. Limmer, Esq., clerk of Christ's Hospital, November, 1925.

[2] Letter, previously cited, from Rev. Mr. Jarman.

[3] *Shrewsbury School Register 1734–1908* (ed. J. E. Auden, 1909), p. 19.

[4] Gardner, *loc. cit.* [5] Letter of clerk of Christ's Hospital, previously cited.

[6] Dr. Andrew Bell (1753–1832), who became superintendent of the Madras Male Orphan Asylum in 1789 and devised what was widely known and practiced as the "Madras System of Education." See *Dictionary of National Biography*, II, 149, in reissue of 1908.

[7] This book mentions as by the same author *The Simple Rules of Arithmetic, in Questions and Answers . . . . on Dr. Bell's Plan*, and quotes from reviews of the latter book dated 1809.

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2. *The Madras School Grammar; or, The New System Reduced to Questions and Answers.* . . . . Chiefly arranged from the Rev. Dr. Bell's instructions, with such improvements as the author has introduced into his school with considerable success. . . . . By George Reynolds, Master of the Lambeth School, and Writing Master to the Female Asylum, Lambeth. [There is no date on the title-page, but a dedication of the book to the Archbishop of Canterbury is dated February 16, 1813.]

3. *The First Elements of Arithmetic* . . . . comprising the first four rules . . . . combined into one sum, and taught in one operation; and now in use at Christ's Hospital. . . . . By George Reynolds, Writing Master, Christ's Hospital. . . . . 1818.[1]

4. *The First Class Copy-Down Book of Arithmetic.* . . . . For the Use of Christ's Hospital. By George Reynolds, Writing Master, Christ's Hospital. . . . . Printed for Taylor and Hessey, Fleet Street. 1822.[2]

5. *Exercises in Arithmetic.* . . . . By George Reynolds, late Head Master of the Writing School, Christ's Hospital. . . . . 1838.

Should further evidence be desired that all these textbooks are by the same George Reynolds, I may cite the facts that "Dr. Bell's system," in which the Lambeth master was evidently a recognized specialist, was adopted in Christ's Hospital;[3] and that the Hospital paid its former pupil, George Reynolds, in 1809, "a gratuity of £20 for visiting the Hertford School, and introducing there Dr. Bell's system of education."[4] There is also evidence of the residence of John Hamilton Reynolds' family in Lambeth: A volume of poems published in 1812 by the Shrewsbury lawyer and poetaster to whom Reynolds, in 1814, dedicated his *Eden of Imagination*, contains a poem "To Mrs. Reynolds, of Lambeth, with a Goose"[5]—the poem indicating that "Mrs. Reynolds, of Lambeth," formerly lived in Shrewsbury. And one of the earliest published poems by "J. H. R." is dated at Lambeth.[6]

George Reynolds continued as writing-master at Christ's Hospital from his appointment in 1817 until he was retired on a pension at

[1] An "Advertisement" says, "The First Series may be had of the Author, at his House, Christ's-Hospital, Little Britain."

[2] Identification of this George Reynolds, writing-master at Christ's Hospital, with the George Reynolds who was in 1812 and 1813 master of the Lambeth School—if demanded—is made by an advertisement of *The Simple Rules of Arithmetic, explained in Questions and Answers* (3d ed.) as "by the Author of this Work." See note on book No. 1, above.

[3] "Bell," *D.N.B.* (reissue of 1908), II, 150.

[4] Letter from clerk of Christ's Hospital, previously cited.

[5] John F. M. Dovaston, *Fits-Gwarine . . . . with other Rhymes* (Shrewsbury, 1812).

[6] "The Hand," *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXXV[1] (January, 1815), 63. This poem clearly alludes to the same youthful bereavement that prompted other early poems by Reynolds, one of them in *The Naiad* volume.

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seventy years of age in March, 1835. During at least a portion of this period, however, he seems to have continued to be "writing master to the Female Asylum, Lambeth," for a letter of his son dated July 4, 1820, asks John Taylor (the publisher, of Taylor and Hessey) for aid in a protest against a suggested cut of salary for this service to the Female Asylum. "My father"—says "J. H. R."—"among his various places of emolument hold[s] the place of Writing Master to the Asylum & he has held it for the last 15 years."[1] George Reynolds outlived his son, his death not occurring until July 29, 1853.

III. REYNOLDS AND THE AMICABLE SOCIETY

I have been unable to learn how long the young John Reynolds remained in St. Paul's School; the records which give his date of entrance seem to lack the date of exit. But "T. M. T.'s" notice of 1856 in *Notes and Queries*[2] says he finished his education in that school and then became a clerk in the Amicable Insurance Office. The Amicable Society for a Perpetual Assurance Office, founded in 1705, is said to have been the oldest life insurance company in the world, and for about a hundred years from 1737 it occupied an office in Sergeant's Inn, Fleet Street. In 1866 it was amalgamated with the Norwich Union.[3] Present officers of the latter company have kindly examined for me the surviving Amicable records; and a letter from W. W. Williamson, Esq., assistant actuary of the Norwich Union, dated March 18, 1927, presents the following information:

A person who wished to effect a policy with the Amicable had to make a "Declaration" . . . . and we think we are correct in saying that it was customary to call at the Office of the Society for this purpose, the declaration being witnessed by one of the clerks. . . . . It appears from the Minutes that on 10th. February 1810 there were three clerks, while the Minutes of 30th. March 1808, 29th. April 1809, 28th. March 1810, and 27th. March 1811 indicate that the name of the chief clerk was William Forrest and the name of the second clerk John Griffin. The name of the third clerk was not mentioned. For some time prior to July 1810 practically all the declarations referred to above were witnessed by the second clerk, John Griffin, but on 18th. July 1810 a declaration was witnessed by J. H. Reynolds. After this date most of the declarations were witnessed by Mr. Reynolds until 1816 when some were witnessed by J. H. Reynolds and some by W. B. Wedlake. The last declara-

[1] From letter No. 21 in the "Woodhouse Book" in the Morgan Library, New York.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 319 above.

[3] See *Peeps into the Past, a Souvenir of the Bi-Centenary of the Old Amicable Society, etc.* (J. J. W. Deuchas ed.; Norwich, 1908).

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tion by Mr. Reynolds that we can trace is dated 24th. April 1816. It appears therefore that Mr. Reynolds entered the service of the Amicable not later than July 1810 and remained with the Society at any rate until April 1816. . . . . We think from the above it seems reasonably certain that he must have been the third clerk in 1810, and in view of the fact that Mr. Griffin was mentioned by name in the Minute of 27th. March 1811 but not on 22nd. April 1812 it is possible that Mr. Griffin may have left the service of the Society between these dates and that Mr. Reynolds may have been promoted to second clerk.

Mr. Williamson sent me also one of the signatures, "J. H. Reynolds," to a declaration, and it is like the signatures of Reynolds that I have seen.

IV. CORRECTION OF MISCELLANEOUS ERRORS

Investigation has revealed various errors on scattered topics in the primary sources of information listed at the beginning of this article, and in other places, which it seems worth while to list here.

The *Dictionary of National Biography*—besides the error in date of birth, which unfortunately has been accepted by practically everybody having occasion to refer to Reynolds—errs also in saying that Reynolds "wrote in Thomas Jonathan Wooler's *Black Dwarf*." The *Black Dwarf* was a radical political weekly without literary or dramatic departments. I have examined it and found no indication that Reynolds could have written for it; but we know from the letters of Keats that he did contribute to John Hunt's *Yellow Dwarf*[1] in 1818.

The *D.N.B.* also errs in saying that Coleridge ascribed Reynolds' *Peter Bell* to Lamb. Lamb was, as Coleridge well knew, too good a Wordsworthian to be guilty of so malicious a satire. But several years later Coleridge did insist in a letter to Lamb that he could think of no other person who could have written the *Odes and Addresses to Great People*,[2] a joint work by Hood and Reynolds.

Other *D.N.B.* errors are: putting Reynolds' contribution to the *Edinburgh Review* after 1824, whereas Keats mentions the matter about the end of 1818;[3] and sending Reynolds to the Isle of Wight nearly ten years too early—he went in 1847 instead of about 1838.[4]

[1] Forman, *op. cit.*, IV, 76.

[2] *Memorials of Thomas Hood*, by his daughter (Ticknor and Fields ed.; Boston, 1861), I, 15–17.

[3] Forman, *op. cit.*, IV, 193.

[4] See *Notes and Queries* (12th ser.), III, 425; Prothero's edition of the *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron*, III (1899), 46. A group of letters from Reynolds to Richard Monckton Milnes—later Lord Houghton—now in the possession of the Marquess of Crewe, the son of Lord Houghton, also indicate that 1847 is the correct date. Lord Crewe very kindly had copies of these letters made for me and they will appear in full in an edition of selections from Reynolds soon to be issued in the "Oxford Miscellany" series.

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The *Athenaeum* obituary of 1852 was perhaps the source of the *D.N.B.* error in saying Coleridge attributed *Peter Bell* to Lamb. The same article also errs in saying that Keats's poem on "Robin Hood" was "suggested, according to our recollection, by one on Sherwood Forest, or Bradgate Park, by Reynolds, published in the *London Magazine.*" Unfortunately, Keats's "Robin Hood" was written in 1818, nearly two years before the *London Magazine* was started, and was a reply to sonnets by Reynolds on Robin Hood which first appeared in the *Yellow Dwarf* February 28, 1818.

"T. M. T.'s" article in *Notes and Queries* errs in dating *The Eden of Imagination* 1815 (it was published in August, 1814), and in saying that all of Reynolds' works except *Safie* (the first one) were anonymous. *Safie* and *The Eden of Imagination* both bore "By J. H. Reynolds" on their title-pages; and *The Garden of Florence* very slightly disguised its author as "John Hamilton." "T. M. T." repeated the *Athenaeum* writer's error as to Keats's "Robin Hood."

Forman, Colvin, and Amy Lowell, in writing on Keats, and Mr. Walter Jerrold, in his biography of Hood, give, without any citation of authority, dates of birth for the sisters of Reynolds that are not in harmony with the evidence of the Shrewsbury Parish Register cited in Section I of this article.

Amy Lowell, also, fell into a singular topographical error in placing Lamb's Conduit Street, London, in Little Britain;[1] whereas Little Britain is itself a street and is a long way from Lamb's Conduit Street. Miss Lowell seems to have been misled by the fact that letters of Keats indicate the home of the Reynolds family to have been in Lamb's Conduit Street in October, 1817, but in Little Britain in the following March.[2] This, however, is readily accounted for on the supposition that when George Reynolds began his service as writing-master to Christ's Hospital in May, 1817, none of the houses provided by the school for its masters was available; but that by March, 1818, he had moved into one of the masters' houses in Little Britain, adjacent to Christ's Hospital.

V. REYNOLDS IN HIS LATER YEARS

Interest in Reynolds having been mainly an "aside" to interest in Keats, details of his life after the death of Keats have been—indeed, still are—meager and scattered. Some new material as to his literary

[1] *John Keats*, I, 197.

[2] Forman, *op. cit.*, IV, 37, 94.

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activities I present in another article; a few bits as to his life as a man and a solicitor may conclude this discussion.

According to a notice in the *London Magazine* for October, 1822,[1] August 31 was the date, Trinity Church, Exeter, the place of the marriage of "J. H. Reynolds, Esq., Solicitor, of Great Marlborough-street, London, to Eliza Powell, eldest daughter of the late W. Drewe, Esq., of South-street, Exeter." One daughter seems to have been the only child of this union, and she died at the age of ten, apparently not long before January 9, 1835.[2] A note by Thomas Hood the younger, in his sister's *Memorials* of their father,[3] indicates that Mrs. Reynolds survived her husband and was still alive when the Hoods were preparing their book about 1858 or 1859; she declined to give access to Hood's letters to Reynolds.

London directories give the address of "John H. Reynolds, Solicitor," as follows: in 1832, 27 Golden Square; 1836–38, 10 Great Marlborough Street; in 1841–42, 10 Adam Street, Adelphi. And the Houghton letters, already mentioned, indicate that his last address before going to the Isle of Wight was 88 Guildford Street, Russell Square.

A collection of letters by George Keats to the Dilkes from 1825 to 1833, which belonged to the late Amy Lowell and are now in the Harvard University Library, cast some light on Reynolds during those years. In a letter of April 20, 1825, George expressed his own incompetency to write a life of his brother John and suggested that "Reynolds and yourself [Dilke] are I think every way Competent to execute it with truth, feeling, and good taste." Five years later (May 7, 1830) George wrote to Dilke in protest about an expected life of Keats by Charles Brown in which George feared unkind treatment of himself. Again he offered his "recollections of John's early life," and expressed the opinion "that Reynolds and not Brown is the man to write it." March 19, 1829, in writing to Mrs. Dilke, George mentioned a letter from Mrs. Reynolds (Sr.) and remarked: "It must be gratifying to her to witness the success of John, whose start in life was by no means so promising." Soon, however, the letters to Dilke indicate money difficulties with Reynolds or with "R. and R." (Rice and Reynolds). Apparently the trouble came to a head about 1832 in "inattention

[1] Monthly Register, VI, 56.

[2] According to a letter of that date by John Taylor, the publisher, to John Clare, the poet, quoted by Mr. Edmund Blunden in "New Sidelights on Keats, Lamb, and Others, from Letters to John Clare," *London Mercury*, IV (June, 1921), 141 ff.

[3] *Op. cit.*, I, 10, 11.

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[by Reynolds] to his acceptance of a money order." "Mr. Llanos [Fanny Keats's husband] complains bitterly of Reynolds, and I fear Reynolds is to blame, and hope he will do justice without the horror of a lawsuit."[1] And November 23, 1833, George wrote to Dilke as follows:

> I supposed from the on dits reported to me by Mrs. K. that Reynolds was in excellent circumstances, I am sorry to hear the contrary, altho' it is certainly better that he should fail in his engagements in consequence of want of means than because he is too avaricious to disgorge from a full purse. I thought him strangely negligent of my just demands—he may be even now obtaining money from Abbey on my account, could you ascertain anything on that subject without disagreeable consequences. It is most likely that he has not honoured my order in favor of Mrs. Llanos which I very much regret since I feel that when I am living in comparative ease and affluence she should not be needing.

This bit of evidence tends to support rather vague assertions as to lack of success by Reynolds as a solicitor, in the *Athenaeum* and *Notes and Queries* articles already mentioned.

Sometime between December 30, 1846, and July 2, 1847,[2] Reynolds ceased to be a solicitor and became deputy clerk of the newly organized County Court at Newport, Isle of Wight. Mr. R. E. Prothero (now Lord Ernle), in a note already referred to, in his edition of Byron's *Letters and Journals*,[3] has given the most positive information we have as to Reynolds at Newport; and in a letter to Mr. Louis A. Holman, of Boston, dated June 21, 1913,[4] explained the source of his assertions as follows:

> It is a fact that for the last few years of his life Reynolds drank habitually, and gradually sank in the social scale. I know this because I lived for nearly thirty years of my life within three miles of the town of Newport, and many of the inhabitants of that town knew Reynolds well. There is no doubt about the fact; but whether it is necessary to rake up such an incident in the close of his career I do not know.

It is, indeed, unfortunate that the facts should justify such an assertion, which gives the last years of Reynolds at Newport somewhat

[1] Letter of George Keats to Charles Dilke, May 11, 1832.

[2] As shown by the Houghton letters, one of the former date bearing "88 Guildford Street" as the address; the next one, of the latter date, "Newport, Isle of Wight."

[3] *Op. cit.*, III, 46.

[4] Mr. Holman showed me this letter, and I quote from it by his kind permission.

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the color of the last years of Burns at Dumfries; but, at any rate, there is some satisfaction in knowing the evidence.

By way of summary I would call attention to the following as the most important points in the foregoing pages:

1. Correction of error as to the date of Reynolds' birth, making it two years earlier than as given in the *D.N.B.* but in harmony with all other evidence on the subject. The parish register that makes 1794, not 1796, the year of Reynolds' birth also indicates error in the assertions of the principal authorities on Keats as to the years of birth of the sisters of Reynolds who also were friends of Keats.

2. The details as to the life and work of George Reynolds, the father, especially his authorship of at least six schoolbooks and his teaching in Shrewsbury and Lambeth in addition to his previously known work in Christ's Hospital.

3. Exact data as to Reynolds' employment by the Amicable Society.

4. Evidence, especially that from unpublished letters of George Keats and Lord Ernle, in confirmation of previous vague assertions as to Reynolds in his later years.

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OBSERVATIONS ON THE *PÈLERINAGE CHARLEMAGNE*

Ribaldry and piety, heroism and farce, realism and fantasy, make up the extraordinary mélange we know as the *Pèlerinage Charlemagne*. In 1907 when M. Coulet's impressive study appeared, French and German scholars were still at odds as to what to call the poem—an epic and therefore noble?[1] a *fabliau*, parody, *conte à rire*, and therefore not noble at all? For some seven hundred years this boastful, rollicking figure among the stately dignitaries of the old *chansons de geste* has escaped, and in all probability will continue to escape, exact classification.

But that is not to say that the poem is in itself mysterious. More than twenty years ago much was known about its antecedents in legend and tale, and about its connection with certain holy relics and with the great fair held at St. Denis, near Paris. The attempts, however, to elucidate it as purely an expression of *l'esprit gaulois* have always left something unexplained. No scholar's skill could ever make it quite credible that the revered and mighty Charlemagne of the Jerusalem episode was identical with the almost comic Charlemagne of Constantinople. M. Coulet argued (pp. 323–27) very plausibly for the unity of the two stories in the tradition used by our poet, but no skill could suffice ultimately to hide the fact that this unity was made up of utterly diverse elements. It was made by one who took now from fact, now from fiction. The poet's debt to fact, to things he at least believed were real, things in Paris, in St. Denis, in Jerusalem, was long since made clear by Gaston Paris[2] and other scholars. The poet's debt to secular fiction, and particularly to Celtic fiction, was first proposed in a brief but illuminating article by Professor Kenneth Webster.[3] It is the purpose of this paper to follow up some of the clues

[1] J. Coulet, *Etudes sur l'ancien poème français du Voyage de Charlemagne en Orient* (Montpellier, 1907). Previous interpretations of the poem are here reviewed (pp. 327–68); on pp. 368–82 M. Coulet gives his own theory, i.e., that the poem was serious in purpose, adapted "à un dessein d'édification et à une pensée morale qui fait l'unité" (p. 368).

[2] *Romania*, IX (1880), 1–50; Coulet, pp. 72–236.

[3] "Notes on the Ballad of King Arthur and King Cornwall and on the Pilgrimage of Charlemagne," *Englische Studien*, XXXVI (1906), 337–69.

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proposed by him and especially to develop the idea on which he touched only tentatively, namely, that even the *douze pairs* of this episode might be primitive in origin. The first essential is to investigate the sources of the background, the whole setting provided for the peers in the Constantinople episode.

THE LOCALIZATION

The story tells us that Charlemagne, spurred by his wife's boast of the superior splendor of Hugo le Fort, emperor of Constantinople, sets out to find him. Charlemagne's journey to Jerusalem is described with topographical correctness; Jerusalem itself with approximate realism. When, however, Charlemagne decides to return to France by way of Constantinople, the description that follows is of quite a different character. A singularly brief itinerary gets him from Jerusalem to Jericho, over the hills of Abilant, past the Rock of Guitume, whatever that may be, and so into sight of the magnificent city.

Virent Constantinoble, une citet vaillant,
Les clochiers et les egles et les pons reluisanz.
Destre part la citet demie liue grant
Troevent vergiers plantez de pins et loriers blans;
La rose i est florie, li alborz et l'aiglenz.
Vint milie chevaliers i troverent seanz,—
Et sont vestut de palies et d'ermines toz blans
Et de granz pels de martre josqu'as piez traïnanz.
As eschies et as tables se vont esbaneiant,
Et portent lor falcons et lor ostors alquant—
Et treis milie pulceles a orfreis reluisanz.
Vestuës sont de palies, s'ont les cors avenanz,
Et tienent lor amis, si se vont deportant.[1]

Charlemagne now asks where is the king of this land and is told by one of the strange knights to ride until he sees the king sitting under a silken canopy. Charlemagne finds Hugo plowing; the yokes are of shining gold, likewise the axles, the wheels, and the plowshare. Hugo does not go on foot but is drawn in a seat of gold swung between two strong mules. He sits on a cushion of Persian silk with a silver foot-

[1] Vss. 262–74, from the reconstructed text of Koschwitz' edition, *Karls des grossen Reise nach Jerusalem und Constantinople* (Leipzig, 1901); 5th ed.; a sixth edition appeared in 1913. An edition by A. J. Cooper (Paris, 1925) has an English Glossary. *The Merry Pilgrimage* (New York: Macmillan, 1927), by M. Sherwood, offers a version of the story in English.

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stool for his feet. Four golden columns support a silken canopy above him. He carries a scepter of red gold. The two kings exchange friendly greetings, and Hugo offers Charlemagne a year's hospitality. When Hugo descends, Charlemagne protests that the golden plow should not be left without guard; Hugo assures him there are no thieves in his realm; the plow could stay safely in the field for seven years. They start together for the palace.

From Gaston Paris to M. Coulet writers on the *Pèlerinage* except Professor Webster have been content to believe that all this was inspired chiefly by travelers' tales of the marvelous but still actual riches of the imperial city. Both Paris and M. Coulet[1] were persuaded that the descriptions of the two cities, Jerusalem and Constantinople, are fundamentally realistic. M. Coulet wrote (p. 283):

> A l'exception de quelques détails, comme le fauteuil d'or et la charrue d'or du roi Hugon, qui sont de l'invention de l'auteur, tous les traits, dont il peint le palais de Byzance, sont empruntés à la réalité. Ils ne sont que cette réalité à peine transformée ... par l'imagination naïve de ceux qui en avaient contemplé les merveilles.

He is surprised that the poet did not give more details.

> Il n'en a retenu que ce qui concernait le seul palais de Constantinople. Au lieu qu'il donnera sur la topographie de Jérusalem des indications relativement nombreuses et précises, il nous présente de la capitale grecque, comme une vue d'ensemble. ... C'est une ville d'Orient, c'est la capitale, où se trouve le palais des empereurs grecs, ces deux traits suffisent au tableau qu'il veut présenter à son public [p. 284].

It is evident that M. Coulet's view is open to question. Within short compass the poet has given us not few but many specific details. That they do not accord with historic fact, as Professor Webster perceived, does not lessen their pertinence. It is no general view but a brilliant, comparatively detailed picture that is offered of this Constantinople behind its shining bridges, with its gardens of enchantment, its hosts of richly clad youths and maidens. It is a land of youth, a land of summer, though these descriptive phrases are not specifically used; it is a land of impossible wealth and of no theft, a land ruled by a king whom surely no traveler ever saw. M. Coulet should not have argued that the poet was controlled by tradition in making Charlemagne go to a real Constantinople, that this episode was central and

[1] Paris, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–29; Coulet, pp. 280–83.

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necessary to his whole story, and then maintained that Hugo the Marvelous was purely an invention of the poet. The king was neither more nor less "invented" than was his realm.[1]

Had not some of the descriptive details corresponded to possible facts, had not the name Constantinople been given to this city, it is doubtful if its true nature would so long have remained unrecognized. Yet it has long been known that Constantinople, Byzantium, Greece, are names that serve, notably in Celticized story, for the Otherworld. Professor Webster (p. 356) remarked that the undisguised fairy heroine of *Partonopeus de Blois* lives in Besance, and that medieval Irish stories frequently place the Otherworld in Greece. We remember that in the *Mabinogion* Peredur's fairy love is an empress of Cristinobyl the Great.[2] In various Welsh triads Constantinople is called Gwlad yr Haf,[3] the 'Summer Country,' a characteristic name for the Celtic Otherworld. Finally, we may note the frankly fabulous description of the city's king. His golden plow, his incredible magnificence, place him certainly with those gods and culture heroes whose legends explain the introduction of agriculture rather than with authentic Greek emperors of history.

The recognition that king, city, and land are equally unreal justifies the expectation that Hugo's palace is of the same nature. Fortunately the details given by the poet are so numerous and precise that they can leave no doubt as to the essentially Otherworld character of this remarkable conception.

[1] See especially A. H. Krappe, "The Ploughman King," *Revue hispanique*, XLVI, 516–46.

[2] *Mabinogion* (trans. Lady Guest), p. 278; *ibid.* (ed. Loth), II, 100. See also *White Book Mabinogion* (ed. Evans), col. 162, l. 12. A fanciful explanation of the name Constantinople is given in the thirteenth-century story, *Li Contes dou Roi Coustant l'Empereur:* "Et si fu puis la cites apielee Coustantinoble, pour son pere Coustant, ki devant avoit apielee Bisanche."

[3] Quoted from the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* (1801) by Loth, *Mabinogion*, II, 313–14. Though these triads are open to question as in part the possible fabrication of Iolo Morganwg, it is still significant that the term is used in association with Hu Gadarn, for though this legendary plowing-hero of the Cymry may have been translated, as his name certainly was, straight out of the *Pèlerinage* by both Iolo Morganwg and his predecessors, still they could not have taken this special phrase from the same source since the French text offers no suggestion for it. In other words, "Summer Land, the place where Constantinople is now," seems to offer a genuine bit of Welsh tradition. Mr. G. J. Williams of the University of College South Wales, hopes shortly to publish an article on Hu Gadarn in the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*. Professor Cross notes that the Triads also identify Gwlad yr Haf with Taprobane (*Deffrobani*). Cf. Loth, *op. cit.*, II, 313.

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THE REVOLVING PALACE

L'emperere descent defors le ... marbre blanc.
Cez degrez de la sale vint al palais errant,
Set milie chevaliers i troverent seanz,
A peliçons ermines, blialz escharimanz;
As eschies et as tables se vont esbaneiant. ...
Charles vit le palais et la richece grant;
A or fin sont les tables, les chaieres, li banc.
Li palais fut d'azur listez et avenanz
Par molt chieres peintures a bestes et serpenz,
A totes creatures et a oisels volanz.
Li palais fut voltiz et desore cloanz,
Et fut faiz par compas et serez noblement;
L'estache del miliu neielee d'argent.
Cent colombes i at tot de marbre en estant;
Chascune est a fin or neielee devant...
De cuivre et de metal tresjetet dous enfanz.
Chascuns tient en sa boche un corn d'ivoire blanc.
Se galerne ist de mer, bise ne altre venz
Qui fierent al palais dedevers occident,
Il le font torneier et menut et sovent
Come roe de char qui a terre descent.
Cil corn sonent et boglent et tonent ensement
Com tabors o toneires o grant cloche qui pent;
Li uns esguardet l'altre ensement en riant
Que ço vos fust viaire que tuit fussent vivant [vss. 334 ff.].

Charles expresses amazement at this palace, which surpasses those of Alexander, Constantine, or Crescentius. A wind rises

Bruiant vint al palais, d'une part l'acoillit,
Si l'at fait esmoveir et soëf et serit;
Altresil fait torner com arbre de molin [vss. 370 ff.].

The images make music;

Ço'st avis, qui l'escoltet, qu'il seit en paraïs,
La ou li angele chantent et soëf et serit.
Molt fut granz li orages, la neis et li gresilz,
Et li venz durs et forz, qui tant bruit et fremist.
Mais les fenestres sont a cristal molt gentil,
Tailliees et confites a brasme oltremarin.
Laenz fait tant requeit et soëf et serit
Come en mai en estet quant solelz esclarcist.
Molt fut gries li orages et hisdos et costis.
Charles vit le palais torneier et fremir [vss. 376 ff.];

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Charles and the peers, unable to keep their feet, lie on the floor lamenting. At vesper time the storm ceases, the Frenchmen are escorted to a magnificent banquet at which they feast overmuch. When it is time to rest,

> Li reis Hugue li Forz Charlemaigne apelat
> Lui et les doze pers, sis trait a une part;
> Le rei tint par la main, en sa chambrel menat,
> Voltice, peinte a flors, a pieres de cristal.
> Une escarboncle i luist et cler reflambeiat,
> Confite en une estache del tens rei Golias.
> Doze liz i at bons de cuivre et de metal,
> Oreilliers de velos et linçoels de cendal;
> Al menor ont a traire vint boef et quatre char.
> Li trezimes en mi est tailliez a compas
> Li pecol sont d'argent et l'esponde d'esmail.
> Li covertors fut bons, que Maseüz ovrat,
> Une fee molt gente qui le rei le dunat [vss. 418 ff.];

Before discussing this picturesque passage it is well to quote also certain additional details, especially with regard to the palace, which are found in the Welsh version of the *Pèlerinage* in the Red Book of Hergest[1] and which illustrate admirably certain concepts of the Celtic translator.

Sculptured in the floor appeared the likeness of all the animals, both wild and tame. In the entrance at its lower end, that is below the entrance, there was sculptured the likeness of the sea and every kind of piscine creature bred in the sea. In the sides of the hall was the likeness of the sky and every bird that flew in it just as though it were the air. The top of the hall had the form and aspect of the firmament with the sun, the moon, the stars and the constellations arranged in the firmament so that they shone in the top of the hall, according to various seasons. There was a circle in the hall with a column of huge size fashioned like a pillar in the centre, with a profuse and strong covering of gold about it which was adorned with sculpturing of exceeding great ingenuity. Around it there were a hundred pillars of becoming and fair marble, as far in measurement from the central pillar as the large circle of the sides bore from the circle of the hundred pillars.—Whilst Charlemagne and his host were admiring the workmanship of the hall, behold there came from the sea sculptured at the lower end of the hall a sudden wind on the shaft of a millwheel, which turned swiftly in the hall on the one pillar as the mill turned on the pivot. Then the images began to blow their horns.

[1] *Ystoria Charles*, from the Red Book of Hergest (trans. by Rhŷs), pp. 26–27, in *Sechs Bearbeitungen des altfrz. Gedichts von Karls des Grossen Reise* (ed. Koschwitz; Heilbronn, 1879).

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In connection with this description we should here recall Professor Howard Patch's study of "Mediaeval Descriptions of the Otherworld" (*PMLA*, Vol. XXXIII [1918]). "The Otherworld realm," he observes, "is usually quite easy to identify. Its situation is various; on a mountain, perhaps, or on an island. There is a splendid castle usually guarded by armed figures; and a garden, with a beautiful fountain or fair running streams, and trees and remarkable birds. The land is hard to enter, and sometimes difficult to leave." Of special interest in the present case are his references, too numerous, with few exceptions, to call for further illustration, on such details as these: the height (pp. 606 ff.) on which the Otherworld abode is situated; the brilliant walls of gold, crystal (p. 610); the enchanting garden (pp. 619 ff.), the Otherworld river and bridge (pp. 627, 635); the central column or pillar (p. 626) which appears in several Otherworld descriptions; the revolving castle itself (p. 616, n. 54). The garden, the river, the bridge, are so slightly mentioned in the *Pèlerinage* that they afford no real evidence; it is the round whirling castle with its incredible magnificence that must be recognized not only as an Otherworld but as a Celtic Otherworld abode, if the clues already noted are to be confirmed.

Though the idea of a whirling round house is by no means exclusively Celtic,[1] it is important to note that round houses were a fact in primitive Celtic architecture[2] and that revolving houses appear frequently even in modern Celtic folk lore.[3] Whatever be the origin of the idea of the whirling house, it is certain that Hugo's palace, revolving till vesper time and turning like a mill-wheel, is extraordinarily like the circular fort over which every night, according to the *Fled Bricrend*,[4] Curoi chanted a spell so that it (the house) was "as

[1] Sypherd, *Hous of Fame*, pp. 144–50, notes the whirling round palace of Prester John, and the revolving houses in Russian folk tales; in these the castles are sometimes said to stand on hen's legs, sometimes on a single column of silver.

[2] Nitze, "The Grail Castle," *Studies in Honor of Marshall Elliott*, I, 33; Brown, "Iwain," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, VIII, 197; and Macalister's article referred to below, p. 341, n. 1.

[3] Sypherd, *op. cit.*, refers to the following instances: in *Saudan Og and Young Conal* (Curtin, *Hero Tales*, pp. 86–87) the revolving castle of the High King of the World is on an island; in *Cold Feet and Queen of Lonesome Island* the Queen's castle is always whirling (*ibid.*, p. 250); in *McCool, Faolan, and the Mountain*, the giant's whirling castle stands on one leg (*ibid.*, p. 507); in *Cuculin* (Curtin, *Myths of Ireland*, p. 322) the Queen of the Wilderness lives in a tower which turns on wheels; in the *Queen of the Speckled Dagger* (Herrig, *Archiv* [1899], pp. 103, 154) an iron tower turns.

[4] "Irish Texts Soc.," II, 103. Nitze (*op. cit.*, p. 26 n.) cites as the chief Irish parallels the fiery revolving rampart in the *Voyage of Maelduin* (*Rev. celt.*, X, 81), and possibly Caer Pedryvan (Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, I, 264; "four its revolutions").

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swift as a millstone." This very image recurs in a modern Irish variant of the old Curoi story, where it is said that the castle of the Naked-Hung-up-Man[1] whirls around like a millstone continuously, and no one can enter but himself, for the castle is enchanted. There are also certain Arthurian instances[2] in which the turning castle has something of the vastness and splendor associated with Hugo's palace, but since these details can also be paralleled individually in non-Celtic tradition,[3] it seems best to turn to a romance, late in date but indubitably of the same origin though independent of the *Pèlerinage*, which offers an absolute parallel, not to one or two, but to practically all the peculiar features of Hugo's palace. For this there can be no explanation but that the *Pèlerinage* and the romance in question, *Arthur of Little Britain*,[4] had a common source in some form of Celtic tradition.

Chapter xliii, pages 135 ff.: Arthur comes to a dreadful river, passes along a path between two mountains, crosses a narrow bridge, and so comes to the Porte Noyre. At the bridge he finds twelve knights on horseback and at the gate twelve more on foot. After a great fight he wins his way into the palace (p. 139).

There he found the most fayre house . . . . sette all aboute with ymages of fyne golde and the wyndowes . . . . were all of fyne ambre. . . . . He entered in to a chambre the moste rychest that ever was seen; for syth God first made mankynde, there was no maner of hystorie nor bataile, but in that chambre it was portrayed with golde and asure . . . . ; there was portrayed how God dyde create the sonne and the mone, and in the rofe were all the VII planettes wrought with fyne golde and sylver, and all the sytuacyons of the heuvens, wherein were pyght many carbuncles and other precyous stones the whiche dyde cast grete clerenes bothe by daye and by nyght. Also there were dyuerse beddes wonderfull ryche, but specyally one, the whiche stode in the myddes of the chambre. . . . .

[1] Noted by Sypherd from *Blaiman, Son of Apple* (Curtin, *Hero Tales*, p. 397); R. S. Loomis (*Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance* [New York, 1927], p. 21) observes that the Naked-Hung-up-Man takes the place of Curoi the enchanter.

[2] Cf. Perlesvaus, *Potvin*, I, 195; *High History* (Everyman ed.), p. 206; *Diu Crône*, vss. 12945–66; *Mule sans Frein*, vss. 440–53; *Wigalois*, vss. 6714 ff.; *Arthur of Little Britain*, as cited below.

[3] For instance, in the imaginative palaces of classical literature (cf. Ovid's account of the Palace of the Sun [*Metamorphoses* ii]), some of which are listed by Neilson, *Origins of the Court of Love*, pp. ii, 23, 143, and by Sypherd, pp. 135–36. Of special interest is the round turning palace of Prester John (Sypherd, pp. 144–45).

[4] Translated by Lord Berners from an unpublished French text of the fourteenth century, and reprinted by Utterson (London, 1814). For some discussion of archaic elements in this romance see R. S. Loomis, *op. cit.*, pp. 172–75.

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A bed of marvelous richness is here described. "At the head of thys bedde there stode an ymage of golde, and had in hys lyfte hande a bow of yvrey, and in hys right hande an arowe of fyne sylver: . . . . there were lettres that sayd thus: Whan thys image shoteth, than all this palais shall tourne like a whele." Arthur presently sees (p. 140) "in everye corner of the chambre a gret ymage of fyne golde standynge, eche of theym holdynge in theyr hands a great horne of sylver." Three lions and a giant are slain by Arthur as one after the other the images blow their horns. A great storm comes, wind and darkness. As the palace begins to turn, Arthur clutches the central golden image, and is later found on the perilous bed, which he had previously seen pierced by a burning spear, when his friends come to praise him for achieving the great adventure.

Although one is tempted at first reading simply to consider all this a late composite from French romance,[1] the reflection must come sooner or later that only direct imitation of the *Pèlerinage*, or else a common source, could account for the peculiar combination of features in the two romances. Since the narrative in *Arthur* is so utterly unlike that of the *Pèlerinage*, since nowhere else in *Arthur* does there occur any suggestion of imitation of the *Pèlerinage*, the first possibility is excluded. The second is the only reasonable explanation for the recurrence in the two romances of a description involving a round turning castle beyond a river, a many-windowed, azure-colored hall lighted by one or more carbuncles and painted with sun, moon, and stars;[2] a hall with metal images that blow horns; a hall shaken by a sudden dreadful storm of wind; a hall with one great central pillar and beside it a bed of surpassing magnificence. Chance never brought together such a series of details as these. The only notable descriptive detail that appears in the *Pèlerinage* but is not found in *Arthur of Little Britain* is the circle of twelve beds, and to this we will turn in a moment as the most conclusive piece of evidence for

[1] For examples of the "perilous bed," see Armstrong, *Le Chevalier à l'épée*, pp. 59 ff.

[2] It is the Welsh version of the *Pèlerinage* which speaks specifically of the sun and moon, etc. In the *Pèlerinage*, not Hugo's palace at Constantinople but the church at Jerusalem is said (vss. 126–27) to be decorated with "les cors de la lune et les festes anvels, ... les bestes par terre et les peissons par mer." This surprising type of decoration for a Christian church can be accounted for, I think, as an anticipatory borrowing from that Otherworld story which the author utilized for the Constantinople episode. Such decoration is a traditional feature in Ovid's Palace of the Sun, and in the Welsh *Ystoria Charles*, in *Arthur of Little Britain*, in *Titurel* (ed. Piper, *Höfisches Epik*, I, 465), and elsewhere.

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the Celtic origin of this passage. But meanwhile we must admit that the Magic House as described in the *Pèlerinage*, whatever the ultimate origin of the ideas involved, must, before the twelfth century, have become a part of what we can only call Celtic tradition. In the French text, in the amplified Welsh version, the series of details is definite, peculiar, consistent. The same series, recurring in *Arthur of Little Britain*, must derive from the same source.

THE LUMINOUS CARBUNCLE

The wonderful carbuncle which so lighted the bedroom of Charlemagne and his peers that it shone "Come en mai en estet quant solelz esclarcist" (vs. 443), though it might be dismissed as merely one of those *pierres merveilleuses* (usually carbuncles)[1] which appear so frequently in romance, deserves a special word. Belief in the luminosity of the carbuncle may be traced as late as 1568,[2] and comparisons likening its light to that of the sun are commonplaces of medieval diction; the carbuncle among jewels, like gold among metals, was even sometimes ascribed to the sun as the very Jewel of Light.[3] But it is surely important to notice that although these ideas occur elsewhere, they are also found continuously in Celtic tradition and the literature influenced by it.[4] In Bricriu's palatial residence King Conchobar's

[1] Cf. J. Dickman, *Le Rôle du Surnaturel dans les Chansons de geste* (Paris, 1926), pp. 181–82; Hibbard, *Mediaeval Romance in England* (1924), Index, *s.v.* "Jewels," "Magic." Of interest are the following observations on the carbuncle from a thirteenth-century prose "Lapidary" (trans. M. Shackford), *Legends and Satires of the Middle Ages* (Boston, 1913), p. 115: "The carbuncle is red . . . . it is the lord of stones. By day and by night it illumines all. . . . . Saint John did not find the carbuncle among the foundations of the celestial kingdom of Jerusalem, for all who desire to behold the carbuncle and the clearness of the true sun must turn to the true light of Jesus Christ."

[2] F. Kunz (*The Magic of Jewels* [1915], p. 378) notes a story told by Benvenuto Cellini (1568) of a peasant who found a carbuncle glowing among the roots of his vines. On p. 279 Kunz quotes from a ninth-century Arab historian concerning the discovery in the great pyramid of the body of Cheops on whose head was found a carbuncle "the size of an egg, brilliant as the sun."

[3] Joan Evans, *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages* (1922), p. 93. The association of the carbuncle with the sun and of the sun with Christ gives peculiar interest to such passages as that quoted in n. 1 on this page from the "Lapidary" and as that in the Confession of St. Patrick: "The sun which we see . . . . will never reign . . . . all who adore it will meet with the punishment of the wicked. We, however, believe and worship the true Sun Christ" (quoted by R. S. Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 41).

[4] Many ancient Celtic descriptions of the Otherworld emphasize the resplendently glittering character of the fairy jewels, even when they do not refer specifically to the carbuncle. In the metrical *Dinnshenchas*, composed probably during the ninth century, the woman Allech is abducted to a beautiful house adorned with gold and gems of crystal; "alike were day and night in the midst of it" (*R.I.A.*, "Todd Lect. Series," VII, 46 f.). In the *Tain Bó Fraich*, which dates from the same period, the supernatural hero's fairy gems are so bright that Queen Medb plays chess for three days continuously without noticing when night arrives (*R.C.*, XXIV, 132). In the *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga* fairy

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couch, surrounded by those of the twelve heroes of Ulster, "was set with carbuncles (*carrmocail*) and other precious stones which shone—making night like unto day."[1] Conchobar's couch is also described as surrounded by the twelve chariot-chiefs of Ulster and decorated with carbuncles (*carrmocail*) in one version of the *Tochmarc Emire*.[2]

Of particular interest in this connection is *le lit merveilleux* described in the *Conte del Graal* (vss. 7666 ff.):

A chascun des quepouz del lit
Ot un escharbocle fermé
Qui gitoient molt grant clarté.

Wolfram tells us in *Parzival* ([ed. Martin], II, 213 ff.)[3] that in the sable cap of that ever mysterious figure, the Fisher King, shone a carbuncle. A single shining carbuncle lights the Otherworld realm of Gayer which is described in the Middle English romance of *Reinbrun*[4] in an episode plainly influenced by Celtic tradition. In short, the tradition concerning the marvelous, sunlike carbuncle is a constant one from the oldest Irish texts through the medieval French, German, and Middle English romances which have elements springing from Celtic sources. Indeed even in 1805 the Irish Mrs. Tighe, Keats's recently discovered inspiration, was still singing of "carbuncles that pour eternal light" (*PMLA*, XLII, 972).

ornaments furnish sufficient light for the whole house (*ibid.*, XXII, 9 ff.). See further *ibid.*, XXI, 321. Brug na Boinne, one of the most famous Otherworld palaces of Irish romance, is frequently referred to as *brecsolus* ('flecked with light'), and a common name for the fairy realm is *Tír Sorcha* ('Land of Light'). See the word *brecsolus* in the Glossary to *Ir. Text.*, IV, 1. The word *carmocul* was apparently used occasionally in early Irish to mean simply a 'button' or 'stud' (cf. *ibid.*, l. 3938). This note has been contributed by Professor Cross.

[1] *Ir. Text.*, I, 254, l. 16; *Fled Bricrend*, "Irish Texts Soc.," II, 3. Cf. Macalister, "Temair Breg, A Study of the Remains and Traditions of Tara," *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, XXXIV (1919), 267.

[2] Eleanor Hull, *Cuchullin Saga* (London, 1898), p. 58; *Ztschr. f. celt. Philol.*, III (1901), 229; *Ir. Text.*, I, 309. Professor Cross notes that luminous precious stones and carbuncles figure prominently in the decorations of the Christian Irish Otherworld in the *Fis Adamnáin* (*Ir. Text.*, I, 178; C. S. Boswell, *An Irish Precursor of Dante*, p. 31).

[3] Noted by Nitze, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

[4] Stanza 80 (E.E.T.S. ed.). Cf. Hibbard, *Mediaeval Romance in England*, pp. 140–42. In this episode Reinbrun swims a dreadful river, sees a castle with crystal walls, rafters of cypress, jasper posts, a great carbuncle shining above, a tree full of singing birds, and learns that it is the abode of Gayer and a place where no one ever grows old. In the late twelfth-century French romance of *Le Bel Inconnu* there is an Otherworld castle built of crystal and roofed with silver:

Une escarboucle sus luissoit
Plus que solaus resplendissoit
Et par nuit rent si grant clarté
Com si ce fust en tens d'esté.

([Ed. C. Hippeau; Paris, 1869], vss. 1897 ff.)

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THE CIRCLE OF TWELVE BEDS

The description of the twelve beds for the peers about the magnificent central bed of Charlemagne seems always to have been taken as a consequence of the traditional fact that Charlemagne had twelve peers. M. Coulet noted that the names of the peers were chosen by an author who apparently did not know the traditional Frankish legends: first, he mingled casually the peers of the Spanish war with more recently popular heroes,[1] such as Ogier and Guillaume d'Orange; second, he so profoundly modified[2] the traditional character of the noble peers that he made of them mirth for the bourgeoisie and perplexity for scholars. With M. Coulet's labored argument (pp. 299–364) to show that the author had in all this a serious moral purpose, this paper has nothing to do. It is enough to attempt to explain the origin of the peers in so far as the Constantinople episode of the *Pèlerinage* is concerned and to let that origin speak for itself.

M. Coulet (p. 294) dismissed this subject with somewhat condescending brevity: "On le considérait jadis comme un trait révélant l'origine mythique de notre épopée, et l'on voulait retrouver dans ce groupe de douze héros entourant Charlemagne des douze signes du Zodiaque tournant autour du soleil." M. Coulet argued that the peers came late into the Carolingian epic and could not, therefore, be a primitive feature. In discussing "le compagnonage germanique" he explained (pp. 294–96) that in the beginning this was a bond uniting two warriors only, such as Roland and Oliver, then groups of four, of seven, and at last, by process of expansion, twelve. Had M. Coulet investigated the matter more thoroughly, he would have found that groups of twelve in connection with a god, a king, or a hero, are far too numerous and of too great antiquity to be dismissed in such fashion.[3]

[1] Coulet, p. 296: "Les douze pairs ne sont pour [l'auteur] qu'un nom, dont il veut utiliser la popularité au profit de son poème."

[2] Coulet, p. 299: "Le fait incontestable, c'est qu'il a profondément modifié la physionomie ordinaire et le caractère traditionnel de ces héros. Quelle que soit l'idée qui a présidé à cette transformation, il nous faut renoncer à retrouver les traits sous lesquels ils nous appairaissent dans les autres poèmes."

[3] I am preparing a study of what can best perhaps be called the "Cosmic Twelve" in order to indicate how little this distinctive group belongs to any one race or time. A number of references are given by E. Böklen, *Die unglückszahl dreizehn u. ihre mythische Bedeutung* (Leipzig, 1913). A good list is given by G. Waitz, "Ueber die Zwölfzahl bei den Germanen," *Deutsche Verfassungsgesch.* (Kiel, 1865), I, App., 474–89. Cf. C. Petersen, *Das Zwölfgöttersystem der Griechen u. Römer* (Berlin, 1870), *Samml. gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge*, p. 99. The ancient Elamites had twelve (probably territorial) gods. The Hebrews had their twelve tribes from which a Council of Twelve were chosen:

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Instead of attempting to enumerate here such groups, which we might trace from Odysseus and his twelve best men who went to encounter Polyphemus (*Odyssey* ix. 195) to the German poem *König Rother*, in which we have Rother's twelve dukes, Berchter's twelve sons, Asprian's twelve giants, we may turn to the only instance, so far as we know, in which this familiar group of one plus twelve appears in conjunction with twelve beds in a circle. It is found in the *Fled Bricrend*,[1] in a passage immediately following the account of Conchobar's gorgeous bed and probably dating from the eighth century.[2] "Around it [the bed] were placed the twelve couches of the twelve heroes of Ulster." So also in the *Tochmarc Emire* it is stated: "The couch of Conchobar was in the front of the house. It had pillars [?] of silver, with posts of bronze with golden lustre on their ends and carbuncles in them. . . . . The twelve couches of the twelve heroes were around the couch."[3]

Whatever be the relation of these two passages to each other,[4] it is evident that they are identical in idea with the *Pèlerinage*. The descriptions of primitive sleeping arrangements[5] as they survive in traditional tales do not resemble these accounts of the couches of Conchobar and his champions. The *Triclinium aux onze lits* to which Gaston Paris (*Rom.*, IX, 12), believing that the fantastic glories of Hugo's palace were merely imaginative extensions of the actualities of the imperial palace at Constantinople, attempted to refer the arrangement of Charlemagne and his twelve does not, in number or in arrangement, suit the case at all.[6] The two Irish passages offer the

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Josh. 4:2; Num. 1:44, "the princes of Israel, being twelve men, each one for the house of his fathers." In South American mythology and ritual, groups of twelve gods, of twelve priests, like the twelve Salii of Rome, are not uncommon.

[1] "Irish Texts Soc.," II, 5.

[2] Cf. Thurneysen, *Irische Helden- u. Königsage* (Halle, 1921), p. 449.

[3] LU., *Facs.*, p. 121, col. 1, last two lines; *Ztschr. f. celt. Philol.*, III (1901), 229; Hull, *Cuch. Saga*, p. 58; *Ir. Text.*, I, 309. Nitze (p. 34) and Webster (p. 351) mentioned but did not discuss the twelve. The latter simply observed (p. 351, n. 5): "The possibility that the number twelve was a primitive feature must be admitted, for a hero with a band of twelve is not uncommon in ancient French and German romances (cf. Rajna, *Le Origini del l' Epopea francese*, pp. 393, 415 ff.). Conchobar in the *Wooing of Emer* has twelve principal chariot chiefs whose beds are about his as those of the peers about Charlemagne." The interest aroused by this brief comment of Mr. Webster's was the beginning of the present piece of research.

[4] For a discussion of the matter, Professor Cross refers me to *Ztschr. f. celt. Philol.*, VIII (1912), 498 ff. Cf. Thurneysen, *Irische Helden- u. Königsage*, pp. 381 f.

[5] Cf. Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, I, 213–18. [6] See Webster, pp. 365–66.

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only absolute prototype for the peers' twelve couches around that of Charlemagne. If all the other clues which we have been tracing, clues which connect Hugo's palace with the Celtic Otherworld, were disregarded, this single unmistakable parallel would remain and call for explanation.

An objection might be raised by those who find in the Christian group of Christ and the Twelve Apostles a sufficient explanation for every other similar group, whether found in ostensibly pagan sources or not. It might, for example, be claimed that Christian scribes interpolated their own favorite group number, and it has in consequence no non-Christian significance. So, on this basis, perhaps would be explained Conchobar's twelve, and so, somewhat more legitimately, would be explained Charlemagne's twelve. This group, so Frankish tradition[1] assures us, was actually created in remembrance of the Twelve Apostles, and in the Jerusalem episode we are told that Charlemagne and his peers, coming to the cathedral church, found there the altar at which Christ and the Apostles had chanted the Mass.[2] Their twelve seats were still there, and in a locked inclosure was the thirteenth. In this Charlemagne sat down where no man had ever sat before nor will again. His peers sat in the twelve seats. The twelve beds in a circle in Constantinople would then be considered simply an imitation, so to speak, of the twelve chairs in Jerusalem. Let us consider this last matter first.

Even so patriotic a student of the *Pèlerinage* as M. Coulet has recognized that the Jerusalem episode, though it provides ostensibly, in Charlemagne's acquisition of relics, the *raison d'être* of the poem, is in the nature of an interruption to the true story. In the very first episode of the poem Charlemagne was inspired by his wife's boast of a rival to his grandeur to go to seek that rival. It is essentially the same situation, as Professor Webster pointed out (pp. 341, 347), that

[1] Gautier (*Chanson de Roland*, II, 73–75) set forth his reasons for not believing Paris' assertion that the idea of the Twelve Peers was not a primitive feature in French poetry. However that may be, they certainly appear in the earliest extant *chansons de geste*. Cf. the *Chanson de Roland*, ed. Jenkins, vs. 793, note.

[2] Paris (*Rom.*, IX, 21–22) discusses the poet's confusion of the Church of the Holy Paternoster on the Mount of Olives, a place from which he borrowed the idea of "l'autel de sainte Paternostre," with the church of Holy Sion on Mount Sion. This was supposedly the site of the house where Christ partook of the Last Supper. A table was long exhibited there, and a painting, or possibly a mosaic, represented the scene. Pilgrim reports of these things may well have inspired the poet's story of the chairs. Cf. Titus Tobler, *Descriptiones terrae sanctae* (Leipzig, 1874), pp. 103, 136, 198, 222.

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we find in such Arthurian legends as *Diu Crône* and the ballad of *King Arthur and King Cornwall.* In these the narrative pattern is unmistakable; the reproving Wife's Boast is followed by the Husband's Quest and the Encounter with his Rival. The Constantinople episode is therefore an original part of the story; the Jerusalem episode an added, a secondary feature. If this be so, if, in addition, it can be shown that Charlemagne's heroes, in number, in character, even in the arrangement of their beds, have prototypes in absolutely non-Christian tradition, it will become apparent that in the Constantinople episode the story-teller was duplicating nothing in the Jerusalem episode. He was following a story of an Otherworld journey in which were already integrated the Wife's Boast, the Husband's Quest, a King with Twelve Champions, and a palace of incredible splendor in which the King's couch or throne was surrounded by those of Twelve Champions whose special character it was to boast tremendously and to perform tremendous feats of valor.

THE CELTIC TWELVE

It is evident that the first crux of this matter is the nature of Conchobar's Twelve. Were they introduced by Christian scribes along with the information that Conchobar was born and died at the same hour as Christ?[1] Fortunately at this point we can turn to unimpeachable evidence offered by *Christian* Irish writers as to the *pagan* Irish cult of the Twelve, a worship which these Christian writers regarded with horror and detestation.

The evidence in question comes from two descriptions concerning the destruction by St. Patrick of the terrible idol-god, Cromm Cruaich. The first is from the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick:*

> Thereafter Patrick went over the water to Mag Slecht, a place in which was the chief idol of Ireland, namely Crom Cruaich, covered with gold and silver, and twelve other idols covered with brass about him. When Patrick saw the idol from the water named Guth-ard (he uplifted his voice) and when he drew nigh to the idol he raised up his hand to put Jesu's staff upon it, and reached it not, but . . . . its right side, for to the south was its face, namely to Tara.[2]

[1] Kuno Meyer, *Death Tales of the Ulster Heroes* (Dublin, 1906), pp. 9, 17; *Rev. Celt.*, VI, 180.

[2] "Rolls Series," I, 93.

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The second is from the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth stanzas of the Rennes *Dinnshenchas:*

Stone idols old
  Ranked round Cromm Cruach, four times three,
They were of stone but he of gold,
  The hosts deceiving bitterly.

From Eremon
  The gracious founder of our race,
Till Patrick came, they served a stone,
  And worshipped it within that place.

With heavy maul
  He smashed the paltry gods each one,
With valorous blows destroyed them all,
  Nor left a fragment 'neath the sun.[1]

Stripped of all possibly adventitious detail these descriptions bring clearly before us a circle of stones dominated by another which, if archaeology knows and proves anything at all, is one of the most common monumental forms left to us by pagan Celtic antiquity. Their actual use, their specific meaning, we can in general only surmise, but about one, once existent, we have this definite statement: The stones represented the idol god, Cromm Cruaich, and twelve lesser gods. Though the historicity of the details concerning St. Patrick's smashing in person Cromm and his circle may be doubted, there can be no doubt about the circle itself. Indeed its very site has been determined through the acute study by J. P. Dalton[2] of the topography about Magh Sleacht and the topographical allusions in the texts cited to the place of Cromm Cruaich's worship: he has even traced some strange survivals of Cromm's cult into modern times.[3] Since Mr. Dalton did not, however, concern himself specifically with

[1] R. A. S. Macalister, *Ireland in pre-Christian Times* (Dublin, 1921), p. 295; for Irish text and translation, see Meyer, *Voyage of Bran*, II, 305.

[2] "Cromm Cruaich of Magh Sleacht," *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, XXXVI (1922), 23–67. Dalton identifies the hill of Darraugh, still crowned by an ancient rath, as the site of Cromm's worship. The hill is in county Cavan on the way from Templeport to the little village of Ballymagauran. See also Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, XVI, 36.

[3] While "later legends associate Cromm with the saints and make him their friend and helper, still . . . . in many quarters he remained sole hero of the Lugnasad celebrations. The day of Cromm Dubh, an alias for Cromm Cruaich, was celebrated on the last Sunday in July, called Garland Sunday. . . . . Black Cromm's Sunday stood out so prominently in the national calendar that the 'Four Masters' used it as a date mark when recording a murderous attack made in 1117" (Dalton, pp. 49–56). "In Magh Sleacht itself the last Sunday in July still attracts a large gathering to St. Patrick's Well at Bollaheenan" (p. 52). See also T. J. Westropp," The Mound of the Fiana," *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, V, 68–85, 73–74.

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the number of stones about Cromm Cruaich, and since considerable misconception exists as to the importance of the number twelve among the ancient Celts, it seems well to assemble some evidence on this point even though the precise statements that there were twelve stones about Cromm speak convincingly for themselves.

In an authoritative article on "Numbers" in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* the writer on Celtic numbers speaks of the primary importance of three and nine in the numerous triadic details of Celtic story, of seven as being in comparison of little importance; "for other numbers there is little evidence." He mentions the case of Cromm and his twelve "as an isolated case." The veteran Celtist, Joseph Loth,[1] has little to say of twelve in comparison with three, seven, nine, fifty, etc. Yet actually the importance of twelve among the Celts is witnessed by very ancient and impressive testimony. Strabo in the first century after Christ tells of the three tribes of the Galatians, a Celtic people, each tribe divided into four parts called "tetrarchies," of the great Council of the Twelve Tetrarchs and others who assembled with them.[2] In the *Crith Gablach*, an Irish law-code perhaps of the eighth century, it is stated: "Twelve [men] are the King's company. . . . . Twelve couches (*immdai*) are in the royal house. . . . . Twelve now are the retinue of a bishop. . . . . The company of the Suad [or Sai, title of the class of literary men] now is twelve men."[3] The influence of the importance of this number, whatever it implied, is to be traced in the extant plans and descriptions of the royal palaces at Tara and at Emain Macha. In them we have twelve couches, twelve windows, twelve doors,[4] which have obvious connection with the twelve champions of the king. From these indications it would seem clear that among the ancient Celts the number twelve was in

[1] "L'Année celtique d'après les textes irlandais," *Rev. celt.*, XXV (1904), 157. He grants, however (p. 146), "que ce chiffre ait eu une réelle valeur mythique, à un certain moment, chez les Celtes."

[2] *Geography*, XII, 5 (trans. Hamilton and Falconer [1856], II, 320).

[3] *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, "Rolls Series," IV, 329, 337, 339.

[4] The doors are sometimes said to be "twelve or fourteen" but only twelve appear on the extant plans. Cf. Macalister's discussion of this and other architectural points in his "Temair Breg, A Study of the Remains and Traditions of Tara," *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, XXXIV (1919), 231–399, esp. p. 264. The descriptions of the glories of Tara in the *Metrical Dinnsenchas* (Gwynn, "Todd Lecture Series," *Roy. Irish Acad.*, 1903) and in a prose tract of the same subject (Gwynn, p. 71, n. 103) were both undoubtedly influenced in numerical matters by the account of Solomon's Temple (I Kings, chaps. 6, 7). The Irish accounts, however, borrowed nothing from the description of the great "sea" erected by Solomon in the Temple court. It was mounted on twelve brazen oxen, three of which looked toward each of the four quarters.

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law, in society, in royal household arrangements, a number of importance. Of special importance also must have been the ancient Irish cult of the Twelve Gods which is attested by the two texts describing the worship of Cromm Cruaich himself.

The reason for all this was doubtless precisely the same reason that has from time to time, among the most widely separated peoples, and in the most divergent periods of time, produced the cult of the one great and twelve lesser gods, or influenced the current idea of the one great and twelve lesser heroes, judges, relatives, etc. The evidence for the Cosmic Twelve cannot, however, be touched on in this paper, which has to do only with the Celtic development of what can almost be called a world-wide phenomenon. That the Celtic cult of the one god encircled by twelve others influenced the concept of the king encircled by his twelve heroes no one can doubt, especially as Conchobar is notably in Irish tradition either a euhemerized deity or a deified king. Indeed a gloss in the oldest version of the *Fled Bricrend* calls Conchobar *día talmaide*, or 'terrestrial god [of the Ultonians].'[1]

The twelve champions about Conchobar are not specifically named, in conjunction with the number, in the old texts, but their preeminence is asserted, and it can hardly be doubted that such a statement as the following, though it is found in an eighteenth-century version of the *Training of Cuchulainn* (*Revue celt.*, XXIX, 147), represents an ancient tradition:

> Authors and sages recount that no king or great lord on the Continent had at that time heroes . . . . as brave . . . . as the band that was then in Ulster called the Champions of the Red Branch, such as Conall the Victorious, and Fergus son of Ross Ruad, and with their children, Loeguire the Triumphant, Cormac Conloinges, son of Conchobar, and those eight others who came with Cuchulainn into Ireland.

Though this is the most famous group of twelve heroes known to Irish story, the same group number is given with reference to "that famous warrior, Lugaid Noes, son of Alamacc, king of Munster, who went from the west and twelve underkings of Munster with him, to woo the twelve daughters of Corpre Niafer" (*Tochmarc Emire*, *Revue celt.*, XI, 449). The same group survives even in modern Irish folk tale, as in this Galway story of *The Knight of the Tricks*, recorded by Douglas Hyde:

[1] LU., *Facs.*, p. 101, col. 2, l. 8. Cf. "Irish Texts Soc.," II, 16, where, Professor Cross notes, the phrase is transcribed incorrectly. See further Hull, *Cuch Saga*, p. lvi.

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"Supper was got ready for them, as good as he had it, and when the supper was eaten, the Knight asked these twelve (who were with him) to rise up and perform a piece of exercise for this man, showing the deeds they had, and this man had never seen any feat like them."[1] Or again (p. 23): "When they were after their supper, the Knight of the Tricks told the twelve to rise up and perform feats for the gentleman who was giving them their supper."

The evidence that has been here assembled surely justifies us in henceforth referring to the Celtic Twelve, which begin, so far as we know, with the god Cromm and his twelve. That Conchobar's twelve, like Charlemagne's, lie in a carbuncle-lighted room, that their beds encircle one central bed more magnificent than all, is a correspondence which no one can attribute to chance. It can be accounted for only as a genuine survival of Celtic tradition in French romance.[2] Lineally, then, the Twelve Peers of the Constantinople episode are the "wild Irish," the madly heroic champions of Conchobar, and in this lies the explanation for their variation from the Twelve Peers of Frankish tradition. Perhaps it was the very identity of the number that led to the equation and brought about the mingling of two entirely different lines of tradition.

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THE GABS

There exists still another body of evidence, not hitherto adequately discussed, which points to the Celtic origin of the Constantinople episode in the *Pèlerinage Charlemagne*.[3] It will be recalled that in the

[1] *Five Irish Stories* (Dublin), pp. 22 ff. In this tale the Knight of the Tricks and his twelve champions seek lodging from a gentleman whose son is coveted by the Knight. For three years the Knight has this son in training, and he becomes a master-champion able to hold his own against the twelve. In the course of the story he becomes transformed into a pigeon, a stallion over which a magic halter gives control, an eel, a lark, a grain of oats, a fox. He is pursued by the twelve, but when they are in the guise of turkey-cocks, he as a fox destroys them all, including his special enemy, the Knight of the Tricks.

[2] In a forthcoming article I hope to establish certain connections between the Celtic Twelve and Arthurian traditions.

[3] In 1884 Thurneysen (*Keltoromanisches*, pp. 18 ff.) and later Webster (*op. cit.*) suggested that the gabs of Charlemagne's peers may have originated in the *cless*, or feats ascribed to ancient Irish warriors, but neither of these scholars presented the evidence in detail. Anybody who imagines that the habit of boasting is peculiarly characteristic of early Germanic poetry should read the epic and romantic literature of Ireland. The central epic begins with the boast of the Connacht ambassadors that they will take the Bull of Cualnge by force. See furthe rGummere *Oldest English Epic*, p. 60, n. 2.

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French poem Charlemagne's peers, before retiring in the chamber of the carbuncle, make various boasts. Oliver swears that he will sleep with Hugo's daughter, and the others make even more extravagant *gabs*. Archbishop Turpin's boast, for example, runs as follows:

> Treis des meillors destriers que en la citet sont,
> Pregnet li reis demain si'n facet faire un cors
> La defors en cel plain. Quant mielz s'eslaisseront,
> Jo i vendrai sor destre corant par tel vigor,
> Que me serrai al tierz et si larrai les dons;
> Et tendrai quatre pomes molt grosses en mon poin
> Sis irai estruant et jetant contremont
> Et larrai les destriers aler a lor bandon:
> Se pome m'en eschapet ne altre en chiet del poing,
> Charlemaignes, mis sire, me criet les oilz del front" [vss. 495 ff.].

The juggling feat with apples described here reminded Thurneysen of Cuchulainn's famous *ubullcless*, or 'apple-feat,' referred to in the ancient epic of the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*[1] and described in the Lebor na h-Uidre, a manuscript compiled before the year 1106 out of older materials:

> Neun Schwerter in seiner Hand und neun silberne Schilde und neun Aepfel von Gold. Er wirft jedes von ihnen in die Höhe, und keines von ihnen fällt auf den Boden, und nie war mehr als eins von ihnen auf seiner Hand, und gleich dem Tanzen von Bienen an einem schönen Tage jedes von ihnen beim andern vorbei in die Höhe.[2]

Such feats formed part of the accomplishments of the ancient Irish *clessomnagh*, or 'juggler,'[3] as is illustrated in the following passage from the *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*, a saga which long antedates the twelfth century:

> Nine swords in his [the juggler's] hand, and nine silver shields, and nine apples of gold. He throws each of them upwards, and none of them falls on the ground, and there was only one of them on his palm; each of them rising and falling past another is just like the movement to and fro of bees in a day of beauty.[4]

[1] *Ir. Text., Extrabd.*, p. 279.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 278, n. 2. Cuchulainn's skill in throwing apples is also illustrated on p. 288 of the same volume. See also Royal Irish Academy, *Todd Lecture Series*, Vol. I, Part 1, p. 33.

[3] Cf. Joyce, *Social History of Ireland*, II, 486.

[4] *R.C.*, XXII (1901), 286. In the *Mesca Ulad* a man throws two swords alternately into the air and catches them before they reach the earth. See William M. Hennessy's trans., Royal Irish Academy, *Todd Lecture Series*, Vol. I, Part 1, p. 29. Cf. *Ir. Text., Extrabd.*, p. 278, n. 3. Compare also the feat with the sword in the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* (*ibid.*, p. 786) and Cuchulainn's "needle-feat" in the *Fled Bricrend* (*ibid.*, Vol. I, chap. lxv, pp. 286 f.).

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Garin's gab also deserves attention. He boasts that he will throw a spear at two pennies placed on a tower half a league distant so dextrously as to knock off one without touching the other. "Puis," he adds,

> ... serai si legiers et isnels et aates,
> Que m'en vendrai corant parmi l'uis de la sale
> Et reprendrai l'espiet, ainz qu'a terre s'abaisset [vss. 613 ff.].

The particular point to be emphasized with regard to this feat is the fact that the performer throws an object, and then runs so swiftly that he catches it before it reaches the ground. An instructive parallel is found in the *Macgnimrada Conculaind* ('Youthful Exploits of Cuchulainn'), incorporated in the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*.[1] While on his way to Emain, the capital of Ulster, the hero "kept throwing his staff before him, so that he caught it by the point before it fell to the ground."[2] In the *Coir Anmann*,[3] an ancient Irish compilation of stories explaining the origin of personal names, we read: "Whatsoever the hosts would shoot against the tower, whether stones or weapons, would scarcely reach the ground past the king [Feradach], when he caught them in his hands and himself distributed them again to every one." In the *Táin Bó Fraich*, one of the most archaic of the longer sagas, the hero "flings his javelin the length of a spear's cast from him; before it reaches the ground, [his] . . . . seven bounds in their seven chains of silver catch it."

Berengier boasts that he will jump from the highest tower upon the points of swords planted at its base. The swords will break, but

> Ja ne troverez une qui m'ait en charn tochiet
> Ne le cuir entamet ne en parfont plaiiet [vs. 549 f.].

One of Cuchulainn's feats was performed upon spear-points.[4] It is described in the *Tochmarc Emire*, where it is said to have been learned by Cuchulainn and his companions from Domnall of Alba. They climbed up a spear and performed feats upon its point, but their soles

[1] L. W. Faraday's trans. (Grimm Lib.), p. 18; *Ir. Text.*, *Extrabd.*, pp. 108 ff.; *R.C.*, XXVIII (1907), 242.

[2] Cuchulainn's marvelous swiftness is also dwelt upon in an episode in which he overtakes and captures certain wild deer (*Ir. Text.*, *Extrabd.*, p. 160). In the *Agallamh na Senórach* Caelte is said to have gathered together by running a couple of all wild animals in existence (*S.G.*, II, 195). A similar feat, it will be recalled, is attributed to Perceval and to the Welsh Peredur (cf. *Peredur ab Efrawc* [ed. Kuno Meyer; Leipzig, 1887], p. 1).

[3] *Ir. Text.*, III, 2, p. 353.

[4] *Ibid.*, *Extrabd.*, p. 284.

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were not injured.[1] In the *Toruigheacht Dhiarmuda agus Grainne*[2] ('Pursuit of D. and G.') Dermot lays aside his weapons and his clothing except his shirt, plants his spear in the earth with the point up, and then springs into the air and lets himself down upon it without injuring himself.

Bertram brags that he will fly like a bird, with two shields for wings. Though the theme of levitation is not confined to Celtic and Old French romance,[3] it is important in the present connection to observe that in the *Fled Bricrend* Cuchulainn is said to have been able to perform a "bird-feat" and that in the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* he pursues a flock of birds *mar cach n-én* ('like every bird'); "for it was in this fashion that Cuchulainn used to gather and prepare fish and fowl and game on the Táin Bó Cúalnge."[4]

Again in the *Fled Bricrend* Cuchulainn is described as fighting "above the ears of the horses and the breaths of the men,"[5] in the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* he said to be able to perform the *cor n-iach n-erredh*, 'hero's salmon-leap,' whereby he jumps over walls or rises above his enemies in battle,[6] and in his famous combat with Ferdiad, both he and his opponent perform a series of marvelous aerial feats.[7] That springing high into the air also formed part of Naimon's boast is clear from the various translations of the *Pélerinage*.[8]

Naimon also boasts that he will don Hugo's armor and shake it to pieces.

> La me verrez escorre par force a tei vertut,
> N'iert tant forz li halbers d'acier ne blanc ne brun,
> Que n'en chieent les mailles ensement com festuz [vss. 535 ff.].

[1] *R.C.*, XI, 444. In a modern version of the same saga Domnall's daughter sprang into the air and let herself down with her breast upon the point of the spear, where she remained for a long time. Cf. *Ir. Text.*, *Extrabd.*, p. 284, n. 4.

[2] O'Grady's ed. (Ossianic Soc.), p. 86. See further Windisch, *Ir. Text.*, *Extrabd.*, p. 284, n. 4.

[3] Cf. O'Keefe, "Irish Texts Soc.," XII, xxxiv f. See further *ibid.*, I, 93, n. 1; *Battle of Magh Rath* (ed. O'Donovan), p. 334 n.

[4] *Ir. Text.*, *Extrabd.*, p. 280, n. 5, and p. 259.

[5] *Ir. Text.*, I, 263, l. 22. Cf. *Ir. Text.*, *Extrabd.*, p. 283, n. 7.

[6] *Ir. Text.*, *Extrabd.*, p. 281, n. 6; Thurneysen, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Ir. Text.*, *Extrabd.*, pp. 536 ff.

[8] See Koschwitz' ed., note to l. 534.

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This reminds us at once of the fact that one of Cuchulainn's boyish exploits consists in brandishing arms so that they break in pieces.[1]

Though Ogier's boast that he will grasp the pillar upon which Hugo's whirling palace stands, and overthrow the building would, if taken alone, hardly suggest Celtic origin, the feature acquires significance in the present connection from the fact that in the *Fled Bricrend* Cuchulainn raises one side of Bricriu's dun and lets it down with such force that the house goes seven feet into the earth, the whole inclosure shakes, and the poison-tongued Bricriu and his wife are precipitated from their balcony into the mud.[2]

The similarity between Irish tradition and the gabs of Charlemagne's peers described above strengthens further the hypothesis that the French poem owes something ultimately to Celtic tradition.

On the basis of parallel situations in other medieval romances Professor Webster suggested that the *Pèlerinage Charlemagne* contains echoes of an Otherworld journey in which the visitors to the fairy realm were forced to undergo prodigious tests. That this version of the widespread theme of the journey to the Otherworld was Celtic might be suspected from the Middle English romance of the *Turk and Gowin*, where the hero visits the Isle of Man and is required to perform tasks reminiscent of the feats of Charlemagne's companions. The probability of a Celtic source is strengthened by an episode in the *Agallamh na Senórach*, where the combination of the *cless* with the journey to the Otherworld actually occurs in medieval Irish romance.

Ciaban, son of the king of Ulster, accompanied by the two sons of the kings of India and of Greece, crosses the sea to the Land of Promise. Here they are received in the house of Manannan mac Lír (the fairy king), where their arrival is expected.

> Then there arose certain long-nosed, long-heeled, slim-ankled churls [*bachlaich*], foxy and bald and satirical, who were wont to perform feats and games in the house of Manannan. And this is the feat they did: nine osier rods in his hand and while standing upon one foot and having only one hand free he would throw them up to the rooftree of the palace and would catch them again in the same cast. They did this in order to shame any noble-born freemen who came thither from afar.

[1] *Ir. Text., Extrabd.*, pp. 132 ff.

[2] *Ir. Text.*, I, 264 f.

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Ciaban and his two companions successfully duplicate the feat performed by the buffoons, thus establishing their right to admission into the Otherworld, and win fairy women for wives.[1]

In view of the evidence presented above, it appears impossible to resist the impression that the *Pèlerinage Charlemagne* contains not only a reflection of certain features which are characteristic of ancient Irish heroic literature and are associated with the Celtic journey to the Otherworld, but also certain traits which originated in the pagan cults of pre-Christian Ireland.

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[1] *Ibid.*, IV, 1, p. 108. An unreliable translation is given by O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, II, 198.

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REVIEWS

Girart de Roussillon and the Tristan Poem. By E. S. MURRELL. Chesterfield: Bales and Wilde, 1926. Pp. 207.

Ferdinand Lot,[1] with admirable insight and good sense, has recently settled the moot question of the origin of *Roussillon* in the well-known *chanson de geste*. The medieval traveler who went from Valenciennes to Avignon, in the south of France, he finds, passed by "Roselhon fortissimum castrum et castrum Gerardi de Fraite." Since Girart de Fraite, or Frete, originally the same as Girart de Viane, is also identical with the hero of the epic poem in question, it is clear that the Roussillon of the poem is derived from the castle of that name in the Isère, near Vienne. The author of the first redaction of the *Girart de Roussillon* (GI), inspired by the monastic records of Pothières and Vézelay, transferred the hero and the scene of his action to the north, in Burgundy.

Mr. Murrell's study, antedating that of Lot, does not—of course—include this fact; but it contains an otherwise thorough, critical Bibliography[2] and an exhaustive but succinct survey of both the Girart and the Tristan problems. That is its value, and it is not a slight one. As regard the *Girart*, Murrell restates the arguments for thinking that the extant poem (GII), written in the Limousin territory, close to Poitou, was subsequent to Wace's *Brut* in 1155; that the Latin *Vita* (L), antedating this, appeared around 1120; and, finally, that the lost original (GI) was written in North Burgundy, "about the close of the eleventh century." On the Tristan problem, as a whole, he is likewise sound. He agrees with Bédier, recently supported by Deister,[3] that the Archetype (X) is close to 1154, and he believes that the evidence accords "the highest probability to the placing of the composition of X in the region of Poitou [p. 75]," where both the *Girart* and the *Tristan* were doubtless known.

But did the two stories influence each other? And is it possible to hold that GI gave to X the theme of the Life in the Forest, while X, in turn, transmitted to GII the love-theme of Elissent and Girart, which does so much to soften the asperity of the original epic story? Such, at least, is Murrell's

[1] *Rom.*, LII (1926), 257–95.

[2] I have noticed the omission, however, of two important titles: A. Hilka, "Der Tristanroman und die *Disciplina clericalis*," *Zeit. f. frans. Spr. u. Lit.*, XLV (1917), 38 ff.; and E. Hœpffner's articles on the *Folie-Tristan* in the *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XXXIX (1918), 267 ff. and 551 ff.

[3] *Mod. Phil.*, XIX (1922), 287 ff.

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ingenious hypothesis, to the support of which the main portion of his treatise is devoted.

Of the two parts of this hypothesis, the latter is the more acceptable. The extant *Girart de Roussillon* is motivated at the beginning and the end by Girart's romantic love for Elissent, who is married to Charles the Bald.[1] Here we have a parallel to Tristan's love for Isolt, married to King Mark—supported by the fact that Girart, like Tristan, weds another and then in his misery seeks the aid of his first "love" by means of an identifying ring. This motivation, not found in L, was doubtless not in GI either but was added by the author of GII. If the last-named had a "literary" source for this motif, the *Tristan*, being the closest parallel, may have been that source or, let us rather say, may have suggested the use of the motif. Guiraut de Cabreira, who is cited by Ezio Levi[2] "as reproaching his harper, Cabra, with not knowing how to play a *tempradura de Breton*, also reproaches him with knowing nothing of *Girart de Rossillon*." Obviously an interchange of epic and Breton material was possible at that date.

The same plausibility, however, does not obtain for Murrell's reconstruction of GI, from which he assumes that the original *Tristan* took the motif of the Life in the Forest and the scene with the hermit. To be sure, Bédier had observed:

> Si l'on considère que la scène où la femme de Girart pleure à ses pieds [i.e., of the hermit in the forest], comme Iseut aux pieds d'Ogrin, peut être ancienne, et remonter à une chanson de la fin du XIe siècle, cet ermite pourrait être le prototype d'Ogrin.[3]

And, in his quest for verbal resemblances, Murrell finds that, while L states *vitam pauperam et austeram* [translated in the Burgundian version by *aspre*] *incognitus duxit*, the Béroul *Tristan* reads *aspre vie meinent et dure*. On the other hand, there are marked differences between the two accounts. In GI the hermit is nameless, the couple who confess to him are not "lovers" but man and wife, and their sin is not *luxure* but epic *desmesure*. The similarity is about as great as is that of either account with the famous scene, also before a hermit in a forest, where Perceval does penance for his "pride" in the *Conte del graal*.[4] The fact is, as Miss Schoepperle has shown, that the Life in the Forest is found in the Irish *Aitheda* from which the *Tristan* derived its theme. Moreover, in the primitive atmosphere in which the story is conceived the forest is Tristan's natural habitat—unless it be the sea—and it is to be expected that he would take his love thither; whereas in GI, Girart and Berte are driven to the forest because their property and their home have been destroyed. At the time GI was written it must have happened

[1] Lot, *op. cit.*, p. 261: "Cependant il convient remarquer que, sauf en un passage (§636) certainement interpolé ou altéré, l'adversaire de Girard est appelé Charles Martel." On the further confusion with Charlemagne, see Lot, p. 271.

[2] *Studij Romanzi*, XIV (1917), 113–46.

[3] Ed. Thomas, II, 263, n. 1.

[4] Baist text, vss. 6266 ff.

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frequently that any refugee, driven from town, castle or bower, would seek the forest wild as his only means of escape. As a typical instance, compare so relatively late a story as *Aucassin et Nicolette*, § XVIII.

If, then, the Latin *Vita* lacks the reference to the hermit, basing its argument on the statement: "necessitatem fugiendi in bonam voluntatem convertit penitendi," it is just as possible to conclude that GII, having found in his original a rather commonplace flight to a forest, borrowed the episode[1] of the hermit from the same source from which he derived his love-motif; namely, from the *Tristan*. That, in any case, is a conjecture which, if acceptable, would strengthen Mr. Murrell's first point: that the *Tristan* influenced GII.

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The Old French Romance of Amadas et Ydoine; An Historical Study. By JOHN REVELL REINHARD, PH.D. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1927.

This critical study is intended to accompany the author's edition published in the *Classiques français du moyen-âge* (Paris, 1926). Some of the material appeared in the *Romanic Review*, in 1924. The book contains eight chapters, an Appendix of illustrative material, a Bibliography, and an Index. From its arrangement, there is necessarily a considerable amount of repetition, which the author has preferred, he states, to the alternative of cross-references. The following discussion is intended to supplement what Dr. Reinhard has said.

Amadas et Ydoine is generally dated about 1220; this date Dr. Reinhard accepts. A study of such a late text requires a careful examination of a large body of works composed during the preceding century. An examination of the Bibliography will show that he has conscientiously attempted to cover this field. He has, however, overlooked some of the possible source material in *Enéas* and has omitted at least two important works which have a bearing on his subject. He makes no mention of *Guillaume de Dôle* (*ca.* 1200), which preceded *Amadas*, if the dates given are even approximately correct, and presents a more complete picture of society of the period. He mentions the *Ille et Galeron* of Gautier d'Arras (*ca.* 1167) only in a note. The probable indebtedness of the author of *Amadas* to *Ille* seems to me so fundamental that I shall refer to it repeatedly.

In his discussion of the source of the heroine's name, Reinhard gives the earliest use of Ydoine as a woman's name as 1170. If the generally accepted date of *Ille et Galeron* (1167) is correct, that romance is entitled to the credit. To his conjectures about the source might be added the possibility that this

[1] It may be noted that a hint for the introduction of the hermit is given in L; I quote the Burgundian translation, § 14: "et, comme il est escrit de saint Pol, le premier hermite, il converti la nécessité de fuir en bonne volanté de penitance."

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name came from the Latin Didone and the name of the hero might by a stretch of the imagination be connected with the Latin Aeneades, son of Aeneas.

In chapter ii, "Analogues and Sources," the author outlines the poem and discusses its twelve narrative themes. Under the first, "Love-Distraction and Love-Sickness," he says (p. 19): "One of the primary traits of the courtly romances is their delineation of the physical disorders caused in either or both of the lovers by the passion of love. *Enéas* (1160–75) and *Pyramus et Tisbé* (1150–75) contend with Chrétien's *Cligès* (*ca.* 1170), *Lancelot* (*ca.* 1172) and *Yvain* (*ca.* 1173) for the honor of giving us the earliest picture in Romance of the 'woeful' lover." If this is intended to be a complete list of the earliest pictures, *Eracle* (*ca.* 1165; the Paridès and Athanaïs episode) and *Ille et Galeron* (*ca.* 1167) are clearly entitled to be placed near the beginning of the list, but they are not mentioned.

In discussing the fifth theme—"Wedding-Night Resistance"—Reinhard notes a similarity between *Amadas* and *Cligès* in the episode of the "feigned death" and suggests a relationship. He continues (pp. 29–30): " . . . . There does not seem to be any good reason for believing that *Cligès* did not supply him with ideas for other parts of his romance. But it should be noted that he moulds that material to suit his own ideas; whereas the love of Fenice is indubitably *loyal*, that of Ydoine is *pure* as well. This pure love is the *Amadas* poet's contribution to romantic fiction." I do not think that this latter point can be sustained, for both the hero and the heroine of *Ille et Galeron* are pure. Galeron led an exemplary life, and her vow which separated her from Ille was made when she was in the pains of childbirth for her third child Ydoine, the circumstances of whose birth and rearing would tend to make her the perfect model for the pure woman of the later romance. Ille may well be denominated "the perfect hero." Against Amadas' Ydoine it may be said that she was not too pure to tell a falsehood to the effect that she had had three illegitimate children by three different men and had killed the children. Ydoine the virtuous, daughter of Galeron, is, then, probably an imitation and not an original contribution.

Under the seventh theme, "Divorce," Dr. Reinhard speaks of its rarity, both in the romances and in history. He alludes to the famous case of Eleanor and Louis VII and to that of Athanaïs and Laïs in *Fracle*. He might have added other historical cases of divorce (or preferably annulment) among the noble contemporaries of Eleanor (see Richard, *Histoire des Comtes de Poitou*), and in literature the cases in Marie de France's *Eliduc* and *Fresne*, and in *Ille et Galeron*.

"Abduction and Rescue" is the eighth theme. He says (p. 32), after mentioning a historical abduction which took place in 1190: "But the abduction in *Amadas*, though it may have had a model in historical fact, is of an entirely literary nature, because of its complication with the fairy knight." He then mentions a number of cases of supernatural abductions, including that in the

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Atre Perilos (*ca.* 1200–1225) and queries about the possible relation of the latter to the Amadas. I have long thought that they were related, but it is difficult to tell which influenced the other or whether both may not come from a common source.

As additional historical models for the abduction, there were the capture of Eleanor by pirates as she was returning from the Crusade of 1147 and the two attempted abductions as she was returning to Poitou after her divorce (Richard, *op. cit.*). On the literary side, we may add the abduction of Guilliadun in *Eliduc* and that of Ganor in *Ille et Galeron*. Any one of these might have influenced the author.

Among the examples Reinhard cites under the tenth theme, "The Squire of Low Degree," is that of Paridès in *Eracle*, but he does not mention the more striking case of Eracle himself, who is sold into slavery and by sheer worth rises to the position of adviser to the Roman emperor, then becomes emperor of Constantinople, and finally rescues the Cross from Cosdroès and restores it to Jerusalem. Nor does he mention at all the humble knight Ille, who, after deeds of bravery, marries Galeron, sister of the Duke of Brittany, then after the loss of an eye so feels his lack of worth that he deserts wife and home and after various adventures becomes Roman emperor. There is no need to seek farther for a squire of low degree as a model.

The twelfth and last theme discussed is "The Test of Worth." Reinhard concludes (p. 42): "Probably undue importance should not be attached to this element in our romance; it appears to have been a literary convention, and was apparently so used by the poet. . . . ." But it probably became such from a social convention. It was so widely used that the romance would have to share freely with others the honor of being "one of the sources for the motif in later romantic fiction." The test is found in *Ille et Galeron*, but it is not exacted by either heroine; the hero applies it to himself.

The recapitulation of the chapter should, I feel sure, include an acknowledgment of the romance's possible indebtedness to *Ille et Galeron* for themes 1, 7, 8, 10, and possibly 12; to *Eliduc* for 7 and 8; to *Fresne* for 7; and to *Eracle* for 10. It would have been interesting if Reinhard had discussed a thirteenth theme—"The Wandering Heroine."

In chapter iii, Reinhard quotes Jean Bodel's couplet about the *trois matières* and comments (p. 45): "Thus did Jean Bodel d'Arras classify French literature at the close of the twelfth century. After the turn of the thirteenth century, however, a fourth type of literature made its appearance. . . . . This was the *roman d'aventure*, a literary expression of the political and social phenomena of feudalism and chivalry. The new *genre* took its place beside the *trois matières* of Jean Bodel." Since a large number of the works which Reinhard classifies as *romans d'aventure* were written long before the "turn of the thirteenth century" and were doubtless known to Jean Bodel, we may well presume that he included them in his *trois matières*. The *roman d'aventure* did grow out of the *trois matières*, but it was in full flower shortly after

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the middle of the twelfth century. Reinhard mentions *Erec*, *Lancelot*, *Cligès*, and *Yvain* "composed between 1150 and 1175" by Chrétien, poet of Marie de Champagne, but he omits the *Eracle* (*ca.* 1165) and *Ille et Galeron* (*ca.* 1167) composed by Gautier d'Arras for Marie, her brother-in-law, and her daughter's father-in-law. As early examples of the type, they certainly should have been mentioned.

In his discussion of chivalry and the qualities of the perfect knight, Reinhard quotes from Chrétien's poems, but he might have added many examples from *Ille*. Some of the precepts of André le Chapelain as applied to *Amadas* are discussed. Under the rule, "Amor est passio quaedam innata procedens ex visione et immoderata cogitatione formae alterius sexus," he quotes (p. 53) a passage from *Amadas* which includes the following lines:

> En l'esgarder de la pucele
> Li saut au cuer une estincele
> Qui de fine amor l'a espris; 245

and comments: "The last three lines observe a convention of which Chretien has made much, namely, that the eyes carry love to the heart. This motif is elaborated in great detail in *Cligès*, and it is not forgotten in *Yvain* . . . . , *Erec* . . . . or *Lancelot* . . . ." It is the pivot on which swings the whole plot of *Ille et Galeron*, and it there constitutes the most striking use of the conceit in Old French literature.

The "Romantic Conventions" he gives are all to be found in the *Ille*, and under "Literary Conventions" he should have added (p. 68) Guilliadun in *Eliduc* and Ganor in the *Ille* to the list of ladies threatened with undesired marriages. Ille's dream and the vision at the beginning of *Eracle* are worthy of being noted.

In chapter iv, the author attempts to trace the magic element to its Celtic and classical sources; and in chapter v, he does the same for the symptoms of love-languishment and love-madness. In neither chapter does he give sufficient credit to Ovid for the love-pathology. And he might have added to his illustrations by quotations from the *Ille*. These two chapters seem to have been originally presented as one, for his summary on pages 121–23, beginning "Throughout this chapter . . . . ," recapitulates the subject matter discussed in both chapters. Chapter v is especially well documented, but the examples taken from Old French literature are mostly from thirteenth-century romances and none are from the *Ille*, which could have furnished illustrations of most of the symptoms, except love-madness.

Reinhard does not make wholly convincing his argument in chapter vi in regard to the date of the *Amadas*. From the poems referred to in the text of the romance, there seems no reason why it might not have been composed as early as 1175 to 1180, and as it is mentioned in the *Donnei des Amanz*, the dating of that poem "the end of the twelfth century" would still further limit the forward date.[1] It is regrettable that he does not give more space to es-

[1] On p. 10, he gives the date of the *Donnei* as "the late twelfth or early thirteenth century." If it is the late twelfth, the *Amadas* must belong to the twelfth also, for the reference to it is most explicit.

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tablishing the facts in his discussion of the "were mortal" (p. 128). I cannot see why the king of France must have been Philippe-Auguste rather than his father Louis VII, or why the forbidden tournament may not have been that planned for Easter, 1149, or some other. And if the war "would have arisen between" the *doi haut baron* if the king had not forbidden the tournament, the implication is that since he did forbid it the war did not take place, and consequently cannot be the war which was "concluded by the battle of Bouvines in 1214." Therefore all this argument falls down. All we can say definitely about the date is that the poem was probably not written before 1175 or after 1240.

In regard to proverbs (p. 136), I call attention to the fact that there are probably no Old French romances that contain as many as Gautier's two poems, *Eracle* and *Ille et Galeron*.

The "new tendency" which the author in his final summing-up (p. 176) places in the first years of the thirteenth century seems to me to belong much earlier, and if 1220 is the date of the *Amadas*, this poem cannot claim to be the first of its genre. If there was a reaction against the exotic, the *Amadas* cannot be counted as an example, for its poet is given as an Anglo-Norman, the main scene is laid in Burgundy, and an important part of the action takes place at Lucca. So the whole setting is foreign. The spirit is truly quite different from that of the Courts of Love where love was represented as incompatible with marriage, but the *Amadas* is not the first poem to express that other attitude; Gautier d'Arras had long before pointed the way. Ydoine is merely a descendant of Guildeluëc and of Galeron.

Every addition to the extremely limited number of studies in English of Old French texts is welcome, and Dr. Reinhard in bringing together the analogues and explaining the elements in this one romance has made a very real contribution.

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Some New Light on Chaucer, Lectures Delivered at the Lowell Institute. By JOHN MATTHEWS MANLY. New York: Henry Holt & Co., [1926]. Pp. xiv+305.

The Chaucer Tradition. By AAGE BRUSENDORFF. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press; Copenhagen: Povl Branner, [1925]. Pp. 510.

The titles of these two books suggest that here we have, first, a forward-looking and perhaps even revolutionary study, calculated to upset all of the conclusions gathered from past research; and, second, a volume that comes at the end of a long and fruitful era, that surveys that era and recapitulates its achievements. Furthermore, anyone who did not know Professor Manly might suppose that in the first book we should find a popular series of bold

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conjectures, and in the second a dependable scientific method justifying itself by its exactitude. A moment's examination of the machinery in Dr. Brusendorff's volume, and the absence of it in Professor Manly's, would tend to confirm this view. Two minutes more, however, would shatter one's faith in this and the other observations. Professor Manly is so thoroughly the scholar that he can trust his instinct to save him in his freest adventure, while Dr. Brusendorff succumbs, if not to audacity, at least sometimes to his own facility in estimating the value of ancient theory. Moreover, *Some New Light on Chaucer* comes at the end of a long period in which many scholars have attempted to shed a few gleams of this particular kind; and one looks back at important work by Professors Kuhl and Knott and Tupper, and many others, and recognizes the development of a technique that occasionally reaches its triumph in Professor Manly's shrewd caution. One would like to see what he would do in this vein with the *Parlement of Foules*, the *Legende of Good Women*, and especially (if his suspicions could only be aroused) with the *Hous of Fame*. The day when it was regarded as frivolous to see in the Man of Law's Constance a gentle allusion to that other saintly lady, John of Gaunt's second wife, is clearly past. One scholar not long ago actually read sinister meaning into Chaucer's use of the St. Cecilia story.

For some time it has been known that Chaucer uses a certain amount of "local color" in his description of the Canterbury Pilgrims. Now we are to be prepared to find these figures actual portraits: "I have not a doubt," Professor Manly concludes, "that his circle of friends . . . . said to one another —as the friends of all artists do: 'He got the idea of this character from John and that from Bess, this trait from Henry and that from George.' "[1] Some other material, on Chaucer's family and education, is supplied from evidence derived by the same keen detective work. On the other hand, Dr. Brusendorff's book comes along like a whirlwind of youthful skepticism to carry off all the loose timbers in the structure of Chaucer scholarship, opening gaps to the freedom of new research. The positive value of such destruction is naturally somewhat in proportion to its justice,[2] but there is no harm in having accepted theories turned over and scrutinized afresh, even if the results are not always to be depended upon and others must do the work again. Much turns out to be assumption which for years has been taken as final, and one can no longer rely on old material without first looking to see what Dr. Brusendorff has done to it.

In spite of Professor Manly's disclaimer that he is giving us "merely a collection of suggestions of a more or less speculative character,"[3] much of

[1] Manly, pp. 263 f. He is dealing with the subject matter, not with the artistic form, of the portraits, and I shall limit my comments in the same way.

[2] Cf. the following statement: "Lowes in *Rom. Rev.* 5. 368–85 may almost be considered wasted, seeing that probably Chaucer made *madame Eglentyne* swear by this particular saint merely for the sake of the rhyme!" (Brusendorff, p. 483). Thus he disposes of a collection of associations which have appealed to many critics; note, e.g., Manly, pp. 213 ff., and Kittredge, *Chaucer and His Poetry* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 177.

[3] Manly, p. ix.

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his material will have, we may be sure, a permanent value. In my opinion we are not likely to get far from the theory that Chaucer was educated in the Temple, even though he fails to reflect much of that type of experience in his writings. Such a possibility alone is a sufficient answer to the perennial question as to the importance of research. In regard to that one need only consider what it means in the way of understanding the fourteenth century and Chaucer to see the "hard-working official" with such legal training behind him doing the Clerk's Tale, and the Prioress's Tale, and even the Man of Law's Tale, to "gratify his own inner impulses and the tastes and demands of his friends and associates."[1] One thinks of such a poem as the fragment of the Squire's Tale and the occasional charge of naïveté which the poet still receives—a term usually implying a not wholly enviable simplicity, but as thus employed meaning, one is more than ever forced to think, spontaneity and freshness. From learning that the Man of Law was probably a Pynchbek we understand his preliminary remarks on poverty and avarice: he too attacks the very vice he uses. For a long time in reading certain passages of Chaucer we have suspected the presence of humor even when we were not sure of it, just as when one hears the voice of someone talking in the next room, and suddenly infers from the tone that the speaker is smiling. Getting at the facts about the life of the poet helps to reveal new flashes of irony in his work and thus to enrich our impression of the complexity of his art.[2]

But Professor Manly's case needs no support here. On the contrary one is more likely to wish that he might be temporarily overcome by a period of harmless amnesia, and attack his own theories with the same acumen (and courtesy) with which he has pursued those of other scholars. Security in his suggestions is not entirely possible until the same ruthless truncheon as that which destroyed the greenery surrounding Our Lady of the Daisies falls again on his own reasoning in the present book. It is easy to imagine his pointing out the fallacy of arguing from a vivid or a realistic detail in the "character" of a Pilgrim to a real detail: reminding us that because the Pardoner has glaring eyes one is not thereby justified in identifying him with a real fourteenth-century pardoner in London. Dr. Curry has had something to say about that. Or instead of using the physiognomists Chaucer had other resources. Cressid's joined eyebrows were a literary heritage (although, it is only fair to add, so apparently were some of the features of the Duchess Blanche). When John Earle described his "Plain Country Fellow" as living in a habitation with a poor thatched roof "distinguisht from his barn by the loope-holes that let out smoak," did he refer to a particular country fellow of his day? Or did Chaucer simply borrow traits here and there to give us "individualized conventions," while we "chase fatuously the will-o'-the-wisp

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[2] There is also, of course, in Professor Manly's contribution the added interest of such facts as those about the probable sister-in-law, Elizabeth, the daughter of the same name, and associations with the county of Kent. Many well-known details become strung together with a new significance in this way.

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of personal identification"?[1] Personal allusions as well as literary sources may be based after all on coincidence, as we have learned in relation to the source of Shaw's *Pygmalion*.

Authors themselves are often discouraging when approached on this subject, and good reason to doubt has been brought forward in the case of many identifications made with confidence before this. Some people who knew Jane Austen's family slightly surmised, we are told, that the two elder Misses Dashwood in *Sense and Sensibility* represented the author and her sister; but the idea did not find favor with others more intimately connected. Charlotte Brontë is quoted as having denied that Caroline Helstone in *Shirley* was intended for a presentation of Miss Nussey. If mistakes in identification can thus be made at short range, how much more likely are we to err in our inferences after many centuries! Moreover, borrowing characters is one thing, but giving them in a form intended to be recognized is another. If Chaucer was punning on the Man of Law's name in the Prologue, and thus identified him, why did he assign to him the story of Constance? If the Host and the Merchant were well-known figures, what about their wives? If the allusion was to be carried all the way, what malicious gossip was this at Court about rancorous wives! One is almost led to believe that with personality so much in the air, Sir Thopas was meant to be regarded as a hit at Sir Payne Roet in some early exploit! Since Professor Manly's suggestion of a model for the Knight was offered several years ago, other candidates have made their appearance; and it seems likely that the same thing may occur again with reference to some of the other characters discussed in the present book. Occasionally in proving such a case up to the hilt, the real point becomes lost. After all, if Chaucer's characters are in no way creations, the less Chaucer he!

But that he drew some material from life is certain, and much more than the name of the Host and the ship of the Shipman. The tribute to the poet remains that these figures look like portraits. Even the Monk is consistent, I find.[2] For in the Prologue he lives on the luxury of sensations, and in his story he gives his feelings still wider play. His story, in fact, explains why he ever became a monk. At the very least Professor Manly's study gives us a much richer background for all the Pilgrims, and one only wishes he had seen fit to publish his documentation as a fuller guide to the nature of his evidence. In any case the number of dependable conjectures in his book is probably large; and one would hardly be surprised if told that it is greater than that

[1] See F. Tupper, *Types of Society in Medieval Literature* (New York, 1926), pp. 16–17. Cf. Tupper on the Physician (pp. 45 ff.). Contrast Manly (p. 200): "As to the Merchant's name, I agree with Professor Knott that Chaucer's profession of ignorance was due to policy"—and Tupper (p. 17): "If the interest in the specialized type is keener than in individuals of the profession or trade, why humanize the figures by giving them other than type-names? So doubtless reasoned Chaucer when he refrained from christening many of his pilgrims. . . . ."

[2] Cf. Manly, pp. 261 f.

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of the positive findings in Dr. Brusendorff's. It is scarcely too much to say that Dr. Brusendorff attacks all the main tenets in the field, and finds many of them impossible. He casts doubt on the commonly accepted dates for the *Legende of Good Women;*[1] on Professor Root's theory regarding the manuscripts of the *Troilus;* on the now rather respectably mature theories regarding the composition of the *Romaunt of the Rose;* on the authenticity of the Envoy to *Truth;*[2] on the idea that the Canon and his Yeoman were not an after-thought of Chaucer; on many other theories, and even on that of the exact date of the poet's death. Occasionally his judgment commends itself to us: as in his argument that Thomas Chaucer was the poet's son; that again for the authenticity of the *Retraction;* or that which disposes of Langhans and Lange on the subject of the Prologue of the *Legende;*[3] and that for reading more than plain allegory into the *House of Fame.* But the chief impression he leaves is that of being liberally destructive.

It would be fortunate if Dr. Brusendorff could be as free in attacking his own ideas. So many critics have felt convinced that the *Parlement* was an allegory for Richard and Anne, and then have changed their minds! What is tantamount to a demonstration so often dissolves into nothing at all when a better theory turns up. One fears that this process will soon be at work on Dr. Brusendorff's argument at this point—in his acceptance of the old idea of the *Parlement* (though he puts its composition conveniently *after* the marriage)[4] and in his interpretation of the *House of Fame.* An example of his dangerous facility, in another connection, may be cited. Speaking of *Truth,* he remarks in one place that "Chaucer's poem must be later than the passage in Gower, if we accept—as I think we ought to do—Shirley's statement that Chaucer wrote the *Balade* on his death-bed";[5] then later he says, "Our belief in a revision of the poem need of course not be overthrown by Shirley's account of its composition. . . . . This statement is rejected by nearly all Chaucer scholars, though nothing can really be urged against it; naturally it does not imply that the poem was written in the very throes of death, but simply that it was composed during the poet's last illness, which may well

[1] Brusendorff, pp. 138 ff., 490 ff. He seems to neglect the problem of *Cant. Tales,* B. 60 ff. so far as it bears on the date (cf. pp. 142 f., esp. p. 143, n. 2); and I think he passes too lightly over the parallels with Gower and Usk (see p. 139, n. 4).

[2] Brusendorff, pp. 246 ff. As to his note on Sir Philip de la Vache, p. 249 ("there is not the slightest scrap of evidence to show that the poet was as much as acquainted with Sir Philip"), cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes,* XL, 511 ff.

[3] Cf. Brusendorff, pp. 138 f., n. 5; p. 139, n. 3.

[4] Pp. 165, 289. But if this is the case, why does the poet stress the lady's original indecision? In fact, why does he offer a poem of congratulation in which doubt in the lady's choice seems to be almost the chief point? I think Dr. Brusendorff (p. 165, n.1) underestimates the destructive force of Miss Rickert's article.

[5] Brusendorff, pp. 204–5.

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have been a long one," etc.[1] Similarly, Dr. Brusendorff seems to lose a little of his sense of proportion when, in urging the parallel of Froissart's *Temple D'Onnour* to the *Hous of Fame*, he concludes: ". . . . their similarity in plan and construction is so great as practically to prove interdependence."[2] Some other Court of Love poems are even closer in form to the plan which Chaucer has used.

The moral of the whole story, then, is perhaps that which Professor Manly has stated: "It may be freely admitted that all these new views concerning Chaucer's career are speculative, but it should be borne in mind that most of the current views are no less speculative, and that even if no certain conclusions can be reached, it is worth while to prevent speculation from hardening into accepted teachings."[3] On the other hand, exactitude in such matters is an ideal to which we must hold all the more firmly because it is impossible to attain. With that clear one may go forward with more assurance. "Facts are dead and useless," he observes, "until we try to ascertain what they mean . . . . Undoubtedly all of us do, privately and with our intimate friends, form and try out hypotheses of interpretation for which we have often very scanty evidence. The main value of such hypotheses is that they make us alert to see the significance of facts which had previously passed unobserved or uninterpreted."[4] One might almost suspect that here he is indicating a method for bridging the present unfathomable gap between scholarly and "literary" criticism. In this sense Dr. Brusendorff follows the older method, sometimes too falteringly, while Professor Manly, regretting that "those most familiar with the facts should leave the interpretation of them to others," offers reasonable space for freedom of conjecture. Only, we may add, one must employ the privilege with the same wisdom and sure touch, the same grace and clarity, as he himself has attained!

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Ben Jonson. Edited by C. H. HERFORD and PERCY SIMPSON. Vols. I and II. *The Man and His Work.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1925.

The first two volumes of the new Oxford edition of Ben Jonson's works are devoted to an account of the dramatist's life, reprints of documents that bear

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 250–51. Another curious argument is found in the inference from Lydgate's statement that Chaucer wrote the *Legende* "at the request of þe quene." Dr. Brusendorff says this "must surely be allowed to settle the old question whether the queen, Anne of Bohemia, is represented by the Alcestis figure in the prologue of the *Legend*, or not" (p. 40). I am not perfectly sure that a comma does not belong after "question." One may forgive the typographical errors in the book, since, English though it is, it was printed in Copenhagen.

[2] P. 159.

[3] Manly, p. 67.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. ix f. This passage includes the final quotation above.

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on it, and critical estimates of the individual works to be published in later volumes. According to the Preface, Professor Simpson has contributed largely to the factual material in the life of Jonson, has written the chapters on *Discoveries* and the *Grammar*, has gathered the list of "Books in Jonson's Library," and edited the various documents published in the first volume—*Conversations with Drummond*, the notes of Aubrey and Plume, "Memorandums of the Immortal Ben," "Letters," and "Legal and Official Documents." In its obvious textual care and accurate annotation the work of editing reveals the hand of an able and meticulous scholar. In spite of the extensive research of other students, especially in recent years, Simpson has also been able to add considerable definite information to what had previously been known of Jonson's life and his relation with his contemporaries. The valuable list of Jonson's books furnishes evidence of the attention that has been paid to even the smallest detail. To the works of Scaliger listed may be added the *Poetices libri septem*. Apud Antonium Vincentium. M.D. LXI in the University of Chicago Library with Jonson's motto, *tamquam explorator*, in the upper right-hand corner of the title-page, apparently in his own hand.

The general account of Jonson's life and the essays on the individual poetic works, combining discussions of dates, occasions, and sources with studies of Jonson's technique and literary qualities, are the work of Professor Herford, and worthy of his critical gifts and the fulness of his study. The personality of Jonson, his creative gifts, his attitudes, his prejudices, his limitations, and his weaknesses are presented vividly and convincingly. The result is a sympathetic and constructive analysis that is generally excellent and frequently brilliant. The emphasis given, however, to Jonson's dominant personal traits, his outstanding literary qualities, and his dogmatism as critic causes Herford at times to obscure and even underestimate the range and complexity of the man and his work. Herford argues, for example (II, 237–45), that Jonson could not have written the extant additions to *The Spanish Tragedy* because he lacked the gift for such imaginative and emotional expression. As Greg has pointed out, there are many reasons for doubting Jonson's authorship of the additions. But his limitations should not in my opinion be regarded as one of them. That Jonson despite his lack of romantic sentiment had traits that might have made him a master in tragic scenes of passion and madness is indicated by his ability to see visions, his keen grief as a father, his tactless rage against hostile audiences and individuals, and the feeling that led him to drink the full cup of sacramental wine. Again Herford seems to me to underestimate Jonson as a thinker. He states that "there lay in Jonson's mind ethical ideas of immense potency and grip, though never by him brought into philosophic shape" (II, 370). But Jonson was primarily a satirist, and the satirist usually implies rather than states his ideals of conduct. Jonson has not expounded his philosophy systematically, but he seems to me to have

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had a rather full theory of life and morals permeating his writings almost as thoroughly as do the critical ideas which he likewise failed to formulate completely in his extant work. His philosophy is like that of many of the humanists, a rationalistic one gathered from various sources and harmonized to solve the problems of conduct and to conserve the best religious, moral, cultural, and social traditions of upper-class society in the Renaissance. Though based on classical thought, it is, despite Jonson's devotion to the classics, a product of the sixteenth century as a whole with its blending of Aristotelian ethics, Stoic moralizing, Renaissance idealism, and other elements. But though the reader may sometimes question the emphasis laid on certain phases of the subject, no one can follow Herford through these two volumes without being stimulated and awakened to new perceptions of Jonson's significance.

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BRIEFER MENTION

The late Hugo A. Rennert of the University of Pennsylvania, who died before completing his seventieth year, was the dean of Spanish studies in America. His earliest work, *The Spanish Pastoral Romances*, was a Freiburg dissertation, later revised and extended in the edition of 1912. There followed numerous monographs and texts of early plays, lyrics, and ballads. As a collector of rare works of Spanish literature he was indefatigable. Professor Rennert will be best remembered for his *Life of Lope de Vega* (1904) and *The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega* (1909). As a graduate instructor Professor Rennert succeeded well in inspiring his interests in others; he directed many dissertations, some of them distinguished. Rennert was a kindly man of social interests. His helpfulness extended far beyond his immediate group.—G. T. N.

The letters of George Ticknor and William Prescott to Pascual de Gayangos have been edited in two separate volumes by Clara L. Penney for the Hispanic Society of America (New York, 1927). The originals of these letters were presented to the Hispanic Society by Don Juan Riaño y Gayangos, late Spanish ambassador to the United States and grandson of the scholar who so generously aided the literary enterprises of the two great Americans. The correspondence is mostly of a business nature, but nevertheless fascinating reading to the specialist. One can watch the steps by which Ticknor conceived and accomplished his *History of Spanish Literature* and accumulated his precious library. Similarly we follow Prescott in his quest for historical sources. The latter's letters are the more attractive; Prescott gave free play to his generous emotions and exhibited more flight of fancy than did the reserved and inhibited Ticknor, hence a greater vivacity of style. But each is equally admirable in his way. It is wholesome for modern scholars to learn of the difficulties with which their predecessors contended. These two sailed uncharted seas; they had little to guide them. They lacked all facilities for work at home, except such as their private means afforded. Abroad they lacked bibliographical guides, and, so far as Spain was concerned, even booksellers' catalogues. They were forced to purchase books in a land with which the United States maintained no direct postal, telegraph, or express service. Under such circumstances an agent like Gayangos was indispensable. Much of the ordering of books and the choice of manuscripts to be copied was left to his discretion. One would be surprised that so much devotion could be purchased for the scanty wage which Gayangos received, were it not that the

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same spirit of generous co-operation with their American colleagues characterizes most Spanish scholars of today. The large number of rare books to be had for trifling sums is what most arouses our wonder. Miss Penney's introductions and notes are readable, and competent as to scholarship.—G. T. N.

Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis died in December, 1921, at what seemed only the threshold of a career already marked by achievement. There now appears in her memory a notable and handsomely printed volume (*Medieval Studies*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1927) of which she would justly have felt proud.

Fourteen of the twenty-nine contributions to the work deal with her chosen Arthurian field, while all of them fall within the scope of the Middle Ages, with the sole exception of an article on Poggio's knowledge of Greek, by Miss Louise Loomis (pp. 489–512). Two noteworthy linguistic articles are included in the volume: one by David Blondheim on the Bible of Alva, from which he derives valuable "gleanings" for Spanish etymology; and the other by Antoine Thomas, who, with great severity toward his opponents, re-establishes Ménage's derivation of *chantepleure* from *chanter* and *pleurer*—a somewhat atrabilious vindication of seventeenth-century "common-sense." With contrasting sense of humor and his usual erudition, George L. Hamilton treats the cognates of the "peculiar growth of hair" (among them we are flattered to find the American *roach* and *roach-mane*) which was the royal mark of the Merovingians. In "Villon et Charles d'Orléans," Lucien Foulet writes convincingly of the dependence, literary and material, of the vagabond poet on his royal associate, while Raymond Weeks re-edits, from MS B.N.f. f. 837, the charming *Lai de l'Oiselet* [As a colleague points out, the punctuation at vss. 199–200 is hardly felicitous: *Li dolanz* must be the subject of *Vint avant*, the villain not the bird being understood. Cf. vs. 354, where *chetif et las* are again applied to the villain, and, for *dolant* = *cui deult*, see Tobler, *Mélanges*, pp. 60–61]. Mario Roques publishes the interesting correspondence between Karl Bartsch and Gaston Paris (1865–85); and Frank Patterson edits an English hymnal from Add. MS 34,193 (fifteenth century) in the British Museum. One would like to linger over Charles Grandgent's "Rime and Rhetoric in the *Divine Comedy*," not only because of the examples of Dante's concession to rhyme that it contains but also because of the mellow reflections of its scholarly author: "For the artist," says Professor Grandgent, "be he painter, sculptor, musician, or poet, the eternal problem is the adaptation of his concept to his medium: no work of art springs Minerva-like from the brain of its maker; it is the outcome of a series of struggles, compromises, and triumphs." Would that some of our facile "literary critics" might read and ponder these words!

As for the Celtic and Arthurian material in the volume, though there is nothing on Welsh proper, Old Irish is represented by the publication of three short texts: "The Birth of Brandub," from the *Yellow Book* of Lecan, by R. I.

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Best; "How the Dagda Got his Magic Staff" (from the same document), by Osborn Bergin; and a "Medieval Account of Antichrist," from the Book of Lismore, by Douglas Hyde. In "The Alleged Matriarchy of the Picts," J. Fraser circumscribes Zimmer's well-known contention on this subject and concludes (p. 412): "There is nothing in the list of Pictish kings to suggest that succession took place only through the female," though, of course, Bede does imply "that succession through the female was *allowed* (p. 409)." Even more definite is Ferdinand Lot's denial of the "Valeur historique de Gildas," a subject which I had the pleasure of hearing him discuss at the Sorbonne in 1907–8; but if Gildas is unhistoric, he is, as Lot points out, "romantic" and thus a worthy ancestor of Nennius and of Geoffrey! In the "Helgi Lay and Irish Literature," Eleanor Hull touches succinctly on Irish and Scandinavian cultural relations, while Henry J. Leach differentiates between "*Gibbonsaga* and *Partonopeus*," and J. Vendryès, with characteristic French charm, shows how Mellifont Abbey, in Ireland, is an offspring (in 1142) of the French Clairvaux, a significant piece of monastic history.

Coming to the Arthurian field proper, Eugène Vinaver and Friedrich Ranke separately elaborate two of Miss Schoepperle's views on the *Tristan:* the first by a serried argument in behalf of the "primitive character" of the limited love-potion, and the second by adducing the evidence of the Tristan ivory-carving at Leningrad (see Roger S. Loomis, *Rom. Rev.*, VIII, 196) to show that the "ambiguous oath" also belonged to the *Estoire*, a point which Miss Schoepperle's discussion had [wisely?] left open. As for the Grail, A. C. L. Brown, in the "Irish Element in King Arthur and the Grail," summarizes his articles in *Modern Philology*, Volumes XVI–XXII; in "The Identity of Brons," I myself seek to justify Nutt's view that *Brons=Bran*, through contamination, however, with the biblical *Hebron* (cf. Exod. 6:8); Miss Rose J. Peebles, in the "Children in the Tree," follows Miss Weston and Pauphilet (see now *Etudes sur la Queste del Saint Graal*, pp. 145 ff.) by studying the relationship of this incident to the Grail: the children, of course, are "symbols of life," and the material Miss Peebles collects is of prime importance for some future, thoroughgoing study on those folk-lore motifs that both underlie and have become attached to the Grail legend. On the other hand, "A Note on Punjab Legend," by Miss Martha Beckwith, though it points out some interesting analogues to the *Perceval* (*Peredur*), does not get beyond ingenious conjecture; and E. Brugger's derivation of *Bliocadran* from *Blios Cadroains* (i.e., *Cardroains li Ros;* see the romances *Atre Perillous* and *Durmart*) likewise strikes me as suggestive but unconvincing. With respect to the prose-romances, the Nestor of Romance philology, Pio Rajna, once more raises the question of the authorship of the *De Ortu Walwanii* and the *Historia Meriadoci:* to him they seem written by different authors; the lamented J. D. Bruce shows how the motif of "Modred's Incestuous Birth," in the *Mort Artu*, is the logical development of a hint dropped by Wace, *Brut* (vs. 11460);

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Mme Lot-Borodine writes a graceful but lengthy essay on Tristan, the "amant éternel," and his counterpart Lancelot, "l'amant tel qu'il doit être"; and Mrs. Laura Hibbard Loomis, in "Malory's Book of Balin," gives us a masterly study on the "art" of Malory, thus correcting Dr. Ella Vettermann (*Beihefte*, LX) in an important detail by revealing the whole irony of Balin's brief but bitter speech: "I am the prize and yet I am not dead." Finally, the unnamed editor of the volume, Roger S. Loomis, to whose devotion we owe the book, sets forth completely his now well-known views on the "Date, Source, and Subject of the Arthurian Sculpture at Modena."

Few books of this type leave upon us an impression of unity, spun about a central thread, in this case the *Ambages pulcherrimas* of Arthurian story. Moreover, few can match it for scholarly performance in general. In both regards, the volume is a tribute to the ideals of Gertrude Schoepperle.—W. A. N.

If, as would seem to be the case, a marked improvement is noticeable in the editorial work which has been done in the last few years on English texts of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the credit is to be ascribed in very large measure to the "Notes on Bibliographical Evidence for Literary Students and Editors of English Works of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" which Mr. R. B. McKerrow contributed in 1914 to the twelfth volume of the *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*. The publication of that paper of 102 pages was an event of no slight importance in the technical education of the present generation of scholars in modern English literature. Not only did it put at our disposal a mass of precise information concerning the material features of early printed books and the processes of their production that was not easily obtainable elsewhere, but, what was more important, it gave to many of us, especially in America, our first real appreciation of the value which such information may have for the student and editor of literary texts. Our gratitude to Mr. McKerrow, in consequence, has been immense, and it seems destined to become even greater in the future, for he has now reissued his "Notes," considerably enlarged, in a volume of 359 pages entitled *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1927).

All of the qualities which gave distinction to the article in the *Transactions*—an excellent choice of illustrations, a keen sense of the practical needs of beginners, above all a remarkable skill in the exposition of complicated technical processes—are, it is scarcely necessary to say, present in the new book. The general point of view remains the same:

> It is not a hand-book for students of printing or of general bibliography. Still less is it intended for book-collectors. I have not concerned myself in the least with the rarity or beauty or commercial value of the products of the printing-press,

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but have kept before me throughout the problem of the relation of the printed book to the written word of the author. So far as was in my power I have dealt with everything which seemed to me to bear on this relation or which could throw any light on the processes involved in the transition from MS. to printed book, for one never knows at what point the transmission may be affected by these processes; but I have not attempted to do more [pp. vi–vii].

An Introduction to Bibliography, however, differs from "Notes on Bibliographical Evidence" in at least three ways—all of them improvements. First, its scope is wider. The earlier work was addressed exclusively to students of the printed books of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In his present book Mr. McKerrow has broadened his view so as to include the whole development of English book-production from the introduction of printing to about the year 1800, although the greater number of his illustrations are still drawn from the earlier period. Second, the arrangement of topics in the new book reflects a more careful and systematic analysis of the general problem than was visible in the "Notes." The volume is made up of three Parts and an Appendix. In Part I the production of a book is considered "mainly from the point of view of the *producers*, the compositor and the pressman." In Part II the completed book is studied with a view chiefly to showing how observation of its structure and peculiarities may enable us to reconstruct its earlier bibliographical history. In Part III we are given a brief discussion of the relation in which the text of a printed book may stand to the author's MS, with particular emphasis on the errors which may result from one or another of the operations which it has undergone. In the Appendix are assembled useful notes on a number of subsidiary questions "which could not be placed in the body of the book without causing tedious digressions." Finally, the reader familiar with the "Notes" will discover in the *Introduction* a very considerable amount of material which had no place at all in the earlier work. Of the twenty-three chapters which make up the body of the book, eleven are either wholly or in large part new. These are I, i, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi; II, i, viii; and III, i. Of the eight sections in the Appendix, only two (iii and v) had appeared in the "Notes." Among the topics which either are treated for the first time in the new edition or are discussed here with fuller detail, the most important are probably these: the question of the use of long galleys in printing before 1800 (pp. 63–66); the history of signatures (pp. 74–81); "working with figures" (pp. 81–82); the development of the title-page (pp. 88–95); the "forms in which books have been issued to the public" (pp. 121–27); methods of bibliographical description (pp. 145–61); imposition and folding in duodecimos (pp. 168–73); the meaning of the terms "edition," "impression," and "issue" (pp. 175–80); methods of detecting cancels (pp. 222–26); the extent to which composition from dictation prevailed in the sixteenth century (pp. 241–46); the attitude of an Elizabethan printer to his

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copy (pp. 246–51); abbreviations and contractions in early printed books (pp. 319–24); difficult Latin place-names used in sixteenth-century imprints (pp. 337–40); and Elizabethan handwriting (pp. 341–50), the last an excellent brief account, full of sound advice for beginners.—R. S. C.

An important publication is Charles Beaulieux' *Histoire de l'Orthographe française*, in two volumes (with a third in prospect), the first dealing with the formation of modern French spelling, the second with the accents (Paris: Champion, 1927. Pp. 366 and 134). The treatment is purely historical, but it is not impossible that the author's conclusions are expected to exert some influence upon the eighth edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, which is nearing completion. It is to be hoped that this will be the case, for there is ample room for improvement in French spelling without shocking the habits of the unreflecting public or those of the reactionary printers.

Notable additions to our knowledge are to be found in this work. The author develops the thesis that the spelling of the twelfth century, being nearly phonetic, was wholly admirable. A detailed study is made of the well-known MS Bib. nat., f.f. 794, which contains poems of Crestien de Troyes transcribed by a certain Guiot, whose work, along with that of others, was highly praised by Gaston Paris. The script of this MS is worthy of the perfection of its language and of its spelling, says the author. But later, this desirable clearness and simplicity was sadly ruined by the Latinizing tendency, particularly as practiced by the legal scribes, the *praticiens*. Being paid by the piece, these legal gentlemen took every occasion to lengthen words by doubling the letters and by using archaic or etymologic spellings, so that Old French *chevax* became *chevaulx*, *peut* became *peult* (analogy of *veult*), and *deuoit debuoyt*, etc. The reaction in the sixteenth century against this abuse was strong, but, not being organized, failed on the whole to secure due recognition when the first edition of the *Academy Dictionary* was in preparation. Here, M. Beaulieux makes a careful and detailed study of the Robert Estienne-Nicot dictionary, which was in the hands of the first academicians. He also traces the influence of the literati like Ronsard, who as the friend of Louis Meigret was at one time in an extremely liberal and reforming frame of mind; also that of the Elzevirs and other Dutch and Flemish printers. Some review is made of the successive changes in the later editions of the *Academy Dictionary*, but details are reserved for a future volume.

The author handles a vast amount of detail with accuracy and intelligence, he draws upon excellent sources for his information, and for the first time he has given us a connected survey of the whole subject. Hitherto, indeed, students have had to be content with an essay by Gaston Paris (a review of Firmin Didot's *Observations sur l'Ortographe*, of 1867) and with such materials as could be gleaned from Brunot and Nyrop. For the volume on the accents, mention might have been made of Schinz's survey (1912), *Les*

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Accents dans l'Ecriture française, which, though radical in some of its proposals, contains material of value. One may express the wish that the concluding volume might furnish a bibliography of the subject, and one which would not ignore the extensive literature of the reform movement, in which so many prominent French scholars have taken an active part.—T. A. J.

J. H. Fabre, in a chapter of his *Souvenirs entomologiques* (V, xiii) entitled "La Cigale et la Fourmi," shows that the life and habits of the cicada are almost totally different from those described by La Fontaine in his famous first fable. Fabre believes the fabulist had the grasshopper in mind. This is consistent with a statement in the *Grande Encyclopédie* that in Northern France the *sauterelle* is often called *cigale*.

This confusion of identity of the two insects goes back, according to Fabre, to Aesop, or to whoever it was that was responsible for the Greek version of the fable. Fabre's theory is that the fable is of Hindu origin, and that whatever the insect may have been originally, its habits were in accord with the description given; that when the fable was transported to Greece, the identity of the insect became shadowy, or lost, and the Greek writer or oral translator arbitrarily chose the word τέττιξ, or *cicada*, whose habits are precisely the opposite of those described by La Fontaine.

Many editions of Greek authors erroneously translate τέττιξ by 'grasshopper,' instead of 'cicada,' but the ἀκρίς of the Septuagint and of the New Testament is translated by 'grasshopper' or 'locust,' and correctly so. Pliny (XI, 92–95, 101–7) made a distinction between these two insects, describing their appearance and the terrible ravages of the locusts, and mentioning one thing they had in common: they were both used as food by the Parthians. Aristotle, continues Fabre, also speaks of the τέττιξ as serving as food, and we have biblical references to locusts being eaten: in Matt. 3:4 the food of John the Baptist is locusts and wild honey. Here the Greek word for locust is ἀκρίς; the Vulgate translates consistently, *Esca eius erat locustae*. Again, in the Septuagint we have ἀκρίς in the story of the plague of locusts in the tenth chapter of Exodus, but the same word occurs with the translation 'grasshopper' in Eccles. 12:5.

Thus, the mistaken identity of the improvident insect of "La Cigale et la Fourmi" goes back to the τέττιξ of the Greek version, and it is not surprising that this confusion became in time more firmly established, for more than thirty authors before La Fontaine had dealt with this fable. Avianus (see Ellis' ed., p. xxi) continues the tradition of the Greek τέττιξ in assuming that the insect is the cicada.

If, then, according to Fabre's theory, La Fontaine had in mind the grasshopper or *sauterelle*, although he used the word *cigale*, the interpreter of La Fontaine is faced with the question of the proper translation of *cigale*. In the annotated texts thus far examined 'grasshopper' is the usual rendering.

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Both Greek and Latin dictionaries give among their English translations of τέττιξ and *cicada*, 'a kind of grasshopper.' But the French and English dictionaries make the distinction emphatic between 'cicada' and *cigale* on the one hand, and 'grasshopper' and *sauterelle* on the other. Consequently, what is apparently needed in every edition of La Fontaine's fable is a note on *cigale*, giving the correct translation but suggesting the grasshopper as the insect La Fontaine had in mind.—ROY TOWNE.

Handleiding bij het Noord- en Zuid-Nederlandsch Dialectonderzoek, door Dr. L. Grootaers en Dr. G. G. Kloeke. Met een kaart. (*Noord- en Zuid-Nederlandsche Dialectbibliotheek* onder Leiding van Dr. L. Grootaers en Dr. G. G. Kloeke, Deel I.) 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1926. This excellent manual contains a history of Dutch dialect studies—northern dialects (pp. 1–26) by Kloeke, southern (pp. 27–56) by Grootaers—with bibliography. The former author makes a strong plea for support of dialect studies (p. 17) and demonstrates by a simple arithmetical calculation the need for large-scale co-operative work (p. 23). The sketches contain many a useful hint on method. Then comes an article on the linguistic map of the Dutch speech-territory (which is attached to the book), and a systematic list of place-names, followed by an alphabetic Index, for each of the two districts, north and south. Altogether, a most useful contribution.—LEONARD BLOOMFIELD.

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DOCUMENTS AND RECORDS

BOOKS BORROWED BY COLERIDGE FROM THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN, 1799

The publication of the following list of books borrowed by S. T. Coleridge from the library of the University of Göttingen has been made possible through the courtesy of Professor Hans Hecht and the Librarian of the University, who gave me access to the library registers for the year 1798–99, and through the special assistance of Dr. W. Buddecke of the library staff, who gave indispensable aid in deciphering the abbreviated manuscript entries and checking them by the library catalogue. An important statement about the general character of the books Coleridge drew from the library has been made by Dr. H. Nidecker of the University of Basle,[1] but the publication of the complete list has seemed highly desirable in view of the help derived by Coleridge students from Professor Kaufman's list of the books borrowed by Coleridge and Southey from the Bristol library.[2]

The Göttingen registers show twenty-one entries bearing Coleridge's name.[3] These are scattered through the two volumes, Register B for the period October, 1798, through February, 1799 (designated in the following list as Register I), and Register B for the period April through August, 1799 (designated as Register II). No records exist for March, evidently a vacation month. The entries were arranged alphabetically (according to the initial letter of author or title, not borrower) with a subclassification by months. In listing the Coleridge entries below I have followed chronological order, and have given: first, a reference to the location in the register (initial letter and date); second, the entry exactly as it appears in the register, usually in very abbreviated form; and third, a fuller statement of author, title, and edition, as these have been finally identified.

[1] "Notes marginales de S. T. Coleridge." *Revue de littérature comparée*, VII (1927), 133.

[2] *Modern Philology*, XXI (1924), 317–20.

[3] On Coleridge's privilege of drawing books from the Göttingen library see his letter to his wife, written March 12, 1799 (*Letters* [1895], I, 281). The University has no record of books issued for use in the library. It is of incidental interest to note that Coleridge's friend and chronicler, Clement Carlyon, was drawing books from the library at this same time. In the registers for the spring and early summer of 1799 I chanced on the following entries bearing his name: Ainsworth's *Dictionary*, Cicero's *De oratore*, *Sir Charles Grandison*, William Cheselden's *Osteographia*, *Diodorus*, volumes of the *Encyclopaedia Anglia* and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Smollett's *Works*, and Richard Watson's *Chemistry*.

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REGISTER I

1. Feb. 21, 1799. Letter P. "Proben alter Schwäb. Poesie."[1] *Proben der alten schwäbischen Poesie des Dreyzehnten Jahrhunderts.* Zürich, 1748.
2. Same date. Letter S. "Sammlung v. Minnesinger. bi 2." *Sammlung von Minnesingern an der schwäbischen Zeitpunkte.* 2 parts. Zürich, 1758, 1759.
3. Feb. 28. Letter M. "Michaeler tabulae Ll. &c." Michaeler, Karl Joseph. *Tabulae parallelae antiquissimarum Teutonicae linguae dialectorum,* etc. Oeniponte, 1776.
4. Same date. Letter W. "Wachter Glossar. Germanic." Wachter, Johann Georg. *Glossarium Germanicum, continens origines et antiquitates totius linguae Germanicae hodiernae,* etc. Leipzig, 1737.
5. Same date and letter. "Willenbücher Hauptv. d. Deutschen Sprache." Willenbücher, T. P. *Praktische Anweisung zur Kenntnis der Hauptveränderungen der Deutschen Sprache,* etc. Leipzig, 1789.

REGISTER II

6. April 1. Letter W. "Wartons English Poetry bi." Warton, Thomas. *The History of English Poetry,* etc. Probably Vol. I of the three-volume edition, London, 1774–81.
7. April 4. Letter M. "Mémoires de la Société de Cassel. b.i."[2] *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquités de Cassel.* Vol. I. Cassel, 1780.
8. April 6. Letter S. "Selchow Element. Juris Germ." von Selchow, J. H. C. *Elementa Juris Germanici privati hodierni.* Probably the 7th (1787) or 8th (1795) one-volume edition. Göttingen.
9. April 28. Letter P. "Peregrinatio Thesis &c."[3]
10. May 3. Letter C. "Charactere der vorz. Dichter bi." *Charactere der vornehmsten Dichter aller Nationen; nebst kritischen und historischen Abhandlungen über Gegenstände der schönen Künste und Wissenschaften von einer Gesellschaft von Gelehrten.* Vol. I, Leipzig, 1792. (Nachtrage z. J. C. Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste,* etc., 1771, 1774.)
11. Same date. Letter M. "Museum deutsches. 3 voll." Probably *Deutsches Museum,* issued at Leipzig, two volumes a year, 1776–88.
12. May 24. Letter R. "Ranisch Lebenslauf v. Hans Sachs." Ranisch, M. Salomon. *Historisch-kritische Lebensbeschreibung Hans Sachsens.* Altenburg, 1765.

[1] For Coleridge's statements about his study of early German language and literature see chap. x of the *Biographia literaria* ([1817], I, 203–5), and his letter of May 21, 1799, to Josiah Wedgwood, published with omissions by Cottle and Turnbull, and more fully in R. B. Litchfield's *Tom Wedgwood,* pp. 68 ff.

[2] On Coleridge's visit to Cassel see Carlyon's *Early Years and Late Reflections,* I, 151 ff.

[3] Careful work on the handwriting of the register convinces Dr. Buddecke that the foregoing reading is correct. He writes: "Wohl eine Reisebeschreibung oder eine Abhandlung über Reisebeschreibungen." Under the heading "Peregrinatio" in the Göttingen catalogue I found entries with cross-references to *Purchas: His Pilgrimage,* but none that served to identify the foregoing. The extent of Coleridge's interest in travel-literature has been interestingly demonstrated in J. L. Lowes's *The Road to Xanadu.*

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13. May 25. Letter S. "Hans Sachs. ed Weller. 1–4."[1] Sachs, Hans. *Sehr Herrliche Schöne . . . . Gedicht*, etc. Ed. Georg Weller. 5 vols. Nürnberg, 1558–79.
14. May 27. Letter S. "Sachsens Gedichte. b 5." (See above, item 13.)
15. June 6. Letter K. "Kindermanns Deutsch. W. redner ed. 2da." Kindermann, Balthasar. *Der Teusche Wolredner*. Verbesserte Aufgabe. Leipzig, 1688.
16. Same date. Letter R. "Ring. Reise des Zyricher Breytopfes." Ring, Friederich Dominicus. *Ueber die Reise des Zürcher Breytopfes nach Strasburg vom Jahr 1576*. Bayreuth, 1787.
17. June 7. Letter L. "Lohensteins Gedichte &c." von Lohenstein, Daniel Gaspar. Probably *Ibrahim Sultan, Schauspiel; Agrippina, Traurspiel; Epicharis, Traurspiel; und andere Poetische Gedichte*, etc. Breslau, 1689.
18. June 10. Letter M. "Meisters Characteristik. b 2."[2] Meister, Leonhart. *Characteristik deutsche Dichter, nach der Zeitordnung gereihet, mit Bildnissen*. 2 vols. St. Gallen u. Leipzig, 1789.

[1] On Hans Sachs's "five folio volumes with double columns" see chap. x of the *Biographia literaria* ([1817], I, 205). Inserted in the volume of selections from Hans Sachs to be found in the British Museum collection of Coleridge *marginalia* is a double sheet of paper bearing Coleridge's transcriptions from a fuller edition. The one page reference given ("ii. 4. 3.," for the lines entitled "The Pedlar") affords proof that he was transcribing from Weller's edition.

The fact that Coleridge used this five-volume edition at Göttingen throws some light, indirectly, on the question discussed by J. L. Lowes (*The Road to Xanadu*, p. 543) and F. W. Stokoe (*German Influence on the English Romantic Movement*, pp. 129–30), as to the identity of the Adam and Eve play that Coleridge said he transcribed from an old manuscript at Helmstedt. (For references to the play, by Coleridge, Lamb, and Crabb Robinson, see Lowes and Stokoe, *op. cit.*) Though Coleridge's description of the play would seem to justify the conclusions reached by Mr. Lowes and Mr. Stokoe, that it was Sachs's *Die ungeleichen Kinder Eves*, it seemes strange that he should have transcribed that play from a Helmstedt manuscript when it was already in print in Vol. I of the edition of Sachs that he used at Göttingen. It seems the more strange since his visit to Helmstedt appears, according to Mr. Lowes's interesting deductions, to have taken place after his Göttingen stay. I think it probable that the solution of the problem lies in the fact that Coleridge was confusing two different plays in his remarks on the subject. I believe that the play he copied from the Helmstedt manuscript was *Adams und Evens Erschaffung und ihr Sündenfall*. A transcription of this play, made by Coleridge, has been described in two booksellers' catalogues. In the catalogue of the library of J. H. Green, sold by Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, July, 1880, the authorship of the transcribed play was ascribed to Klotz. In Scribner and Welford's *Catalogue of Scarce and Valuable Books*, issued in April, 1884, the same manuscript is described (item 24 of the collection of "Coleridgeana"): "MANUSCRIPT VOLUME IN QUARTO. Containing various notes, transcripts, etc., in Coleridge's Autograph, with others in a different handwriting. The following are all by Coleridge: Note on Unitarianism, one page; Adams und Evens Erschaffung und ihr Sündenfall, ein geistlich Fastnachtspiel mit Sang und Klang, 'transcribed June 17, 1799, S. T. Coleridge,' with the musical notes to the songs, 87 pages; Note on Christian Adolph Klotz, etc., 9 pages; . . . ." If this is the correct reading of the date of the transcription, and if the transcription was made at Helmstedt, the Helmstedt visit must have taken place during the last part of the Göttingen period. Perhaps this manuscript, which contains also a long section on *The Divine Ideas*, evidently written to Coleridge's dictation, may yet be traced. It is listed, without description, in the section of *marginalia* in Haney's *Bibliography*.

[2] The book contains chapters on a number of poets in whom Coleridge is known to have been interested, among them Hans Sachs, Lessing, and Gessner. For a list of references to Coleridge's proposed history of German literature and his proposed life of Lessing see Stokoe, *op. cit.*, pp. 117–18.

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19. Same date. Letter S. "Schmidts biograph. der Dichter, bi 2." Schmit, Christian Heinrich. *Biographie der Dichter*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1769.
20. June 15. Letter K. "Klotz Leben von Hausen."[1]
21. June 16. Letter S. "Schutz über Lessings Genie &c." Schutz, Christian Gottfried. *Ueber Lessings Genie und Schriften*. Halle, 1782.

ALICE D. SNYDER

VASSAR COLLEGE

NOTES ON *L'AUBE ROMANTIQUE* OF P. LAFOND

Those interested in French Romanticism are acquainted with the collection of letters addressed to Jules de Rességuier by various contemporaries and published by Paul Lafond under the title *L'Aube Romantique* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1910.) A few corrections and additions (particularly, the dating of some of the letters) may be of some little value to whoever finds occasion to use this work.

LETTERS

Letter V. Date (late 1818).

From context, this letter seems to have been written shortly after Soumet's election to the Académie des Jeux Floraux, July 31, 1818, and before his installation, February 28, 1819.

Letter V. (July 31, 1820.)

Written the Saturday immediately after the arrival of Soumet in Paris.

Letter VIII. (January, 1821.)

Glorvina appeared in the *Conservateur littéraire*, January 20, 1821.

Letter IX. (February, 1821.)

Page 65. The *Éloge de Poitevin* by J. de Rességuier was pronounced at the Académie des Jeux Floraux, February 12, 1821; mentioned by Victor Hugo in the *Conservateur littéraire*, March 31, 1821.

Letter X. (Early April, 1822.)

Le pélerin of Jules de Rességuier appeared in the *Annales de la littérature et des arts*, VII, Book lxxix, 11–12, April 6, 1822.

Letter XI. (April, 1821.)

Mentions last number of the *Conservateur littéraire* which appeared March 31, 1821.

Letter XII. (Early November, 1821.)

This explains (p. 70) the opportunity that Soumet gave Hugo to send Jules de Rességuier a set of the *Conservateur littéraire;* cf. letter of Victor Hugo to Rességuier, November 7, 1821, *Correspondance* (1815–35), pages 22–24.

Letter XIV. (Late March, 1822.)

"Le recueil de Vigny vient de paraître." This appeared March 16, 1822, not, as note (61), page 298, says, in 1821.

[1] See above, p. 379, n. 1, on manuscript reference to Klotz.

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Letter XVI.

To fill the lacunae in this letter (p. 79) one should refer to the *Mercure de France*, XLIV (1902), 594, article by A. Praviel. There is also found there a variant for the first line of the last paragraph.

Letter XVII.

For complete text, see A. Praviel, *Mercure de France* (1902), page 595, and E. Biré, *Victor Hugo avant* (1830), pages 132, 138, and 237.

Letter XIX.

A variant for the last line of the second paragraph of this letter and complete text of the postscript are to be found in the *Mercure de France*, XLIV (1902), 598.

Letter XXII. (September 8, 1822.)

"Hugo m'a montré avant-hier votre dernière lettre" (p. 87). Hugo's letter to Jules de Rességuier (XX) is dated September 6. Soumet's letter (XXII) was written before his appointment as librarian at Saint-Cloud, September 11, 1822.

Letter XXV. (November, 1822.)

"Ma débauche de gloire" refers to Soumet's double success, *Clymentnestre* and *Saül*, November 7 and 9, respectively.

Letter XXXI. (July 22, 1824.)

J. Dedieu (*Revue des Pyrénées* [1913], p. 212, n. 3), thinks that this important letter was written in June. I feel certain, however, that it was written after July 12, date of the letter of resignation from the *Muse française* by E. Deschamps, Soumet, Guiraud, and Rességuier to Hugo (*Odes et ballades* [éd. de l'Impr. Nat.], p. 554) and before Victor Hugo's letter to the *Journal des débats* and the *Quotidienne*, July 28, 1824.

Letter XXXIII. (Before 1820.)

Soumet still at Toulouse.

Letter XXXIV. (Mid-July, 1823.)

Soumet explains the delay in the appearance of the first number of the *Muse française*, announced for July 15, 1823.

Letter XXXV. (Shortly before March, 1825.)

Jeanne D'Arc, tragedy by Soumet, was performed March 14, 1825.

Letter LXXX. (January, 1826.)

The *Moniteur universel*, January 29, 1826, mentions Soumet's name among those who received pensions.

Letter CLXXIX. (Late 1819—early 1820.)

"J'ai terminé mon *Oreste voilé*." This was the original title of Soumet's *Clytemnestre* which was begun in the summer of 1819 and completed before he went to Paris in July, 1820. From the notes connected with this letter, we

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see that Lafond (after Douais) considered it written in 1840. Note (275), page 343, "allusion à la Divine Épopée" is absolutely incorrect; the passage in question is only an allusion to his reading in Milton. Note (276) cites part of a letter published by C. Douais in *Mélanges de littérature et d'histoire religieuses*[1] (*Lettres au Baron Guiraud*, III, 202–3), in which Soumet tells of beginning an *Oreste voilé*. Douais dates this letter 1840. But in it Soumet mentions *Lara* (appeared in 1814) and Jean Sbogar (1818) and speaks of Byron as if he were alive. (Byron died in 1824.) From other internal evidence and our knowledge of Soumet's life during these years, it seems quite certain that this letter was written in the summer of 1819 and describes the genesis of Soumet's *Clytemnestre*.

Letter CLXXXI.

Page 251. For "La Rochette" read "La Rochelle" wherever it occurs in Soumet's letters. This was where Soumet's daughter, Mme d'Altenheym, lived.

NOTES

(26), page 292: Soumet was elected to the Académie Française July 29, 1824. November 25 was the date of his reception.

The date of his reception into the Académie des Jeux Floraux was February 28, not June 23, 1819. Very possibly Lafond took this mistake from A. Duboul, *Deux siècles de l'Académie des Jeux Floraux* (Toulouse: Privat, 1901), II, 179.

(74), page 300: read "1822" instead of "1823."

(134) and (135), page 312: The piece mentioned by Louis Belmontet in his letter as *La fête sous Néron* was performed at the Odéon on December 29 (as in this note, all editions of the work give 28, incorrectly) and printed (three editions in 1830) as *Une fête de Néron*.

Perhaps it was a reminiscence of the note in Lafond that caused J. Giraud to name Soumet's tragedy *Une fête sous Néron* on page 196, Volume II, in the *Histoire de la littérature française* of Bédier and Hazard.

S. IRVING STONE

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE IDEAS OF THÉOPHILE GAUTIER'S *L'ART* EXPRESSED IN PROSE IN 1841

In 1841, Théophile Gautier had already expressed in prose what was later to be found in these stanzas of *L'Art* (1857):

Lutte avec le carrare,
Avec le paros dur
Et rare,
Gardiens du contour pur; ...

[1] Paris: Picard, 1899. 3 vols.

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Tout passe.—L'art robuste
Seul a l'éternité.
Le buste
Survit à la cité ...

... les vers souverains
Demeurent
Plus forte que les airains. ..."

The prose passage in question follows:

Le vers est une matière étincelante et *dure* comme le marbre de *Carrare* qui n'admet que des lignes *purs* et correctes, et longtemps méditées. L'on a dit que la peinture était sœur de la poésie, cela serait plus vrai de la sculpture; en effet, le poète et le statuaire cachent dans une forme réduite d'énormes travaux d'idéalisation: ni l'un ni l'autre ne peuvent se passer de dessin, la couleur peut pallier les défauts du prosateur ou du peintre, mais en poésie et en sculpture il faut le style et la perfection de chaque chose. Toute statue qui, brisée en morceaux n'est pas toujours admirable, ne vaut rien; tout poème dont une dizaine de vers pris au hasard ne font pas dire de l'auteur qu'il est un gran poète, peut être considéré comme non avenu. Quand l'on écrit des vers, il faut songer que ce seront peut-être précisément ceux-là seuls qui resteront dans mille ans, car on ne retrouve de toute civilisation disparue que des fragments de statues et des lambeaux de poèmes,—du marbre et des vers!

(*Revue des deux mondes* [article on *La Divine Epopée* d'Alexandre Soumet], 1 avril 1841, p. 126.)[1]

S. IRVING STONE

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

[1] H. E. A. Velthuis, in her doctoral dissertation, *Théophile Gautier, L'Homme—L'Artiste*, printed by G. W. den Boer, Hof-Boekdrukker, Middeberg (no date or publisher) (1925), pp. 150–51, cites the last lines of this passage (her reference to the page in the *Revue des deux mondes* is incorrect), but she does not point out its connection with the poem of 1857.

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VOLUME XXV NUMBER 4

May 1928

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A *Journal* devoted to research in
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THE UNIVERSITY *of* CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

The Cambridge University Press, *London;* The Maruzen Company, Limited, *Tokyo;*
The Commercial Press, Limited, *Shanghai*

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Modern Philology is published quarterly by the University of Chicago at the University Press, 5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill. ¶The subscription price is $4.00 per year; the price of single copies is $1.00. ¶Postage is prepaid by the publishers on all orders from the United States, Mexico, Cuba, Porto Rico, Panama Canal Zone, Republic of Panama, Dominican Republic, Canary Islands, El Salvador, Argentina, Bolivia, Brasil, Colombia, Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru, Hayti, Uruguay, Paraguay, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Samoan Islands, Balearic Islands, and Spain. ¶Postage is charged extra as follows: for Canada and Newfoundland, 15 cents on annual subscriptions (total $4.15), on single copies, 4 cents (total $1.04); for all other countries in the Postal Union, 25 cents on annual subscriptions (total $4.25), on single copies 6 cents (total $1.06). ¶Patrons are requested to make all remittances payable to The University of Chicago Press in postal or express money orders or bank drafts.

The following are authorized to quote the prices indicated:

For the British Empire: THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, Fetter Lane, London, E.C. 4, England. Yearly subscriptions, including postage, £1 1*s.* 6*d.* each; single copies, including postage, 5*s.* 3*d.* each.

For China: THE COMMERCIAL PRESS, LTD., Paoshon Road, Shanghai. Yearly subscriptions, $4.00; single copies, $1.00, or their equivalents in Chinese money. Postage extra on yearly subscriptions 25 cents, on single copies 6 cents.

Claims for missing numbers should be made within the month following the regular month of publication. The publishers expect to supply missing numbers free only when losses have been sustained in transit and when the reserve stock will permit.

Business correspondence should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.

Communications for the editors and manuscripts should be addressed to The Managing Editor of MODERN PHILOLOGY, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Entered as second-class matter July 13, 1903, at the Post-office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on July 15, 1918.

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

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MODERN PHILOLOGY

VOLUME XXV — *May 1928* — NUMBER 4

THE ORIGIN OF THE DIALECTAL DIFFERENCES IN SPOKEN AMERICAN ENGLISH

The publication of J. S. Kenyon's *American Pronunciation* in 1924 and of G. P. Krapp's *The English Language in America* in 1925 bears witness to a new interest in spoken American English and its history. In the period intervening between these recent books and the nineties, when Grandgent, Sheldon, Emerson, and Hempl were engaged in ascertaining usage in the various parts of this country, both by personal observation and by carefully prepared questions submitted to competent observers, the pronunciation of English in America received little attention. Even less thought was given to the history of our pronunciation, to which these scholars had also devoted themselves, without, however, pushing their studies very far. As a result we are today not much better informed on these questions than thirty years ago, although W. Read's recent papers on southern pronunciation[1] have materially increased our knowledge of that area.

And yet, a thorough survey of actual usage in the various sections of the country is as necessary to the historical study of our pronunciation as for the question of a standard of pronunciation. Until we shall possess such a survey, all historical investigation must proceed largely by "safe guesses," and all arguments for a standard will be swayed by local or personal preference.

In undertaking a discussion of the origin of our regional differences in pronunciation I am not unaware of the fact that pitfalls must lie hidden in this scantily explored field, and I fully realize that my views are of a tentative nature.

[1] "The Vowel System of the United States," *Englische Studien*, XLI, 70 ff.; "Some Phases of American Pronunciation," *JEGP*, XXII, 217 ff.

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I

It is generally assumed—if one may judge by the statements that appeared in print before the publication of Krapp's work[1]—that American English, apparently also in its spoken form, is essentially the Southern English Standard of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries as modified locally in the course of the last century or two. This is the view advanced by Whitney, presumably for American English as a whole;[2] by Ellis, for "the eastern United States, New York and Massachusetts";[3] accepted by Emerson for the speech of Ithaca, New York;[4] and defended by Sheldon.[5] That such retardation of change in languages cut off from their mother-country does take place nobody can doubt who knows of the history of Icelandic; and that American English preserves words, phrases, constructions, as well as articulations of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, that were lost in the Southern English Standard is no less evident. Among the retarded sounds one might mention the vowel in *cut*, which has been lowered to low-central position in Southern English, but is still pronounced with considerable elevation of the back of the tongue in America; the first consonant in *wheat* [ʍi:t], which with us is still generally pronounced as a voiceless labial fricative followed by a voiced glide (except in parts of the South; elsewhere rather commonly

[1] See the present writer's review in *Language*, III, 131–39.

[2] W. D. Whitney, *Language and the Study of Language* (1868), pp. 171 ff.

[3] A. J. Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation*, V, 236.

[4] O. F. Emerson, "The Ithaca Dialect," *Dialect Notes*, I, 169–73. Emerson's stand is not altogether clear to me. In the following passage, written in 1891, he seems to assume a common source for all American varieties of educated speech: "The present resemblance of American English to standard English, and especially to that of the last century, appears to indicate that an English dialect with close resemblance to standard English is the predecessor of Ithaca Dialect" (p. 169). The statement in his *History of the English Language*, p. 109, does not define that source. It reads as follows: "Spoken English thruout America is more uniform among all classes, there being no such strongly marked dialects as in England. This is no doubt accounted for by the fact that the language originated in the middle class of English society, and that since its transplantation to America, it has not had time to break up into widely diverse dialects." But the author probably has in mind the Southern English Standard.

[5] F. S. Sheldon, "What Is a Dialect?" *Dialect Notes*, I, 293. Sheldon does not, however, deny a dialect basis outright. Says he: ". . . . The historic continuity of our dialect variations with those of England has been, to say the least, much interfered with, and, apart from certain isolated communities which may, it is quite possible, exist, it may perhaps be said that the basis of all our American English, local varieties included, is standard English, or, which is saying nearly the same thing, those English dialects which are or were at the time of the English colonization almost identical with the standard English have been the main source of popular speech."

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in unstressed *whenever*, *whatever*, *wherever*, and the exclamatory *why!*[1] while it became fully voiced in Southern English;[2] the vowel in *get*, which still has a more open pronunciation with us than in Southern English. All of these sounds are common to all of the United States, although the seaboard of New England is somewhat closer to Southern English.

But not all the deviations of American educated pronunciation from the Southern English Standard can be explained as owing to the conservation of an earlier stage of that Standard, and even the retarded sounds just mentioned can without exception be derived from the Northern English pronunciation of the Southern Standard. To my mind, most of the dialectal differences existing at present between New England, the South, and the North-and-West did not develop out of a uniform Southern English Standard, but have their bases partly in the regional varieties of the Standard and partly in the strongly dialectal speech which the earlier settlers of these regions brought with them from England and Scotland. This conclusion seems to me unavoidable to one tracing the treatment of the *r*, and the vowels preceding an original *r* in the three sections mentioned.

The New Englanders, except those in the northwestern section, and the southerners, especially those on the Atlantic Coast and in the lower South, pronounce the *r* only before vowels, as in *ready*, *hurry*, *far off* (and even in that position it is frequently slighted before an unstressed vowel, as in *carry*, *Maryland* [kæ(ə)ɪ, mæələnd]); they have no *r*-sound before consonants and finally, as in *large*, *heard*, *fair*, *far cry* [la:dʒ, hɜ:d, fɛ·ə, fa:kraɪ]. With a considerable minority in the upper South, the tip of the tongue does rise more or less toward the *r*-position in the latter cases (especially in the vowel of *heard*, rarely after the low vowels of *large* and *order*), but not far enough to produce a distinct *r*-sound; the impression on the ear is rather that of a muffled vowel.[3]

In the rest of the United States, holding two-thirds of the entire population, the *r* is pronounced in all positions. Before vowels it is a

[1] G. Hempl, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, VI, 310–11; and C. H. Grandgent, *ibid.*, VIII, 277. But S. Primer (*Phon. Stud.*, I, 239) claims that in Charleston, S.C., "in the combination *wh* the *h* is always silent."

[2] D. Jones, *An Outline of English Phonetics* (2d ed.), p. 65.

[3] Grandgent, *op. cit.*, VII, 276.

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voiced fricative formed by narrowing the air-passage at the upper gums with the front edge of the tongue, or even in the region of the palate by tilting it back, as in parts of the Middle West. Before consonants and in final position the tongue is somewhat lower and the *r* has here a more vocalic ring. The former short high-front vowel [ɪ] and the short mid-vowels [ɛ, ʌ, ə] have been encroached upon by the *r* to such an extent that they have entirely disappeared.[1] In words like *first*, *fern*, *fur*, a long strong vocalic *r* follows immediately upon the initial consonant. The short of this *r* is heard in the unstressed syllable of *father*.

Adherents of the principle of conservatism should find it hard to reconcile these facts to their theory. For the preconsonantal and final *r* should in that case be preserved, if anywhere (see p. 391, n. 2), in the oldest colonies: eastern Massachusetts, where only the recently immigrated Irish have this *r*, and the tide-water region of Virginia, where it is wholly unknown. The suggestion that the closer personal relations of the maritime colonies with England caused the loss of the *r* in these sections does not bear scrutiny. There is no indication that this peculiarity was confined to the small group that studied and traveled in England and to the rather small groups whose pronunciation they could influence. This *r* was lost by all, as far as we know; by the large rural population as well as by the inhabitants of the few cities. Nor is Sheldon's view that this *r* was reintroduced "in some parts of the country, particularly Ohio and vicinity," as a spelling pronunciation or as an analogical extension of the double pronunciation of words with final *r* (like that of *hear* in *hear it* [hɪərɪt] and in *hear them* [hɪ·əðɛm], respectively) at all probable.[2]

Grandgent[3] inclines to the belief "that the school-master, the spelling-book, and the dictionary, whose authority is wellnigh absolute in sparsely settled and comparatively uncultivated communities, have been largely responsible for the prevalence of *r* in the North and

[1] R. M. Pierce, *Dictionary of Hard Words* (New York, 1910); G. P. Krapp, *The English Language in America*, II, 167; and H. E. Palmer, *A Dictionary of English Pronunciation with American Variants* (New York, 1927), regularly write a vowel before the *r*, but I have heard that pronunciation only from Scotchmen and Irishmen.

[2] An opinion expressed in the 1892 meeting of the Dialect Society, and reported in *Dialect Notes*, I, 173.

[3] *Op. cit.*, VII, 275. Both the speech of the home and that of the school have a share in forming the speech-habits of the child. But if the speech of the schoolmaster (or his school pronunciation) is at variance with that of the majority of the homes of the community his influence can be but slight.

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West." But he also hesitatingly concedes that "perhaps, the influence of the Scotch and Irish immigrants has made itself felt" on this point.

In my opinion, the dialectal basis is the primary factor in the treatment of the *r*. On this point the kinship of the speech of Eastern New England and the pronunciation of Standard English in the south of England is obvious, and no less so the similarity of the speech of our North-and-West and the pronunciation of Standard English in the north of England as described by R. J. Lloyd.[1]

Such parallelism in the treatment of only one sound, which, to be sure, entails an extensive modification of all vowels preceding it,[2] would in itself be no proof of common origin. But there are other points of similarity and resemblance between the two pairs.

In our North-and-West the vowels represented in *made* and *mode* are only slightly diphthongal, the upglide of the tongue never passing beyond the mid-region, and the same seems to be the case in Northern English.[3] In eastern New England and Virginia, however, the upglide is much longer, the tongue passing into high position, especially when these sounds are at the end of a phrase, as in *Is he leaving today?* [tədɛɪ] and in *That is not so!* [sɔʊ], following the tendency that has produced the strongly diphthongal vowels in Southern English.[4]

Agreement between our North-and-West[5] and the English North is also found on the following points: (*a*) the preservation of the distinction between the mid-open long vowel [ǫ:] of *four, hoarse, mourning*, and the low short [ɔ] of *forty, horse, morning* (see Kenyon, *Am. Pron.*, p. 120); (*b*) the qualitatively identical vowels in *hat* and in *half;* (*c*) perhaps also a preference for the voiceless *s*-sound in *transition, discern*, and *greasy*, etc.;[6] (*d*) the peculiar monotonous intonation

[1] *Northern English* (2d ed., 1908), pars. 100–103 and 113.

[2] In general, the varieties of English in which the post-vocalic and the final *r* are lost have more open vowels, as in *more, fair* [mɔ·ə, fæ·ə], and also in *poor, here;* but in our South these vowels are even closer than in the *r*-pronouncing North (see W. Read, *JEGP*, XXII, 220 ff.).

[3] R. Lloyd, *op. cit.*, pars. 89 and 94.

[4] S. Primer, "Charleston Provincialisms," *Phon. Stud.*, I, 232, claims for Charleston, S.C., that "the long (e) is equivalent to (ee'j)," i.e. [e:j]. But H. R. Lang, *Phon. Stud.*, II, 185, objects to this observation, saying that *no* and *may* have [o:] and [e:], respectively. For the history of these "slow" diphthongs see Jespersen, *Mod. Engl. Gram.*, Vol. I, sec. 11.4.

[5] The North-and-West extends westward from the Hudson River, in some respects even from the Connecticut River, and southward to the Potomac and the Ohio, although southern traits are found for a considerable distance to the north of these rivers.

[6] G. Hempl, *Dialect Notes*, I, 438; and R. Lloyd, *op. cit.*, par. 140. Hempl gives a different interpretation of the facts (p. 443).

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of the sentence. G. P. Krapp's statement in his *English Language in America*, II, 23, that "in this matter of cadences, it is quite obvious to one familiar with various types of British speech, that the cadences of speech in the north of England are on the whole much closer to those of American speech than are the cadences of the speech of the south of England," certainly does not apply to the speech of New England and our South.

On the other hand, the speech of seaboard New England agrees with, or resembles, that of the south of England in the following respects: (*a*) The vowel of *hot*, *lock*, and *stop* has lip-rounding, which, to be sure, is not as pronounced in New England as in the south of England. (*b*) The vowel of *four* and *mourning* is lowered to the level of the vowel in *all* and identical in quality with the vowel of *forty* and *morning*, less widely in New England than in the South of England; in turn, the vowel of *all* is closer in these two varieties of English than in the other two. (*c*) The preference for the high unstressed vowel [ɪ] in *darkness*, *houses*, *wicked*. (*d*) The shortened vowel of *coat*, *whole*, and *home* is recorded for East Anglia (Norfolk) (see Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation*, pp. 1211 ff.). (*e*) The palatalization of the velar stops of *garden* and *cow* in New England (and the South), now considered vulgar and passing out of use, has its parallel in Southern English dialects.[1] (*f*) Although the low-central vowel in New England *half*, *dance* [ha:f, da:ns], and the low-back vowel in the Southern English pronunciation of these words did not become fashionable before the eighties of the eighteenth century, it is probable that the new sounds are the result of a common preliminary step, namely, the lengthening of the older [æ] before fricatives and the nasal dental consonant groups. (*g*) Certain phases of intonation.

When these resemblances between the several groups are considered together, the case for the dialectal bases becomes a strong one.

[1] Grandgent, *op. cit.*, VI, 458–59, and *Old and New* (1920), pp. 127–28. In the earlier article he writes in part: "I am told, however, that it is still prevalent in eastern Virginia [i.e., in 1891]."

S. Primer, "The Pronunciation of Fredericksburg, Va.," *PMLA*, V, 199, says: "This pronunciation is of course not general. Some consider it vulgar and avoid it, but it can be heard in the best families [i.e., in 1890]." And in *Phon. Stud.*, I, 240, he claims that it is heard in Virginia, South Carolina, Boston, and Cambridge, and adds that there is "no doubt that it is an individual peculiarity all over the country. Here [Charleston, S.C.] it is the prevailing pronunciation." Geographically, the statement seems rather too sweeping, but forty years ago this pronunciation was certainly much more common than now.

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II

Fortunately, the linguistic evidence for a historical connection between American speech of the North-and-West and that of Northern England, on the one hand, and between the speech of eastern New England (and, in part, that of our South) and the pronunciation of the south of England, on the other, is well supported by the history of American colonization, of the westward movement, and of later immigration.

Before the Irish immigration, which began about 1840, the population of the seaboard of New England had come for the most part from the southeastern counties of England (especially in the earlier period),[1] the home of the Southern English Standard. It is not surprising then that the speech of the seaboard of New England should resemble that Standard in its treatment of the *r* and the other points mentioned. The settlers simply brought with them the speech-habits of their native counties. The earliest of them probably pronounced a weak *r* before consonants and, finally, the later ones not;[2] and even the earliest of them possessed the Southern English tendency to diphthongize the close mid and high vowels.[3]

Western New England, however, received a considerable admixture of Scotch-Irish in the half-century preceding the Revolution,[4] and is therefore in certain respects "Western" in speech. It is the speech of the west of New England that became established in New York State and in the Western Reserve of Ohio.

Like the seaboard of New England, the tide-water region of Virginia received most of its early population from Southeastern England,

[1] E. Channing, *The United States of America* (1765–1865), pp. 1–2.

[2] H. C. Wyld, *History of Modern Colloquial English*, pp. 298–99. O. F. Emerson's view on the history of the *r* in New York State, which is based on the older chronology, can no longer be maintained. Says he (*Dialect Notes*, I, 173): ". . . . As the loss of *r* in standard English and in Eastern [according to Ellis] occurred in this [the nineteenth] century, according to Ellis and Sweet, cerebral *r* may be more naturally accounted for as a survival in the Ithaca Dialect than as the influence of another English dialect."

G. P. Krapp gives examples of unintentionally phonetic spellings in the New England town records of the latter part of the seventeenth century which are unmistakable evidence that the post-vocalic *r* had been lost by that time, at least with some persons (see *The English Language in America*, II, 229).

[3] Recent investigators have brought forward evidence to show that the Southern English tendency to diphthongal articulation of long vowels was already active in the seventeenth century (Jespersen, *e.g.*; I, 325 ff.

[4] H. J. Ford, *The Scotch-Irish in America*, pp. 225 ff.; F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, p. 71.

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and therefore has Southern English speech habits. But the Piedmont of Virginia and the Carolinas, and the Great Valley, were largely settled, during the half-century preceding the Revolution, by the Scotch-Irish, who spoke a quite different dialect, namely, the English of the Lowlands of Scotland or the north of England as modified by the Southern English Standard.[1] They neither dropped their *r*'s nor did they pronounce their long mid-vowels diphthongal fashion. The large German element from Pennsylvania ultimately acquired this type of English.

In the Old Southwest these two stocks became intimately mixed, the Scotch-Irish element being, however, much larger in the northern part. For Kentucky, Tennessee, as well as the southern portions of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and much of Missouri received most of their early population from the Valley of Virginia and the Piedmont, where the Scotch-Irish predominated; while the Cotton Belt of western Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and eastern Tennessee was settled very largely by the cotton-growers of the tide-water of Virginia and the Carolinas.[2] The differences in the speech of the two elements were in part leveled out. The Scotch-Irish softened their trilled *r*'s to the present more or less pronounced inversion of the tip of the tongue; the tide-water emigrants gave up their pronounced diphthongization of the long mid-vowels and some other peculiarities. But many purely dialectal articulations remain in the South, especially in secluded mountain districts and among the negroes.

The population of the Middle Atlantic states was mixed. The religious tolerance of the Quakers attracted immigrants from all parts of the British Isles and of Western Europe. Although we have little definite information regarding the exact provenience of the Quakers themselves, it is nevertheless clear that a considerable majority of the population of the Middle Colonies did not have Southern English speech habits. It is estimated that at the time of the Revolution the population of this region was one-third Quaker, one-third Scotch-Irish, and one-third German.[3] Of these elements the Scotch-Irish certainly did not speak in the manner of the south of England; and, as

[1] H. J. Ford, *op. cit.*, pp. 90 ff. and 378 ff.

[2] W. E. Dodd, *The Cotton Kingdom*, pp. 9 ff.

[3] "In 1774 Benjamin Franklin computed the proportion [of Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania] as one-third in a total of 350,000" (Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 265).

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regards the Quakers, the fact that this religious movement was organized in the north of England and the northern Midlands (1644–54) and found its most numerous and most fervent adherents and apostles in these sections and the west of England,[1] i.e., outside the area in which the Standard arose and was most widely accepted,[2] would seem to warrant the inference that a good portion of them came from those regions. That very many of them knew spoken Southern English intimately is more than doubtful, as nearly all of them belonged to the middle class and had not been at the southern universities or in intimate contact with the nobility. They might use the vocabulary and the idiom of the Southern English Standard, as their leaders undoubtedly did;[3] but their pronunciation must have had considerable local color, at least as much as the educated speech of the north and the west of England has at the present time (except for those that receive their education in the schools of Southeastern England). Besides, their natural Northern or Western English speech-habits would be encouraged in contact with the Scotch. The Scotch, in turn, probably reduced their trilled *r* [r] to the fricative *r* [ɹ] in contact with the Quakers. The German element eventually adopted the resulting local pronunciation of English.

Thus the English of the Middle states was probably not very uniform, but it had as a general feature the strong *r* in all positions, the only slightly diphthongal long mid-vowels, and the other peculiarities enumerated above for our present North-and-West. This form of speech was carried westward and triumphantly crossed the continent, being reinforced in various points by the speech of the Irish, who came in imposing numbers from 1840 onward.[4] The non-English immi-

[1] The influence of the speech of the west of England on American English is hard to discern. Krapp points out a number of rather doubtful cases of such an influence in his *English Language in America*, II, 121, 125, 142.

[2] W. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (1912), pp. 127, 130, 153, 164–65, 375, 381–83; *The Second Period of Quakerism* (1919), pp. 408–9.

[3] Despite the remoteness of the dignified style of the King James Version (1611) of the Bible, it must have influenced the colloquial language of the Bible-reading Quakers a great deal, thus eliminating dialect words, idioms, and grammatical forms.

[4] For the history of the westward movement consult F. C. Turner, *The Rise of the New West* (1907), pp. 28–44; and his *Frontier in American History* (1920), pp. 27–28, 164, 215–16, and esp. 223–24. Turner gives proper weight to the importance of the middle region in the westward movement, while most of the older historians were inclined to slight that section in favor of New England and the South. For the Quaker migrations see R. M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, I, 377 ff., and II, 840 ff. Interesting statistics are given by L. K. Mathews, *The Expansion of New England* (1908), p. 200. Consult also Channing, *History of the United States*, IV, chap. ix, and V, 40, 48, 50, 61, 220 ff.

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grants favored the *r* and non-diphthongal vowels, but their influence probably counted for little.

The New Englanders of the seaboard who migrated westward to western New England, New York State, the Western Reserve of Ohio, and the Farther West—first through Pennsylvania or the Shenandoah Valley and Kentucky, and, after the opening of the Erie Canal, by the new route—were sooner or later assimilated in speech to the locally prevalent type. They acquired the post-vocalic *r*, restrained their inclination to diphthongize the close mid-vowels, and gave up the "Italian *a*" [a:] in *half, pass, dance,* etc., and the short vowel in *stone, whole,* etc.[1]

SUMMARY

The dialectal differences in the pronunciation of educated Americans from various sections of the country have their origin largely in the British regional differences in the pronunciation of Standard English.

The seaboard of New England, drawing for two centuries most of its population from Southeastern England, is in speech akin to the counties whose speech contributed most to the Southern English Standard of pronunciation. But the recent Irish influx has undermined the earlier uniformity.[2]

The South is divided and uneven in speech. Tide-water Virginia is strongly Southern English in speech, the Piedmont and the mountain country of the Atlantic states strongly Scotch, Georgia and the Old Southwest mixed of the two in stock and speech—the latter type predominating in the upper South, the former in the lower South. Besides, there are in this section of the country numerous secluded communities of pronounced dialectal speech.

[1] In an interesting letter in *Dialect Notes*, I, 17, written in 1889, P. Seymour, of Hudson, Ohio, says: "Most men are gone who brought from Connecticut the pronunciation of *stone, coat* with the short *o;* and from New Hampshire of *bone* with the same short *o* . . . . and from Massachusetts (I think), *hoarse* and *coarse* pronounced very nearly like *horse* and *course.*"

[2] G. Hempl, *Dialect Notes*, II, 254, put it this way: "However unwilling some New Englanders may be to acknowledge it, the present large immigration of peoples from other parts of the English-speaking world is introducing in New England a more general form of English; and that the Irish have a part in this movement, there can be no doubt. This may be observed in the matter of pronunciation as well as in that of vocabulary."

See also Grandgent's observation, *Old and New*, p. 139, that "the 'Italian *a*' is most constant among farmers, less stable among city people, whose convictions have been shaken by contact with the Irish and also by the school teacher, who has often insisted on a compromise vowel."

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The North-and-West has, at all events, a Northern English (including Lowland Scotch) basis in stock and speech. This section is surprisingly uniform in speech over its entire vast area, the speech of the seaboard New Englanders having been assimilated to the "Western" type.

All of the three types of spoken American English are conservative as compared with the pronunciation of the Southern English Standard in the Southeast and the southern Midlands of England. But what they conserve is not the various stages of that Standard, as seems to have been so generally assumed, but certain features—phonetic as well as lexical—of the several basic British regional varieties of Standard English.[1]

HANS KURATH

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[1] One of the serious faults of the older view (which is not shared by Krapp) is due to the assumption that *all* of England had a uniform spoken standard during the first century and a half of American colonization, as it undoubtedly had a written standard. That was certainly not the case. The spreading of the Southern English Standard Pronunciation into the north of England and the rest of the British Isles did not make much headway, even among the better educated, until the latter part of the eighteenth century—the time of our Revolution, when the growing desire for a nation-wide spoken standard found expression in the publication of the first pronouncing dictionaries: John Walker, *A General Idea of a Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language* (1774), and *A Critical Pronouncing Dictionary and Expositor of the English Language* (1791); Thomas Sheridan, *A General Dictionary of the English Language* (1780). Walker (3d ed., stereotyped; New York, 1827) makes the significant statement that "those at a considerable distance from the capitol do not only mispronounce many words taken separately, but they scarcely pronounce with purity a single word, syllable, or letter. . . . . The best educated people in the provinces, if constantly resident there, are sure to be strongly tinctured with the dialect of the country in which they live." And even today the north of England (including the northern Midland), the Lowlands of Scotland, the west of England, and Ireland have their local versions of the spoken standard.

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ALLITERATION IN THE RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS

Of a large number of old Norse runic inscriptions which have been discovered and interpreted[1] only a few have any connection with the problem of alliteration. These are as follows:

I. By stone, Norway, seventh century, Noreen. 7[2]
ek irilaR hroRaR hroReR orte þat aRina ubt alaifu dagaR runoR markiþe[3]
I earl Hrörr, Hrör's son, made this mound in memory of Alof. Dagr engraved the runes.

II. Bö stone, Norway, sixth Century, Noreen, 8
hnabudas hlaiwa
Hnofoþ's grave

III. Darum bracteate, iii, Denmark, fifth century, Noreen, 13
liliR aiwuida it uha
Lillr [owns this]. Oe fashioned it.

IV. Eggjum stone slab, Norway, *ca.* 700, Johannesson, 14
hin warb naseu manR made þaim kaiba i bormuþa huni huwaR ob kam haris a hi a lant gotna fiskR oRuki nauim suemande fokl if sliti na galande is alin misurki ni s solu sot uk ni sakse stain skorinn ni sati manR nakda ni snareR ni wiltiR manR lagi hin la . . . . .
Over this stone the man poured blood and with it scraped the planks of the sledge when the work of the auger was done. Which of the multitude of runes has come hither, hither into the land of men? To the fish swimming through the stream of corpses [=ON *-ormr*], to the bird which would screech if it could rend the dead [=ON *-are*, i.e., Ormare to Ormar], an avenger is born. The stone has not been exposed to the rays of the sun, nor have the runes been cut with a knife. Let no one lift up the stone to expose it, nor shall bold or foolish persons lay it down.

V. Etelheim clasp, Sweden, end of fifth century, Noreen, 18
mik marila worta
Mærle made me.

VI. Flistad stone, Sweden, eighth century, Noreen, 19
gamR atR glanta
Gammr to Glenta

[1] Cf. A. Noreen, *Altisländische Grammatik* (4te Aufl.; Halle, 1923), pp. 374 ff.

[2] The Arabic numerals refer throughout to Noreen, *op. cit.*, or to A. Johannesson, *Grammatik der Urnordischen Runeninschriften* (Heidelberg, 1923), pp. 75 ff.

[3] *b*, *d*, and *ǯ* have been written as *b*, *d*, and *g*.

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VII. Bone utensil from Flöksand, Norway, *ca.* 350, Noreen, 20
lina laukaR alu
Linen, leek, protection

VIII. Fæmo bracteate, Denmark, *ca.* 500, Noreen, 23
ek fakaR faihido
I Fakr wrote [this].

IX. The Golden Horn of Gallehus, Denmark, *ca.* 400, Noreen, 25
ek hlewagastiR holtijaR horna tawido
I Hlegestr of Holt made the horn.

X. Istaby stone, Sweden, *ca.* 650, Noreen, 31
afatr hariwulafa haþuwulafR heruwulafiR warait runaR þaiaR
To Heriulfr. Holfr, Hiorulf's son, cut these runes.

XI. Järsberg stone, Sweden, sixth century, Noreen, 32
ek erilaR ubaR haite harabanaR runoR waritu
Earl Ufr is my name. [I] Hrafn cut the runes.

XII. Kjölevig stone, Norway, *ca.* 500, Noreen, 34
hadulaikaR ek hagustaldaR hlaiwido magu minino
Hoþleikr. I Haukstaldr buried my son.

XIII. Kragehul lanceshaft, Denmark, *ca.* 400, Noreen, 35
ek erilaR asugisalas muha haite ga ga ga ginugahelija haga galawiju bi gi. . . . .
My name is Earl, Asgisl's follower. Good luck, good luck, good luck! A clear-ringing work of art I deliver to. . . . .

XIV. Stora Noleby stone, Sweden, *ca.* 600, Noreen, 45
runo fahi raginakundo. . . . .
Runes of the mighty ones I write. . . . .

XV. Overhornbæk bracteate, Denmark, sixth century, Noreen, 51
auþa þit eih uilald tauiu uontwa utl
Auþe owns this. [I] Votte fashion this work of art.

XVI. Reistad stone, Norway, *ca.* 600, Noreen, 52
iuþingaR ek wakraR unnam wraita
yþingr. I Vakr undertook the writing.

XVII. Rö stone, Sweden, *ca.* 400, Noreen, 55
swabaharjaR sairawidaR stainawarijaR fahido ek hraþaR satido staina ana magu
Suafarr [of the sore-wounding spear ?]. [I] Steinarr inscribed the runes. I Hraþr erected the stone to my son.

XVIII. Schonen bracteate, Sweden, fifth century, Noreen, 57
laþu laukaR gakaR alu
Love-gift. Laukr. Gakr. Amulet

XIX. Seeland bracteate, Denmark, fifth century, Noreen, 58
hariuha haitika farauisa gibu auja. . . . .
I am Herioe, master of dangerous knowledge. Good luck to. . . . .

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XX. Skodborg bracteate, Denmark, fifth century, Noreen, 60
auja alawin auja alawin auja alawin ja alawid
Good luck to Allvin, good luck to Allvin, good luck to Allvin and Allviþ!

XXI. Stentoften stone, Sweden, second half of seventh century, Noreen, 66
niu haborumR niu hagestumR haþuwolafR gaf j hariwolafR eausnuh . . . . e haideRrunono falah eka hedera ginoronoR heramalausaR arageuweladaude saR bariutiþ
To the nine of Haborumr and Hagestumr. Holfr gave . . . . Heriolfr. . . . . Here I hid a series of mighty runes of magic. . . . . A malicious death to him who breaks this stone.

XXII. Ström whetstone, Norway, first half of seventh century, Johannesson, 62
wate hali hino horna hahaska þi haþu ligi
Let the horn moisten this hanging stone, so that the grass may lie.

XXIII. Sölvesborg stone, Sweden, end of eighth century, Noreen, 70
aft asmunt sunu sin urti waþi. . . . .
To Asmund, his son, Vaþe made. . . . .

XXIV. Kyrkö bracteate, Sweden, *ca.* 500, Noreen, 73
heldaR kunimundiu wurte runoR an walhakurne
Hialdr wrought the runes on the foreign coin for Kunmundr.

XXV. Torsbjærg shield-boss, Denmark, *ca.* 300, Noreen, 76
aisagaiRaR aih
Eisgeirr owns [this].

XXVI. Tune stone, Norway, *ca.* 500, Noreen, 79
. . . . R woduride staina satida þrijoR dohtriR dailidun arbija sijosteR arbijano ek wiwaR after woduride witanda-halaiban worahto runoR
. . . . r set up this stone to Oþriþr. Three daughters, the nearest relatives of the heirs, shared the cost of the inheritance feast. I Vir made the runes for Oþriþr the breadgiver.

XXVII. Vi sword, Denmark, *ca.* 250, Noreen, 92
marihai ala makia
Alle to Mærer this sword.

XXVIII. Asum bracteate, Sweden, fifth century, Noreen, 95
ehe ik akaR fahi
I Akr write the runes for E. . . . .

XXIX. The larger Nordendorf clasp, Germany, sixth to seventh century, Feist, *Zs. f. d. Phil.*, XLIX, 1 ff.
ero þa gol wodan wigi þonaR awa leub wigie
Then Earth spoke the charm. May Thor be propitious! [We] Awa and Leub consecrate [it].

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The expressions in the foregoing inscriptions can be classified under the following heads:

1. The formula *ek* plus a title plus a name:
   ek irilaR[I], ek erilaR ubaR [XI], ek erilaR asugisalas [XIII]
2. Proper names which begin with the same consonant or which begin with a vowel:
   hroRaR hroReR [I], gamR . . . . glanta [VI], hariwulafa haþuwulafR heruwulafiR [X], ehe . . . . akaR [XXVIII]

3*a*. Proper names used with a noun, adjective, or pronoun beginning with the same consonant or with a vowel:
   hnabudas hlaiwa [II], mik marila [V], hlewagastiR holtijaR horna [IX], uilald . . . . uontwa [XV], swabaharjaR sairawidaR [XVII], laþu laukaR [XVIII], haborumR . . . . hagestumR haþuwolafR . . . . hariwolafR . . . . haideRrunono [XXI], marihai . . . . makia [XXVII]

3*b*. Proper names used with a verb beginning with the same consonant or with a vowel or semi-vowel:
   aiuwida . . . . uha [III], fakaR faihido [VIII], hadulaikaR . . . . hagustaldaR hlaiwido [XII], auþa . . . . eih [XV], wakraR . . . . wraita [XVI], hariuha haitika [XIX], urti waþe [XXIII], aisagaiRaR aih [XXV]

3*c*. Common nouns used with a verb beginning with the same consonant or semi-vowel:
   wurte . . . . walhakurne [XXIV], dohtriR dailidun [XXVI]

3*d*. Mixed cases:
   orte . . . . aRina . . . . alifu [I], wiwaR . . . . woduride witandahalaiban worahto [XXVI]

4. Expressions connected with the use of magic:
   solu sot . . . . sakṣe [IV], [VII] ga ga ga [XIII], runo raginakundo [XIV], auja alawin auja alawin auja alawin ja alawid [XX], hali . . . . horna hahaska . . . . haþu [XXII], wodan wigi . . . . wigie [XXIX]

5. Miscellaneous:
   fiskR . . . . fokl [IV], arbija . . . . arbijano [XXVI]

Let us now examine in order the phrases listed above. The formula *ek* plus a title of rank plus a name, with either one or both occurring, is very common and may be of great antiquity.[1] In the Old Norse inscriptions[2] it appears as follows: *ek irilaR hroRaR* (7),[3] *ek fakaR* (23), *ek hlewagastiR* (25), *ek erilaR ubaR* (32), *ek hagustaldaR* (34), *ek erilaR asugisalas* (35), *ek erilaR* (39), *ek gudija* (46), *ek wakraR* (52),

[1] S. Feist, *J.E.G. Phil.*, XXI (1922), 604, claims that the formula is of extreme religious and ritualistic antiquity.

[2] The term "Old Norse" is used as the equivalent of Noreen's *urnordisch*, and refers only to such inscriptions as are listed by Noreen and Johannesson.

[3] The numbers refer to Noreen.

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ek hraþaR (55), *ek wiwaR* (79), *ek hagustaldiR* (84), *ek erilaR wiwala* (86), *ik akaR* (95). Clearly there was no intentional alliteration in such an expression as *ek erilaR ubaR* (XI). Similar examples can be readily cited from modern English such as "Earl E—," "Lord L—," etc.[1]

We come next to proper names beginning with the same consonant or with a vowel. Many examples show the antiquity of alliterative naming, e.g., *Segestes, Segimerus, Segimundus; Theodemer, Theoderich, Theodemund,* etc. The origin of the practice is obscure.[2] Alliterative naming, however, does not imply a conscious choice of words for poetic purposes. Of course if the alliterative names occur in a metrical line or if their sequence has been altered to conform to the technique of alliteration, a poetic purpose may be justly claimed. No instance in class 2 is metrical in form or shows any recognizable alteration of sequence. It may be claimed that the names were deliberately chosen for alliterative purposes. In such a line as *Heorogar ond Hroþgar ond Halga til,*[3] the poet *may* have invented the names for metrical purposes. But on a memorial stone with such an inscription as *gamR atR glanta,* the situation is entirely different, since, if the two names are to appear on the stone, there must of necessity be alliteration. This, however, is not alliteration used as a conscious poetic device.[4]

In class 3*a* we have proper names used with a noun, pronoun, or adjective. In *hnabudas hlaiwa* (II) the problem is to determine whether the word *hlaiwa* was used because it begins with *h*. In another inscription, *hariwulfs stainaR* (Noreen, 54), where we have practically the same idea conveyed there is no attempt at alliteration. If alliteration had been customary it is reasonable to assume that it would have been used in the latter case as well. The word *hlaiwa* may have been chosen for alliterative purposes, but is it very improbable. Let us, however, class it as a doubtful case. In *mik marila worta* (V) there is nothing but a conventional inscriptional form used as far back as the

[1] The word *erilar* did not have exactly the same meaning as English "Earl," but it at least indicated nobility.

[2] Such series of names as *Theode-mer, Theode-rich, Theode-mund,* and *hari-wulafR, hapu-wulafR, heru-wulafR* and many others of similar composition suggest one way in which the principle of alliterative naming may have originated.

[3] *Beowulf,* 61.

[4] Cf. a Greek inscription which Professor Buck (*Greek Dialects,* p. 241, 79) renders: "Atotus made this, an Argive and an Argead, son of Hagelaidus the Argive."

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fifth century B.C. in a Latin inscription.[1] When the Old Norse inscription is translated into modern English all three words begin with the same consonant, "Mærle made me," but there is no indication of intentional alliteration here.

It will perhaps be claimed that the transposed word order indicates an attempt at metrical form. In the celebrated Golden Horn of Gallehus (IX), often claimed as the earliest example of Germanic alliterative verse,[2] we have also transposed word order. The inscription may have been intentionally put into metrical form, but if we compare *hlewagastiR horna tawido* (IX) with *dagaR runoR markiþe* it would appear as if we had here an inscriptional convention. Many inscriptions which are plainly prose have transposed word order: *dagaR runoR markiþe* (Noreen, 7), *aih sbindula talijaR* . . . . (Noreen, 21), and others.[3] We conclude, then, that the alliteration in *mik marila worta* (V) is unintentional.

It is quite true that the line on the Golden Horn (IX) is metrically correct according to the standards of the later alliterative verse, but if the word order is the result of inscriptional convention this agreement is accidental. More examples than have as yet been produced are necessary to prove that the alliterative line of the later poetry was known and used in the fifth century. Let us examine the inscription. The writer's name was *HlewagastiR;* he was making a *horna.* If there is intentional alliteration here then *HlewagastiR* either decided to make a horn because the word began with *h* or called himself *HlewagastiR* because the word for "horn" began with the same consonant, which is contrary to common sense. Yet the use of these two words satisfies the demands of alliteration even without the addition of the adjective *holtijaR.* There could not have been intentional alliteration in the use of the words *HlewagastiR* and *horna.* If the writer's name had been *FakaR* it would probably never have occurred to anybody to claim alliteration in this inscription. If the line was intended to be alliterative it is because of the choice of the adjective *holtijaR,* since *ek FakaR holtijaR horna tawido* would still have two alliterating words. Because of this possibility we shall put it in the doubtful class.

[1] *CIL,* XIV, 4123: *manios med fefaked Numasioi* ("Manius made me for Numerius").

[2] Cf. A. Heusler, *Deutsche Versgeschichte* (1925), p. 86, n. 1, and p. 93, § 115.

[3] Cf. F. Maurer, *Untersuchungen über die deutsche Verbstellung* (Heidelberg, 1926), p. 184, § 58.

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To proceed with the others: in *uilald* . . . . *uontwa* (XV) we have a proper name used in conjunction with what appears to have been a conventional art-term as in *ek erilaR sa wilagaR haiteka* (Noreen, 39). The inscription is not metrical, and there is no more conscious alliteration present than in the phrase "I, Payne, wrote this play." The second word of *swabaharjaR sairawidaR* (XVII) has not been explained. Etymologically it may be the equivalent of the English "sore-wood." If this suggestion is correct the word probably had some such meaning as the "sore-wounding" or "spear," and was used as a descriptive adjective which would explain its appearance on a monument erected to a man to whom this epithet was applied while he was alive. In that case the alliteration was in all probability unconscious. This inscription belongs to the doubtful class. When *laþu laukaR* (XVIII) is compared with two parallel inscriptions, *frohila laþu* and *houhaR laþu alu* (Noreen, 12 and 22), it is evident that there is no case for intentional alliteration in this inscription. On the Stentoften stone (XXI) the four proper names (*haborumR* . . . . *hagestumR haþuwolafR* . . . . *hariwolafR* . . . . *haideRrunono* . . . .) are necessary to the inscription and could consequently not have been chosen for alliterative purposes. The inscription is not metrical. The Björketorp stone (Noreen, 4 [*ca.* 700]) was apparently copied in part from the Stentoften stone (XXI) since the latter part of the inscription (beginning with *haideRrunono*) is practically the same. There is no attempt at alliteration in the Björketorp stone. Obviously *haideRrunono* was the technical term for certain powerful runes and was used on both stones quite regardless of any alliterative principle. In *marihai ala makia* (XXVII) a sword is presented to *MarihaR* by *Ala*. Since the inscription can scarcely be classed as metrical and since *mǽker* was a common word for "sword" it would be very hazardous to claim that the word was used in order to obtain alliteration. The situation is quite different in *Beowulf*, 1457, *wæs þǣm hæftmēce Hrunting nama*, where the poet requires a word to alliterate with *Hrunting* and forms the compound accordingly. Scores of examples of unintentional alliteration similar to that in the foregoing inscription can be found in almost any book one may pick up.

Class 3*b* includes proper names used with a verb. There are eight examples listed above where either the proper name and the verb

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begin with the same consonant or with a vowel. There is nothing unusual about this. Let us compare other inscriptions: *hroRaR hroReR orte* (7),[1] *dagaR runoR markiþe* (7), *dagaR þaR runo faihido* (16), *marila wohrte* (18), *aih talijaR* (21), *hlewagastiR . . . . tawido* (25), *heruwulafiR warait* (31), *ubaR haite* (32), *harabanaR . . . . waritu* (32) *asugisalas . . . . haite* (35), *erilaR haiteka* (39), *frawaradaR slaginaR* (44), *hraþaR satido* (55), *skribado sigaduR* (69), *heldaR wurte* (73), *rhoaltR fai . . . .* (85). Here we have sixteen examples of a proper name plus a verb where the initial letters differ. Six of the eight verbs in the inscriptions in question appear once or oftener in the sixteen examples quoted where there is no alliteration. The alliteration in the inscriptions of this class is clearly unintentional.

There is no new principle in class 3*c* which requires discussion.

The first example of class 3*d* is *orte . . . . aRina . . . . alaifu* (I). The first part of the inscription reads *ek irilaR hroRaR hroReR*, and *orte* really belongs to it. The proper name could not have been a matter of choice since the monument was erected to *Alaifu*. If then the word *aRina* was chosen because it begins with a vowel, we would have an example of alliterative prose, since the inscription is not metrical. Let us put this also in the doubtful class.

In *ek wiwaR after woduride witandahalaiban worahto runoR* (XXVI) the two proper names were certainly not chosen for any alliterative purpose. *WiwaR . . . . worahto* belongs to class 3*b;* it may be compared with *heldaR . . . . wurte runoR* (Noreen, 73). The whole burden, then, for the claim of conscious alliteration rests upon the use of the word *witandahalaiban*. The word may be translated as "bread-giver," and may be compared with OE *hlāford*. It is just as probable to assume that the word *witandahalaiban* would have been used if the name preceding it had been *hagustaldaR* or any other as to assume that the word was chosen because it begins with *w*. The first part of the inscription is plainly in prose. That part of the inscription which is quoted above has been claimed as metrical, containing three short verses with alliteration.[2] One might reasonably ask those who make this doubtful claim why the writer of the runes should use prose for

[1] The numbers here all refer to Noreen.

[2] Cf. A. Heusler, *op. cit.*, p. 86, n. 1, and also p. 245; cf. also Johannesson, No. 72.

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the first part and then adopt metrical form for the second, especially since the second part is just as prosaic in respect to content as the first. There is good reason for believing that what has been mistaken for early attempts at verse is nothing but a conventionalized inscriptional form which can be found with slight variations in many of the inscriptions, e.g., *afatr hariwulafa hāþuwulafR heruwulafiR warait runaR þaiaR* (Noreen, 31), *heldaR kunimundiu wurte runoR* . . . . (Noreen, 73), *ek irilaR hroRaR hroReR orte þat aRina ubt aliafu* (Noreen, 7), *ek hlewagastiR* . . . . *tawido* (Noreen, 25), and others. However, in deference to the claims of Heusler and Johannesson we include this one in the doubtful class.

The first example (IV) in class 4, expressions connected with the use of magic, may also be called a doubtful case. The flat stone bearing the Eggjum runes in which *solu sot* . . . . *sakse* (IV) occurs was buried and a charm put upon it to prevent sacrilegious meddling as in the Stentoften and Björketorp stones. The runes of this inscription were cut at night with a sharp stone or some similar device but not with a cutting implement of metal, lest the magic potency be destroyed.[1] In *ni s solu sot uk ni sakse stain skorinn* (IV) Heusler sees a Germanic long-line, although the remainder of the inscription is prose.[2] If it is a Germanic long-line it is certainly a very irregular one, since it would have two accented syllables in the first half-line and three in the second. It is much more probable that the whole inscription, due possibly to its nature, is in rhythmic prose. Alliteration in rhythmic prose, is, however, not necessarily intentional, and in any case it is not the regulated alliteration of the later poetry. Moreover, the alliteration in *solu sot* . . . . *sakse* could quite easily arise from the necessity of the statement of the magic charm and the conditions under which the runes were cut.

According to Schröder, the expression *lina laukaR* (VII) can be traced back to a religious ritualistic formula.[3] The last word of the inscription *alu* ("amulet") has magical significance. In *laukaR alu* (Noreen, 61) we have *laukaR* used in a similar way but with no at-

[1] Cf. F. R. Schröder, *G. R. Monatschrift*, X (1922), 10.

[2] Heusler, *op. cit.*, p. 86, n. 1.

[3] Cf. Schröder, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–10. Schröder connects the formula with the ritual of the *Pferdephallos* worship.

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tempt at alliteration. It would appear, then, as if the words *lina* and *laukaR* owe their use to certain ritualistic customs which fixed them in traditional use, and consequently were not chosen for alliterative purposes. In *ga ga ga* (XIII), an abbreviation for *gibu auja*, we have formulistic repetition for magical purposes, in other words, part of the hocus-pocus of the charm. Whatever the reason for the repetition in certain charms and magical incantations may be, it would be difficult to establish the claim that it had its origin in conscious alliteration. *Runo raginakundo* (XIV) is another expression based upon magic belief and practice.[1] In *auja alawin auja alawin auja alawin ja alawid* (XX) the repetition is obviously designed to secure the potency of the charm. The rhythm is the inevitable result of the repetition of *auja alawin*, which is repeated for magical purposes. From this results the alliteration. This can scarcely be called a conscious use of alliteration, however, since magic potency is the cause of the repetition of *auja* and since *alawin* and *alawid* were certainly not chosen because they begin with a vowel.

In *wate hali hino horna hahaska þi haþu ligi* (XXII) we have an inscription which is undoubtedly metrical in form, although it is not a Germanic long-line. It is probably an *Arbeitslied;*[2] hence the characteristic movement, possibly representing one of the oldest of metrical forms. The inscription is written on a whetstone and was supposed to have a magic potency.[3] The potency of the charm rests upon two factors, namely, the mention of certain definite things intimately associated with the desired result, *hali hahaska, horna, haþu*, and the rhythmic movement which seems to suggest the actual use of the whetstone on the scythe or sickle. It is reasonable to assume that in a popular charm things will be called by their common names rather than by unusual, archaic, or literary names. Now the things which have to be mentioned in order to insure the potency of the charm all have names which begin with the same consonant. Under such circumstances it is difficult to see how a good case for the intentional use of alliteration can be established. It is much more probable that the alliteration is the result of the necessities of magic formulation. The form of this and similar charms, arising as it does from the rhyth-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 14. [2] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 12. [3] Cf. *ibid.*

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mic movement of the task performed, can scarcely be classed as sophisticated, which makes it all the more improbable that the alliteration was the result of conscious art. However, let us class it as a doubtful case.

We now come to the last inscription in this class, the larger Nordendorf clasp. The inscription which is written on the reverse side of the ornament is in two parts. The first part is *ero þa gol wodan wigi þonar* in three lines on the right half of the surface; the second part is *awa leub wigie*, written across the top on the left, apparently in a different hand and certainly an addition to the first part, since the runes, which are large and somewhat crudely formed, are crowded together toward the end. The last part, then, being a later addition, can be disregarded. Feist claims that *wigi þonar* was a magic formula and gives other examples of its use.[1] The claim for alliteration then rests upon the use of the word *wodan* which Feist interprets as meaning "Zauberspruch," a transference of the name of the chief magician to the name of the thing. That this was done intentionally for the sake of alliteration in an otherwise unmetrical inscription is possible but very improbable.

We have remaining the two cases in class 5: *fiskr* . . . . *fokl* (IV) and *arbija* . . . . *arbijano* (XXVI). If the name Ormar is hidden in the words *fiskr* and *fokl*, there can be no question of conscious alliteration, since the words were chosen because association of ideas connected with them would give the word *Ormare* (dat. of Ormar) and for this reason alone. There is nothing about *arbija* . . . . *arbijano* which requires discussion. It is *figura etymologica* in many languages, and as an isolated case cannot be claimed as an indication of conscious alliteration.

The Anglo-Saxon runic inscriptions need not concern us. They either contain no alliteration or are under the influence of the literary verse. Some of the later Scandinavian inscriptions are written in the same style as the earlier ones; some of them are partly in prose and partly in alliterative verse of the Northern variety. Clearly literary influences were beginning to change the style of the inscriptions. It

[1] Cf. *Zs. f. d. Phil.*, XLIX, 8, n. 1. Feist claims that the inscription is of Anglo-Frisian or Northern origin.

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is, however, very significant that the older style continued in part to maintain itself, even at a time when we can reasonably suppose Scaldic poetry to have been in a most flourishing condition. In such matters tradition is very tenacious.

Of the many runic inscriptions in Scandinavia, Continental Europe, and England[1] only twenty-nine can have any bearing upon the problem of the origin of alliteration in Germanic verse. Of these twenty-nine, twenty-one do not contain evidence of conscious alliteration. There are eight doubtful cases. These are:

I. ek . . . . hroRaR. . . . . orte þat aRina ubt alaifu [see above, p. 404]
II. hnabudas hlaiwa [see above, p. 401]
IV. . . . . ni s solu sot uk ni sakse stain skorinn [see above, p. 405]
IX. ek hlewagastiR holtijaR horna tawido [see above, p. 402]
XVII. swabaharjaR sairawidaR . . . . [see above, p. 403]
XXII. wate hali hino horna hahaska þi haþu ligi [see above, p. 406]
XXVI. ek wiwaR after woduride witandahalaiban worahto runoR [see above, p. 404]
XXIX. ero þa gol wodan wigi þonaR [see above, p. 407]

In time these are distributed all the way from the end of the fifth century to the beginning of the eighth. They have no common metrical principle. No evidence can be obtained from them which would lead to the establishment of any general alliterative practice. Furthermore, not one of these eight inscriptions presents indubitable intentional alliteration.

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[1] Noreen lists ninety-five Old Norse inscriptions. R. Henning, *Die Deutschen Runendenkmäler* (Strassburg, 1889), gives sixteen. Later discoveries can be found in A. Götze, *Die altthüringischen Funde von Weimar* (Berlin, 1912). For the large number of English runic inscriptions see Stephens, *Old Northern Runic Monuments;* Sweet, *Oldest English Texts* (1885); W. Viëtor, *Die Northumbrischen Runensteine* (Marburg, 1895), and *Das Angelsächsische Runenkästchen* (Marburg, 1901).

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DRYDEN VERSUS SETTLE

The rage of John Dryden against Elkanah Settle, at this distance, remains an unexplained mystery. We may perhaps comprehend why Shadwell should have been considered worthy to be pilloried immortally as *Og*, but the animus with which the laureate imprisoned the pitiful head of *Doeg* passes understanding. The truth of the matter is that steadily from 1673, when Dryden sent his first blow against *The Empress of Morocco*, until 1682, when the second part of *Absalom and Achitophel* delivered the final coup de grâce, Settle was by all odds the most potent adversary in Dryden's field, and one whom the witty age considered entirely worthy of his mettle. That this has escaped notice is due chiefly to the fact that three of Settle's most sprightly satirical offspring have had other authorship fathered upon them, where, in each case, the recipient seems to have been well contented to pick up the waif and rear it as his own.

The battle of the poets had its rise in the controversy of 1673, which seethed for a time around Settle's *Empress of Morocco*. The success of this tragedy had so discomposed the rival playwrights that an ill-assorted junta of Dryden, Shadwell, and Crowne was formed for the attack. They hardly achieved their purpose, in the judgment of the town, and thus for a while Settle rested upon a well-deserved victory. From 1673 until 1681 there was supposedly a truce, after which the battle was renewed. It may be granted that Settle's *Absalom Senior* of 1682, with its recollection of certain shady spots in Dryden's career, justified much of the vehemence of the answer in the second part of *Absalom and Achitophel;* nevertheless there remains a residue in the portraiture of *Doeg* still to be explained. This paper is the account of an uninterrupted warfare of nearly ten years' duration, which finally had its great climax in an outstanding masterpiece of English satire.

Early in 1677 there circulated among the coffee-houses a satirical *Tryal of the Poets for the Bays*, called elsewhere after the generic title of such ephemera, *The Session of the Poets*. The earliest reference to this endlessly quoted poem seems to be in the correspondence of

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Henry Savile and John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester. Savile had written under date of November 1, 1677, of a libel sent lately by post to Will's and judged by its excellence to have been composed at Woodstock. Without specifically denying that he was the author, Rochester had answered: "For *the Libell* you speak of, upon that *most unworthy Generation the present* Poets, I rejoice in it with all my Heart, and shall take it for a Favour, if you will send me a *Copy*. He cannot want Wit utterly, that *has a Spleen to those Rogues*, though never so dully express'd."[1]

Thus we see *The Session of the Poets* in its first search for a father. Subsequent generations have used it as the unstable foundation for most of Rochester's relations to the other poets, but at the time the aggrieved playwrights were not slow in guessing the true author. When, after a passage of some six years, the Tories found it convenient to exhume the past of Elkanah, they recalled how "Captain" Otway, "a Man of the Sword as well as the Pen, finding himself most coarsly dealt withal had immediately call'd [Settle] to account, and required the satisfaction of a Gentleman from him." After some preliminaries, Elkanah "presently took *Pen, Ink*, and *Paper* out of his Pocket, [and] writ these following words, (viz) *I confess I Writ the* Session of the Poets, *and am very sorry fo't and am the Son of A Whore* for doing it; Witness my hand E.S."[2] Settle himself subsequently abjured the fact, and set down the *Session of the Poets* as "an ill natured scurrilous Lampoon, written some years since, and now laid as believed at the Fathers Door, being printed amongst Lord *Rs*— Poems,"[3] yet it is to be observed that other poets noticed the scandal. Shadwell alludes to it in his *Tory Poets* (1682), Otway himself in *The Poets Complaint* (1680), where he describes the author accurately, and finally Dryden seems to point at the circumstances in his lines to *Doeg:* "For Almonds he'll cry Whore to his own Mother."[4]

[1] *Collected Works of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester* (London, 1926), p. 254. Mr. Hayward in his note to this letter endeavors to explain this as a reference to *A Satyr upon the Poets, being a Translation of the 7th Satyr of Juvenal.* The latter is printed correctly in Waller's edition of Prior's *Poems* and by internal evidence may be dated about 1688, many years after these events.

[2] *A Character of the True Blue Protestant Poet* (1682). The whole subject of this "duel" with Otway together with that of the latter with Churchill, the future Duke of Marlborough, I treated in *MLN*, XLI (February, 1926), 73–80.

[3] *A Supplement to the Narrative* (1683).

[4] *Absalom and Achitophel*, Part II, l. 729.

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Since most of this evidence is from prejudiced sources, let us examine the poem itself. It has been variously attributed to Rochester and to Buckingham. We may dispose of the latter quickly. He was notorious, in a pilfering age, for resting his wit upon collaboration, nor was this poem ascribed to him until a careless edition of 1704, when time had silenced the rival claimants. Buckingham therefore may be eliminated. As to Rochester's claim, the satire bears not the slightest resemblance to his indubitable work, such, for example, as his *Allusion to Horace, The Tenth Satire of the First Book.* It might be ruled out upon no other grounds than that Rochester was accustomed to deal almost exclusively with his peers in poetry and in birth, and not, as in this satire, with all the innumerable small-fry of Fetter Lane. The *Tryal of the Poets* moves in circles lower even than that of the laureate, tracing accurately in its orbit all the enmities and rivalries of Elkanah Settle. Dryden, Crowne, and Shadwell are the chief legatees of a venom stored up since the days of the *Empress of Morocco.* Durfey, Mrs. Behn, and Otway, the latter of whom Settle despised as the "dear zany" of Shadwell, were next in line as their associates. But of his good friend Ravenscroft, to whose plays Settle had contributed advice and on one occasion a prologue, Settle devoted only one significantly harmless line: "At last *Mamamouche* put in for a share."[1] Beyond this, perhaps the most convincing argument for Settle's authorship is in the gentleness of the poet's attack upon Settle himself. It sheds light, moreover, upon so many diverse issues that it should be quoted complete:

> Poet *Settle,* his Tryal was the next came about,
> He brought in an *Ibrahim* with the Preface torn out,[2]
> And humbly desir'd he might give no Offense;

[1] I quote from an unnoticed contemporary manuscript version in the Bodleian (Rawl. Poet 159). In all subsequent printed texts *Mamamouche* is replaced by the gibberish, *Anababaluthu.* Ravenscroft was author of *Mamamouche* (1675). Incidentally the next line following seems to clarify the disputed authorship of the popular comedy of *Tom Essence* (1677): "And little *Tom Essence's* Author was there." Hazlitt contended that Ravenscroft was likewise author of this play, but the "and" seems to set aside his authorship. On the authority of Langbaine (art., "Rawlins"), the play generally has been assigned to Thomas Rawlins. Langbaine, however, merely described the author as "a Mr. Rawlins." All the persons of *The Tryal of the Poets* were distinctly alive in 1677 whereas Thomas Rawlins, the engraver and playwright, as certainly died in 1670. Cf. Winstanley, *Lives* (1687), p. 169.

[2] Of the several copies of the first edition of *Ibrahim* I have seen, only that of the British Museum (841.c.24) has this Preface. For the proper understanding of the relations of Settle and Shadwell it is an important document.

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Dam[n] him, cries *Shadwell*, he cannot write Sense:
And b— cry'd *Newport*, I hate that dull Rogue;[1]
Apollo considering he was not in Vogue,
Would not trust his dear Bays with so modest a Fool,
And bid the great Boy should be sent back to School.

The mildness of this simulated assault of Settle upon himself gathers interest when we recall the words of which he had once before complained. In the Preface to *Ibrahim* he sets it down that Shadwell's cry in all companies was: "*Damme* [*he*] *can't write Sence nor Grammar.*"[2]

There remains only to conclude this treatment of *The Tryal of the Poets* by orienting it with the attack upon Dryden. It was not unduly severe upon the laureate, unless in the unpardonable reference, repeated in *Absalom Senior*, to Dryden's mistress and to his rumored inclination toward priesthood:

But *Apollo* had heard the Story ith' Town
Of his quitting the *Muses*, to wear the black Gown;
And so gave him leave now his Poetry's done,
To let him turn Priest since R[eeve] is turn'd Nun.

Thus rested the battle for a period of about four years.

When Dryden returned to the attack, in November of 1681, the alignment on Parnassus was entirely reformed. Settle's forces had been strengthened by the accession of Shadwell and one Samuel Pordage, son of John Pordage of Reading, the latter an astrologer and student of Boehme. These three with the help of the Whig journalists were now the green-ribbon defenders of religious and civil liberties, and their blows, at least in the case of Shadwell and Settle, were not then subject for jest, however much time and the titles of *Og* and *Doeg* were to sink them. It was therefore to them that Shaftesbury naturally turned as edition after edition of Dryden's *Absalom*

[1] Quoted from *Buckingham's Works* (1704), a correct version. I have deleted in this line a particularly obscene exclamation that does not much concern our understanding of the poem, save that Hayward in reprinting it (*op. cit.*) utilized the imperfect text from the *State Poems* of 1697, instead of that of *Rochester's Works* (1680). Consequently, he has printed "B—cks," where I have inserted the dash. This has led him to write a long note upon the dramatist Bancks, destroying all unity of this description of "brawny" Settle. Elsewhere in his edition the misplacing of two lines in the attack upon Otway makes that whole section nonsense. A bad text and a faulty theory of authorship have led to various other errors.

[2] The likeness of these lines was observed by F. C. Brown, *Elkanah Settle* (Chicago, 1910), p. 32.

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and Achitophel disappeared from the booksellers' stalls. There had already been several half-hearted answers, when *Azaria and Hushai* appeared, published about the seventeenth of January 1681/82 and attributed by all the weight of authority to Pordage. Though it was early assigned to Settle by Anthony Wood, the ascription was questioned by Dr. Johnson, who argued that since Settle also composed *Absalom Senior*, published the sixth of April, it was somewhat unlikely that he should write twice upon the same occasion.[1] Malone verified the doubt by the discovery of Luttrell's manuscript notation that it was by Pordage.[2] This seemed to conclude the matter, despite the agreement of John Dennis and Theophilus Cibber with Wood.[3] There is extant, moreover, a stronger piece of evidence for Pordage—evidence that was very likely the basis of Luttrell's note. In the *Observator* of April 5, 1681/82 the author was definitely stated to be "Limping Pordage, a son of the Famous Familist about Reading, ... and violently suspected for the *Medal Revers'd*."

It is perhaps needless to insist, in answer to Johnson, that the two dates are not so close but that Settle, laboring as he was under an obsession, might easily have returned to the charge for a second, or even a third time. It was an age of fevered political calumny, when the presses were driven overtime to keep apace of copy. But to those disturbed overmuch by the repetition, it may be recalled that Spence had evidence that in *Absalom Senior* Settle was assisted by various hands. It has never been suggested, on the contrary, that more than one writer was concerned in the creation of *Azaria and Hushai*, and that that one was not Pordage might well rest upon the obvious inadequacy of the latter, as demonstrated in any of his unquestioned works, to handle his weapons with the skill displayed in this satire. Add the significant fact that Settle had already edited his weaker brother's first play (*Herod and Mariamne*, 1673), and we have the setting for Elkanah's shift to Pordage of his overpowerful offspring. The deed is described by the anonymous author of *The Character of a*

[1] *Lives of the Poets* (ed. Hill; London, 1905), I, 374. The various dates are those of Luttrell's MS notations.

[2] *Prose Works of John Dryden*, I, i, 160.

[3] Brown accepts Pordage without question, as do Scott, Saintsbury, and Thorn-Drury, the latter of whom sums up the matter by writing that "Wood is apt to be unreliable in his statements as to the authorship of poetical tracts; he thought *Azaria and Hushai* was written by Settle" (*RES*, I, 82).

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True Blue Protestant Poet. He states that *Azaria and Hushai* was "by the greatest part of the Town accounted" Settle's, "but since *The Illegitimate Brat* had not the Strength to Support itself, and found its deformity and weakness gave no credit to the *Vigorous Abilities* of the Father, He ('tis said) has laid it at an Impotent, Lame Mans door, who because he never had any of his own, ... gladly adopted the Bastard."

Crowne was hardly less unfavorable in his account of the transaction. There appears in his *City Politiques*, banned in June of 1682,[1] a portrait of one Craffy, who has been taken to be the composite likeness of Pordage, Shadwell, and Settle.[2] There seems, however, to be no reasonable doubt but that Craffy represents Crowne's return assault upon Settle alone. By the character description in the dramatis personae we would seem to have some allusion to Otway's unpleasant charge against the honor of Settle's mother, who in the play itself amply justified the character given her: "*Craffy* . . . . an impudent, amorous, pragmatical Fopp, that pretends to Wit and Poetry, in love with his father's Wife." In the development of this character there is a great deal that is to our purpose, of which two examples may suffice:

CRAF: A *Tory?* that's a good one, when I'm now writing an answer to Absalom and Achitophel. . . . .
POD: What do you call this Poem?
CRAF: *Azariah and Hushai.*[3]

Somewhat later in the play Crowne reverts to the subject:

CRAF: I'm now answering the Meddal.
POD: I thought as much. The Devil take thy poetry.[4]

If there had been something of Pordage in this compound, Crowne certainly would have alluded to his lameness or to the wizardry of his sire—points which were never neglected in his case. Dryden, furthermore, was too greatly injured in *Azaria and Hushai* to pass its author lightly. Whereas to *Doeg* he devoted one of his most powerful passages, to Pordage he hardly deigned the notice of a single couplet:

Some in my Speedy pace I must outrun,
As lame *Mephibosheth* the Wizard's Son. . . . .[5]

[1] Nicoll, *Restoration Drama*, p. 10 n.
[2] A. F. White, *John Crowne* (1922), p. 131.
[3] *City Politiques* (1683), p. 15.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[5] *Absalom and Achitophel*, Part II, ll. 404, 405.

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And finally that Luttrell's ascription was not correct, though justified perhaps by the casual rumor of the time, seems fairly proved by one bit of evidence that has been neglected, namely, the existence of a copy of *Azaria and Hushai* with the contemporary manuscript notation upon the title-page: "For my worthy Friend Mr. Pordage."[1]

It is needless to quote the attack upon Dryden at any great length. However, it is not quite so innocuous as some of the critics would have it. We may judge by four lines:

> Tell me, Apollo, for I cant divine,
> Why Wives he curs'd and prais'd the Concubine,
> Unless it were that he had led his life
> With a teeming matron ere she was a Wife.

Venomous as this may be, Settle nevertheless is nowhere so vituperative as Shadwell. His mud-slinging is the calculated work of the mercenary penman rather than the splenetic hatred of his fatter colleague. This comparison of the two Whigs may give some slight explanation to Dryden's effort to hide his wounds:

> Spightful he is not, though he wrote a Satyr,
> For still there goes some *thinking* to ill-Nature.[2]

In building up this legend of complete futility, Dryden nowhere wrought more happily than when he hit upon Settle's pseudonym of *Doeg*, of which not the least happy part was that Settle himself first used it, in his *Azaria and Hushai*, as an insult to the traitor Danby, who had conspired to sell his country's honor to France. Settle seems to have forgotten, in resurrecting this Edomite traitor, his own recent apostasy to the Tory cause and not to have envisaged another yet to come. The name becomes more interesting when we contemplate the ancient Hebrew meaning of *Doeg*. When he chose the name of "the fearful one," was Dryden perhaps inspired with a memory of Settle's hapless duel with Otway?

But to return to our problem of authorship. If *Azaria and Hushai* is indeed Settle's, its companion piece, *The Medal Revers'd*, which is set down on the title-page as "By the Author of Azaria and Hushai," must be counted his also. The two poems bear to each other the strongest resemblance. In the aggregate, along with those portions of

[1] P. J. Dobell, *The Literature of the Restoration* (London, 1918), p. 54.

[2] *Absalom and Achitophel*, Part II, ll. 421, 422.

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Absalom Senior which were by Settle's hand, there seems in them sufficient motivation for Dryden's bitterness, and to Settle is given a degree more of solidity than that of a mere figure of straw. As to the decision of the age upon the battle, we may add to Dennis' well-known testimony this less frequently quoted observation of the bookseller John Dunton:

> . . . . Mr. *Dryden* found him smart enough, and cou'd ha' wish'd himself safe out of his Hands.
>
> But, alas! after all, when I see an Ingenious Man set up for a *meer Poet*, and steer his Course through Life towards that Point of the Compass, I give him up as one *prick'd down by Fate*, for misery and misfortune.[1]

While Settle himself, a promising man gone wrong, in after-years meditated gloomily upon his misspent powers and put the blame more properly where it belonged: "Alas I was grown weary of my little Talent in Innocent Dramaticks, and forsooth must be rambling into Politicks; and much I have got by't, for, I thank 'em, they have undone me. . . . ."[2]

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[1] *Life and Errors* (London, 1705), p. 243.

[2] *Distress'd Innocence* (1691), Preface.

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DRYDEN, HOBBES, AND THE ROYAL SOCIETY

When students of Dryden have encountered the problem of his relation to the Royal Society and the new science, they have generally passed by on the other side. They have, of course, included in their biographical narratives the fact that he was chosen a member of the newly organized Society on November 19, 1662, and admitted at the next meeting, November 26; but with no significance attached except that Dryden must at this time have enjoyed the social status of a gentleman.[1] As to any intellectual sympathy with the new movement, comment has been meager and conflicting; Christie declares that Dryden "had no accurate knowledge" of science, whereas Scott, more generously but equally without documentation, says that "Dryden, who through life was attached to experimental philosophy, speedily associated himself with those who took interest in its progress." In an elaborate study of the new science in relation to literature,[2] Mr. Carson S. Duncan has been cursory, but severe, in his treatment of Dryden. Although he found that the poet had introduced here and there some imagery derived from science—thus obeying, says Mr. Duncan, "the injunction of Bishop Sprat"[3]—yet he found also imagery drawn from such sources as astrology or the Ptolemaic astronomy. "From all which," concluded Mr. Duncan, "it follows that Dryden was not deeply impressed with the new philosophy. It seems never to have occurred to him that it was a serious matter to know the truth about nature, or at least to be consistent about its representation." "Dryden was practically unaffected by the new intellectual impulse."[4] As to the sources of his poetic imagery, Dryden went all his life both to the new and the old science. But he would

[1] Malone, *Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden*, I (1800), 49–50; Scott, *Life of Dryden*, in *Works* of Dryden (ed. Scott and Saintsbury), I, 46–47; W. D. Christie, "Memoir" in Globe edition of *Poetical Works*, p. xxv; J. Churton Collins, *Essays and Studies* (1895), p. 18. Saintsbury, in his volume in the "English Men of Letters Series," does not even mention Dryden's membership in the Royal Society.

[2] *The New Science and English Literature in the Classical Period* (Menasha, Wis., 1913).

[3] See Sprat, *History of the Royal Society*, Part III, sec. xxxv (2d ed., 1702), pp. 413–19.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 43–45 and 179.

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probably have defended the latter as he does the supernatural in poetry, by an appeal to folk-lore. "It is enough that, in all ages and religions, the greatest part of mankind has believed the power of magic, and that there are spirits or spectres which have appeared. This, I say, is foundation enough for poetry."[1] Without raising further, therefore, the question of Dryden's knowledge of science as shown in his metaphors and similes, this paper will approach more directly the larger question whether or not "Dryden was practically unaffected by the new intellectual impulse," or whether he at least possessed any characteristic attitudes or ideas which might indicate sympathetic interest in the Royal Society and the new science.

I

First of all, there are two common errors to be avoided in defining the intellectual impulse of the new science. One is to describe the new science as mainly Baconian in nature, as merely collection and classification of specimens. Bacon's prestige with the Royal Society and his great influence in fostering the inductive method must of course be admitted. The scientists of the seventeenth century were his disciples in their respect for facts and their suspicion of hasty generalization; the gentlemen *virtuosi* collected rarities with truly Baconian zeal. But the most significant element of the new science was not to be found in these collectors' cabinets, so frequently ridiculed in the literature of the time; neither is it to be found in the works of Bacon. The new philosophy of science, or, as it was then called, the "new philosophy of motion," was the result of the application of mathematics to physics and astronomy; and Bacon had completely ignored mathematics. "In this respect," says Whitehead, "Bacon completely missed the tonality which lay behind the success of seventeenth century science. Science was becoming, and has remained, primarily quantitative."[2]

It is also a mistake to suppose that the profoundest effect of the Copernican system upon general ideas was the shift of the center of the universe from the earth to the sun. The shock of this revelation,

[1] *Essay on Heroic Plays*, in *Works* (ed. Scott and Saintsbury), IV, 22.

[2] A. N. Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* (New York, 1925), p. 66.

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great as it had been at first, was not greatly felt in England, at least, after 1660. And during the process of popularizing the heliocentric theory, other problems of deeper and more permanent import emerged and became the real storm center. These deeper problems, again, were the result of the application of mathematics to astronomy and physics.

The development of mathematics and its triumphant application to the phenomena of motion constitutes undoubtedly one of the greatest revolutions in the history of thought. It has so completely permeated even the "common sense" view of the world of the average modern man that only by effort can we understand the conception of motion which preceded it. The medieval interpretation was animistic. The Middle Ages asked the question, "*Why* do bodies move?" And their answer was that they move because they have a desire to. Gravitation is due to each thing seeking its appropriate place; nature abhors a vacuum; Kepler, in his *Mysterium cosmographicum* (1597), explained that planets move because they have "moving souls" (*animae motrices*);[1] Gilbert described the magnetic force he had discovered as "of the nature of soul, surpassing the soul of man"; Harvey believed that the motion of the heart and blood is due to "innate heat," which is not fire nor derived from fire; and the blood, he said, is not occupied by a spirit, but is a spirit, "celestial in nature, the soul, that which answers to the essence of the stars . . . . is something analogous to heaven, the instrument of heaven."[2] Medieval thought sought for the essence of motion as an answer to the question why bodies move. As a matter of fact, the new science of the seventeenth century did not answer this question, but only deprived it of its interest. The new science demonstrated that all motion is regular and mathematically measurable, and thenceforth the real question became, "*How* do bodies move?" Thus Kepler, after many years of astronomical calculations, ultimately rejected his "moving souls" as unnecessary. The seventeenth century, as a period in the development of thought, is particularly notable for its many geniuses in the related fields of mathematics, physics, and astronomy, who by a vast cooperative effort added stone to stone in this new philosophic structure,

[1] Höffding, *History of Modern Philosophy* (London, 1900), I, 168–69.

[2] T. C. Albutt, *Science and Medieval Thought* (London, 1901), pp. 41 ff.

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until Newton completed it, a new universe of cause and effect, a vast machine, whose every mystery must be amenable to the laws of mathematics.[1]

Thus arose in a new and much more perplexing and dangerous form the ancient problem of materialism. Even Descartes felt constrained to regard living organisms as machines, although he of course admitted that man has also a "rational soul," and thus established the famous and influential Cartesian dualism. But there were many who accepted the mechanical theory without adding to it this idealistic superstructure which contradicted it. Hence the great popularity in the seventeenth century of the atomistic philosophy of Democritus, Epicurus, and Lucretius, who not only affected the general tone of sophisticated society by stimulating "libertine" thought, but influenced as well the new science.[2] The French philosopher Gassendi combined ancient atomism with the new science of his own day, thereby preparing for Newton's rejection of the vortex theory of Descartes and the foundation of modern atomism. Voltaire, in his *Elements of the Philosophy of Newton*, pointed out, probably not without some malicious satisfaction, the great prestige and importance, in the eyes of the pious Newton, of the materialistic ancient atheists and their modern disciple:

> Newton suivait les anciennes opinions de Démocrite, d'Epicure et d'une foule de philosophes rectifiées par notre célèbre Gassendi. Newton a dit plusiers fois à quelques françois qui vivent encore, qu'il regardait Gassendi comme un esprit très juste et très sage, et qu'il ferait gloire d'être entièrement de son avis dans toutes les choses dont on vient de parler.[3]

As for the materialistic implications of the new science, however, they were much more hospitably received among lay gentlemen, such as cultivated the gay cynicism of "libertine" thought, than among professional men of science. On the other hand, those members of the

[1] See W. Whewell, *History of the Inductive Sciences* (London, 1837), and *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences* (London, 1840); E. A. Burtt, *The Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science* (1925), with Bibliography; A. J. Snow, *Matter and Gravity in Newton's Physical Philosophy* (1926), with Bibliography; also the volumes by Albutt and Whitehead referred to above.

[2] See Lange, *History of Materialism* (Eng. trans.; Boston, 1877); Kurd Lasswitz, *Geschichte der Atomistik* (Hamburg, 1890); L. Mabilleau, *Histoire de la philosophie atomistique* (Paris, 1895).

[3] Quoted by Lange, *op. cit.*, I, 267, n. 12. Gassendi was not in fact an atheist, but outside of scientific circles he was regarded with suspicion and the "libertines" appealed to his authority.

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Royal Society who were doing significant scientific work were also pious men who held dear that religious and idealistic tradition which their scientific work was putting on the defensive. From this dilemma sprang much of the characteristic thought not only of the seventeenth century, but of the modern era. As Whitehead says, "The history of thought in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is governed by the fact that the world had got hold of a general idea which it could neither live with nor live without."[1] But the apologetics of the Royal Society will be understood better if we first consider Hobbes, the most distinguished and the most uncompromising of the contemporary adherents of the dreaded materialism.

II

The mental history of Hobbes is typical of the mathematical and physical preoccupations of the seventeenth century. His philosophical awakening came at the age of forty, when he accidentally opened a book of Euclid and became enchanted by the certainty of mathematical demonstration. Along with Euclid he studied Galileo, from whom, it appears, he derived his fundamental mechanical theory, which he proceeded to apply both to the world and to man.[2] Science is the study of causes, but all causes are ultimately reducible to motion. A complete science should begin with a study of simple motions, then proceed to more complex motions in geometry, thence to physics, until we reach the most complex motions in "moral philosophy, in which we are to consider the motions of the mind . . . . what causes they have, and of what they be causes."[3] To complete his scheme, Hobbes also insisted that the soul is material, a sort of thin, filmy substance, which could thus be assumed to be a part of the mechanical world. The customary theological definition of soul as "incorporeal substance" he ridiculed as meaningless. The soul, he said, has dimension as the body has, though he admitted it has no color. In response to his theological critics, Hobbes declared himself willing to accept on faith such incomprehensible beings as God and the angels,

[1] Whitehead, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

[2] W. R. Sorley, *History of English Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 49–50. But this early indebtedness to Galileo has been questioned by Frithiof Brandt, *Den Mekaniske Naturopfattelse hos Thomas Hobbes* (Copenhagen, 1921), pp. 72–81.

[3] *Elements of Philosophy*, Part I, chap. vi, especially secs. 5 and 6, in *English Works* (ed. Molesworth), I, 131–32.

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though he suggested with fine irony that "the Scripture favoureth them more, that hold angels and spirits corporeal, than them that hold the contrary."[1]

In spite of this thoroughgoing mechanistic view of the world, Hobbes always professed himself a Christian and a submissive adherent of the Church of England as by law established. Obedience to authority, he said, is the cardinal virtue in political and ecclesiastical matters. But it was well understood already by his contemporaries that under this outward acceptance of Christianity he attempted to conceal a nature in which the religious instincts remained undeveloped. His reaction was significant when early in his philosophical career he was asked for comments on Descartes' *Discours*. His own mechanical and materialistic philosophy was already definitely formulated, and he opposed it to the idealism of Descartes. His manner was as tart as his reasoning keen; he reduced the whole spiritualistic philosophy to corporeal motion, "et ainsi l'esprit ne sera rien autre chose qu'un mouvement en certaines parties du corps organique."[2] As both men were irritated by their mutual lack of sympathy, their relations never passed beyond an acquaintance. And the philosophy of Descartes, which had so much in common with Plato, Augustine, and Anselm, became for half a century in England one of the most trusted modes of escape from Hobbism and materialism, especially among the Cambridge Platonists and the members of the Royal Society.

For Hobbism spread rapidly, and after 1650 the philosopher of Malmesbury, already past sixty, became for nearly thirty years more the center of a storm of controversy which reverberated throughout Europe. That he had many friends and disciples is certain, although some of the names in the long list given by his friend John Aubrey are open to suspicion.[3] His popularity with Charles II and the court was a thorn in the side of his enemies, though it does not appear to have rested entirely on a philosophical basis:

Order was given that he should have free accesse to his majesty, who was always much delighted in his witt and smart repartees. The witts at Court

[1] *Human Nature*, chap. xi, secs. 2–5; *ed. cit.*, IV, 59–62.

[2] Descartes, *Troisièmes objections contre les Méditations*, in *Œuvres* (ed. Simon), pp. 198–99.

[3] *Brief Lives* (ed. A. Clark; Oxford, 1898), I, 365–72.

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were wont to bayte him. But he feared none of them, and would make his part good. The king would call him *the beare:* "Here comes the beare to be bayted!"[1]

But he enjoyed also the friendship and esteem of such men of letters as Davenant and Waller, and even of Cowley, a member of the Royal Society.[2] On the whole, however, his disciples seem to have been more ready to talk than to write, and his great vogue is best apparent from the number, the seriousness, and the persistence of his opponents.

Hobbes fought indeed alone against all the leading thinkers of his time. Already in 1645 he had entered upon a long controversy with Bishop Bramhall on free-will and necessitarianism.[3] The Cambridge Platonists attacked from various points of view the "mechanic" philosophy of Hobbes. Of these the most important were Ralph Cudworth and Henry More, both of them members of the Royal Society and both declared adherents of the new science. More had said already in 1647 that "it is plain to any man that is not prejudic'd" that Galileo's "System of the world is more naturall & genuine than that of Tycho's."[4] Cudworth objected only to a materialistic interpretation of the new science. Imbued with the notion that truth is purest at its source in antiquity, he sought there for a truer philosophy. In his erudite work, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (1678), he distinguished between the ancient theistic and atheistic atomisms, the former of which he believed to be derived from Moses. From such heights of learning he felt himself able to weigh and estimate the atomistic science of his contemporaries, who were only reviving ancient doctrine, "and that with no small pomp and ostentation of wisdom and philosophy."

Though directing their polemics especially against Hobbes, both More and Cudworth, significantly, approved of Descartes, even

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 340. This story is told in a quite different manner by Sorbière: "Il a fait peur je ne sçay comment au Clergé de son pays, aux Mathematiciens d'Oxfordt, & à leurs adherants; c'est pourquoy S[a] M[ajesté] me le compara tres-bien à l'ours, contre lequel il falt battre les dogues pour les exercer" (*Relation d'un Voyage en Angleterre* [Cologne, 1666], p. 76).

[2] Cowley's ode to Hobbes was published before the Royal Society was founded, but there is nothing to indicate that he did not to the end continue to admire both the opposing parties.

[3] A controversy discussed and deservedly emphasized as "of great importance in the history of seventeenth-century thought" by Marjorie H. Nicolson, "Milton and Hobbes," *Studies in Philology*, XXIII (1926), 409.

[4] *Philosophical Poems* (Cambridge, 1647), p. 390.

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though with some reservations. In the Preface to his treatise on *The Immortality of the Soul*, a treatise refuting Hobbes's doctrine that the soul is material,[1] More declares that he thinks

it is the most sober and faithful advice that can be offered to the Christian World, that they would encourage the reading of Des-Cartes in all publick Schools and Universities. That the Students of Philosophy may be thoroughly exercised in the just extent of the *Mechanical powers of Matter*, how farre they will reach, and where they fall short. Which will be the best assistance to Religion that Reason and the Knowledge of Nature can afford. For by this means such as are intended to serve the Church will be armed betimes with sufficient strength to grapple with their proudest Deriders or Opposers. Whenas for want of this, we see how liable they are to be contemned and born down by every bold, though weak, pretender to the *Mechanick* Philosophy.[2]

Cudworth gives Descartes the high praise of having revived the right kind, the theistic atomism of Moschus, whom Cudworth identified with Moses.

For *Renatus Cartesius* first revived and restored the atomick philosophy, agreeably, for the most part, to that ancient Moschical and Pythagorick form; acknowledging besides extended substance and corporeal atoms, another cogitative incorporeal substance, and joyning metaphysicks or theology, together with physiology, to make up one entire system of philosophy.

But he unreservedly condemns Hobbes, though not naming him:

But shortly after this *Cartesian* restitution of the primitive atomology, that acknowledgeth incorporeal substance, we have had our *Leucippus* and *Democritus* too, who also revived and brought upon the stage that other atheistick atomology, that makes *senseless and lifeless atoms to be the only principles of all things in the universe;* thereby necessarily excluding, besides incorporeal substance and immortality of souls, a Deity and natural morality; as also making all actions and events materially and mechanically necessary.[3]

These attempts to read Hobbes out of the new scientific movement did not, however, draw him into controversy, any more than did the sermons and pamphlets of "every young Churchman militant," who, as Warburton says, "would needs try his arms in thundering upon Hobbes' steel-cap." But the members of the Royal Society penetrated his armor, stirred him to counterattack, and in mathematics and physics won a whole series of easy victories, each of which

[1] *Op. cit.* (London, 1662), chaps. viii–xii, pp. 34–49.

[2] *Ibid.*, Preface.

[3] *True Intellectual System* (London, 1743), Book I, chap. iii, sec. 38, pp. 174–75.

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seems to have left Hobbes more sore and obstinate than enlightened. He was indeed constantly on the wrong side of scientific questions; he was incompetent enough as a mathematician to try to demonstrate the quadrature of the circle; he rashly contradicted Boyle on the nature of the vacuum. Both as scientist and mathematician he had been discredited in discerning circles even before 1660.[1] It was his reputation and influence with the larger public that made a continued polemic against him necessary. The situation was especially delicate because the royal patron of the new science also showed a marked partiality for this charlatanical but dreaded enemy of the scientists.[2] And though dangerous as an enemy, Hobbes would have been far more insidiously dangerous as a friend and member of the Royal Society. The leaders of the new scientific movement could never have admitted the modern Democritus to their ranks without endangering their cause. Their most subtle and persistent difficulty was to explain to the public the difference between the Hobbists and the members of the Royal Society; to explain how these Christian scientists could accept the new philosophy of motion and yet escape an atheistic materialism.

III

The Royal Society had of course enemies of all kinds. They alienated many churchmen and scholars by attacking the Aristotelian scholasticism which still dominated the universities. Here the Royal Society had to contend with a powerful vested interest, and they fought it vigorously and openly. But they suffered even more from the suspicion that they were undermining religion. Sprat, in his *History of the Royal Society* (1667), approaches this subject with the statement that it is "the weightiest and most solemn part of my whole *undertaking;* to make a defense of the *Royal Society*, and this new

[1] See the correspondence of Christian Huygens, in *Œuvres Complètes* (La Haye, 1888 ff.); especially the letters from Huygens to J. Wallis, March 15, 1656 (Vol. I, No. 272); and from Huygens to R. Moray, November 4, 1661 (Vol. III, No. 916): "Dans le Dialogue de Monsieur Hobbes je ne trouve rien de solide, mais seulement de pures visions. C'est par faute d'esprit ou par ce qu'il se plait à contredire qu'il ne recoit pas les veritables raisons des effets du vide, qui sont dans le liure de Monsieur Boile. Quand a ce qu'il adjouste de la duplication du cube, je ne l'ay pas voulu regarder par ce que je scay demonstratiuement que la chose est impossible. Et d'ailleurs il y a long temps qu'en matiere de Geometrie Monsieur Hobbes a perdu tout credit aupres du moy."

[2] *Ibid.*, letters from Moray to Huygens, September 13 and October 19, 1661 (Vol. III, Nos. 893 and 909). According to Sorbière, Charles II would have liked to have Hobbes elected to the Royal Society (*Relation* [*ed. cit.*], p. 75).

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Experimental Learning, in respect to the *Christian Faith*. I am not ignorant, in what a slippery place I now stand; and what a tender matter I am enter'd upon."[1]

Sprat's discussion of the matter is eminently tactful, and also somewhat evasive. There is none of the direct attack on Hobbes found in More and Cudworth. The facts about the situation are more easily gathered from Boyle. This recognized great champion of both religion and science[2] was also one of the chief antagonists, along with Wallis and Ward, of Hobbes, to whom his references are frequent and explicit. In the Preface to *An Examen of Mr. T. Hobbes his Dialogus Physicus de Natura Aeris* (1662) he says he is writing to defend the experimental method which Hobbes scorned. He adds:

It was also suggested to me that the dangerous opinions about some important, if not fundamental, articles of religion, I had met with in his *Leviathan*, and some other of his writings, having made too great impressions upon divers persons, (who, though said to be for the most part either of greater quality, or of greater wit than learning, do yet divers of them deserve better principles,) these errors being chiefly recommended by the opinion they had of Mr. *Hobbes's* demonstrative way of philosophy; it might possibly prove some service to higher truths than those in controversy between him and me, to shew, that in the Physics themselves, his opinions, and even his ratiocinations, have no such great advantage over those, of some orthodox Christian Naturalists.[3]

In his *Usefulness of Natural Philosophy* (1663) he objects that

it has long been the custom of such men [i.e., atheists], to talk, as if themselves, and those of their mind, were not alone the best, but almost the only naturalists; and to perplex others with pretending, that, whereas it is not conceivable, how there can be a God; all things are by the principles of the atomical philosophy, made clear and facil.[4]

In the second part of this work (1671) he says:

I forget not that there are several divines (and some of the eminent ones) that out of a holy jealousy (as they think) for religion, labour to deter men from addicting themselves to serious and thorough inquiries into nature, as

[1] *History* (*ed. cit.*), Part III, sec. xiv, p. 345.

[2] Stillingfleet, in a letter of October 6, 1662, urged Boyle to publish his papers on behalf of Christianity against Hobbes. See Boyle, *Works*, V (1744), 516. See also letters from Peter du Moulin, December 28, 1669 (V, 594); from J. Beale, June 26, 1682 (V, 505); from Cudworth, October 16, 1684 (V, 549)—all indicative of the way Boyle was relied on to save the day.

[3] *Works*, I, 119.

[4] *Usefulness of Natural Philosophy*, Part I, Essay 5, in *Works*, I, 459.

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from a study unsafe for a Christian, and likely to end in atheism, by making it possible for men (that I may propose to you their objection as much to its advantage as I can) to give themselves such an account of all the wonders of nature, by the single knowledge of second causes, as may bring them to disbelieve the necessity of a first.[1]

In 1675 Boyle writes that whereas atheists had formerly been in the habit of attacking the historical and doctrinal parts of Christian theology, they in this age attacked the very notion of God and religion. "For these libertines own themselves to be so upon the account of the Epicurean, and other mechanical principles of philosophy"; and, he adds, they recognize no authorities except such as "Leucippus, Democritus, Epicurus, &c.," who "explicate things by matter and local motion."[2] "*The modern Atheists*," wrote Rev. Joseph Glanvill, another member of the Royal Society, "are pretenders to the *mechanick* principles . . . . the *modern Sadduce* pretends that all things we *do*, are performed by *meer matter*, and *motion*, and consequently that there is no such thing as an *immaterial* being."[3] Obviously, the scientists of the Royal Society, even though they themselves may have been secure from the charge of atheism, could hardly escape the charge of cultivating a philosophy which led to atheism in others. How did they defend themselves against this charge?

Officially they did nothing. Officially the Royal Society, as Sprat says, "is abundantly cautious, not to intermeddle in *Spiritual things*," and such subjects as God and the soul were not discussed at their meetings.[4] Nevertheless, there was considerable unanimity of opinion among the members. It is well known that Descartes was respected

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 429–30. Meric Casaubon, no friend to the new science, had expressed this objection in *A Letter . . . . to Peter du Moulin . . . . Concerning Natural experimental Philosophie, and some books lately set out about it* (Cambridge, 1669). After a lengthy attack on the presumption of the new science, he continues (p. 30): "Now I crave leave to tell you, that it is (as all good things, more or less) very apt to be abused and to degenerate into *Atheism*. Men that are much fixed upon matter and secondary causes and sensual objects, if great care be not taken, may in time, (there be many examples) and by degrees forget that there be such things in the world as *Spirits*, substances really existing and of great power, though not visible, or palpable by their nature; forget I say, that there is a God, and that their souls are immortal." In this same year Dr. du Moulin, who was like Casaubon a prebendary of Canterbury, saw his Latin poem in praise of the Royal Society suppressed by the licenser, Dr. Gunning, later Bishop of Ely. See Boyle's *Works*, I, 60, and V, 594.

[2] Preface to *Some Considerations about the Reconcileableness of Reason and Religion* (*ed. cit.*), III, 510.

[3] *Philosophia Pia* (1671), pp. 23, 32.

[4] *History* (*ed. cit.*), Part III, sec. xiv, and Part II, sec. xi, pp. 83 and 347.

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by them as a philosophical as well as a scientific genius. Through the Royal Society as well as through the Cambridge Platonists, Cartesianism became a very important element in English idealistic thought in that century. But the members of the Royal Society adopted also another mode of defense against materialism, namely, a critique of the very science they were promoting, a critique which varied all the way from timidity in generalization to philosophical skepticism.

Sprat testifies to the extreme caution of the Society from its very inception. Their motto *Nullius in Verba* was a hit at the tyranny of scholasticism, but it soon became apparent that the tyranny of Epicurus or Democritus, or of any "modern dogmatists," would be equally unwelcome.[1] In fact, no philosopher was accorded the seat of authority, not even Descartes. Companies, Sprat says repeatedly, are to be preferred before single endeavors in philosophical matters, as "exhibiting more wariness, and coldness in thinking, and rigorous examination." Altogether Sprat fears that "to this fault of *Sceptical doubting*, the *Royal Society* may perhaps be suspected, to be a little too much inclin'd: because they always professed, to be so backward from *setling* of *Principles*, or *fixing* upon *Doctrines*." To which Sprat replies that generalizing is for the future, and in the mean time dogmatism is more dangerous than skepticism.[2]

Among the workers in the Royal Society, no one was more wary and cold in scientific thinking, more reluctant to dogmatize from the new science, than Robert Boyle. It is therefore particularly important to note that he cultivated this critical, not to say skeptical, attitude toward science with a conscious intent to serve religion. In his *Excellence of Theology* (1673), Part II, section 3, he criticizes the belief that physics has one prerogative over divinity, namely, "the certainty, and clearness, and thence resulting satisfactoriness of our knowledge of physical, in comparison of any we can have of theological matters, whose being dark and uncertain, the nature of the things themselves, and the numerous controversies of differing sects about them, sufficiently manifest." In reply Boyle does not urge the certainty of divinity, but the real uncertainty of science.

That physical certainty, [he says] which is pretended for the truths demonstrated by naturalists, is, even where it is rightfully claimed, but an inferior

[1] *History* (*ed. cit.*), Part I, secs. xiii–xv, pp. 28–35. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 100–109.

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kind or degree of certainty, as moral certainty also is. For even physical demonstrations can beget but a physical certainty, (that is, a certainty upon supposition, that the principles of physic be true,) not a metaphysical certainty, (wherein it is absolutely impossible, that the thing believed should be other than true). . . . . And there are I know not how many things in physicks, that men presume they believe upon physical and cogent arguments, wherein they really have but a moral assurance; which is a truth held by so few, that I have been invited to take the more particular notice of them in other papers, written purposely to show the doubtfulness and incompleteness of natural philosophy; . . . . the most even of the modern virtuosi are wont to fancy more of clearness and certainty in their physical theories, than a critical examiner will find.[1]

Boyle, then, sought a reconciliation of the new science with religion by limiting the sphere of reason; he weakened the materialistic interpretation of the new science by emphasizing the uncertainty of science itself.

This criticism of scientific knowledge was carried still further by Joseph Glanvill, whose volume, *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* (1661), was reprinted in 1664 as *Scepsis scientifica*, with a Dedication to the Royal Society which resulted in his election to membership.[2] A passage from this Dedication will explain his purpose and its relation to Hobbes as well as to the new science. The work of the Royal Society, he says, is

the improving the minds of Men in solid and useful notices of things, helping them to such theories as may be serviceable to common life, and the searching out of the true laws of Matter and Motion, in order to the securing of the Foundations of Religion against all attempts of Mechanical Atheism.

For the ingenious World being grown quite weary of Qualities and Formes, and declaring in favour of the Mechanical Hypothesis, (to which a person that is not very fond of Religion is a great pretender) divers of the brisker Geniuses, who desire rather to be accounted Witts, then endeavour to be so, have been willing to accept Mechanism upon Hobbian conditions, and many others were in danger of following them into the precipice. So that 'tis not

[1] *Works* (*ed. cit.*), III, 432. Cf. Burtt, *op. cit.*, pp. 178–82, and Whitehead's discussion of modern science as "predominantly an anti-rationalistic movement" (p. 23). Although passages from Boyle could be patched together to make a criticism of human knowledge almost as complete as that of Glanvill, yet Nourrisson has undoubtedly exaggerated his skepticism in his essay in *Philosophies de la Nature* (Paris, 1887), pp. 43–84.

[2] On December 7, 1664, "Lord Brereton presented a book written by J. Glanvill, dedicated to the Society, the dedication of which was read. Mr. Glanvill was proposed candidate by Lord Brereton" (Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, p. 500). Glanvill was elected and admitted December 14, 1664. *Scepsis scientifica* was licensed for publication on October 18, 1664.

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conceivable how a more suitable remedy could have been provided against the deadly influence of that Contagion, then your Honourable Society, by which the meanest intellects may perceive, that Mechanick Philosophy yields no security to irreligion, and that those that would be gentilely learned and ingenious, need not purchase it, at the dear rate of being atheists.

It is impossible and unnecessary here to examine in detail the skepticism of Glanvill. We are concerned more with the occasion of his thought than with an evaluation of it. It must suffice to say that Glanvill has a place in the history of philosophy as an acute and ingenious thinker, whose critique of causation anticipates in some respects that of Hume himself. These scientific skeptics were, indeed, not naïve theorizers; they were versed in the tradition of philosophical skepticism. Boyle knew the work of Sextus Empiricus,[1] and Glanvill shows an acquaintance not only with Sextus, but with such modern disciples as Montaigne and Charron.[2] Perhaps they were also indebted to Sir Thomas Browne, although his imaginative flights and complete humiliation of the reason must have appeared to them rather too uncritical. And yet Glanvill conveyed, in rhythms that recall Browne, a sense of the mystery of the world both in its vastness and in its infinite minuteness, and of the miracle of man among all these unexplainable wonders:

Whatever I look upon within the amplitude of heaven and earth, is evidence of humane ignorance; For all things are a great darkness to us, and we are so unto our selves: The plainest things are as obscure, as the most confessedly mysterious; and the Plants we tread on, are as much above us, as the Stars and Heavens. The things that touch us are as distant from us, as the Pole; and we are as much strangers to our selves, as to the inhabitants of America.[3]

Both Glanvill and Boyle, however, refused to be identified with the extreme skeptical position that truth is unknowable.[4] They were far from intending to discourage scientific and philosophic activity. But they believed that he is least likely to go astray who is most keenly

[1] See reference in *A Free Inquiry into the received Notion of Nature*, printed in 1686, but written about 1666 (*Works* [*ed. cit.*], IV, 376 and 359).

[2] Ferris Greenslet, *Joseph Glanvill* (New York, 1900), pp. 95 ff. For references to Montaigne and Charron, see *Scepsis scientifica*, pp. 114 and 172.

[3] From "Address to the Royal Society," *Scepsis scientifica*.

[4] Boyle, *ed. cit.*, I, 374; and Glanvill, *Scire, or Reply to Albius* (1665), p. 3.

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aware of the weakness and deception of human faculties. And in "Hobbism" they saw the grand modern illustration of stiff confidence in opinion, of the vanity of dogmatizing.[1]

IV

It is now possible to return to Dryden and ask whether he was aware of the developments we have sketched. We should the more expect their influence to be noticeable because they came so largely in the period from 1660 to 1680, the very years when Dryden was equipping himself with those ideas which make his political and religious poems, as a group, a remarkable expression of the conservative temperament. *Religio Laici* and *The Hind and the Panther* constitute the *terminus ad quem* in a study of Dryden's intellectual history.[2] But for material on his development up to 1680 we have to depend quite largely on his dramas.

A valuable clue is given us in the notes collected in 1679–80 by John Aubrey toward a life of Hobbes: "Mr. John Dreyden, Poet Laureat, is his great admirer, and oftentimes makes use of his doctrine in his plays—from Mr. Dreyden himselfe."[3] And although Aubrey was too enthusiastic a friend of Hobbes to be trusted in all matters, yet this note can hardly be without foundation. Its authoritative source is confirmed by the many parallels to the doctrines of Hobbes to be found in Dryden's plays. In political thought, for instance, the monarchical absolutism of Hobbes is also the doctrine of

[1] The skeptical attitude toward science was not without influence. In 1688 Matthew Prior, then at St. John's College, Cambridge, wrote a grandiose ode *On Exod. III.* 14.—*I Am That I Am*, the theme of which is the inadequacy of reason to understand the world and the necessity of exercising faith and reverence to reach the high abode of the mysterious God who revealed himself to Moses. A few lines will show how definitely Prior applied his critique to materialistic science:

"Man does with dangerous curiosity
These unfathom'd wonders try:
With fancied rules and arbitrary laws
Matter and motion he restrains;
And studied lines and fictious circles draws:
Then with imagin'd sovereignty
Lord of his new hypothesis he reigns."

(Prior, *Poetical Works* [ed. R. B. Johnson; London, 1907], I, 23–27.) The *scepsis scientifica* has again become a familiar and important conception in the discussions of the present century, as, for instance, in Émile Boutroux, "La Religion et les limites de la science," *Science et religion* (Paris, 1908).

[2] To supplement and complete the present study, the writer is preparing parallel discussions of Dryden's relation to the political and religious controversies of his time.

[3] *Brief Lives*, I, 372. For the date of the notes see Introduction, p. 16.

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Dryden's stage creatures,[1] and must have been particularly grateful to the ears of the court audience for which Dryden wrote. And yet this resemblance alone would not be decisive proof of indebtedness; a narrow political outlook was almost inevitable in heroic drama, and is common enough in the plays of Orrery, for instance, who has hardly been suspected of an admiration for Hobbes. More conclusive, I believe, and for the purpose of this study, more important, is the frequent reference in Dryden to the dilemma of free-will and necessity—the great ethical problem raised in a new form by Hobbism. In 1664, in his Dedication of *The Rival Ladies* to Lord Orrery, he implies that free-will is a delusion:

> Here [in Orrery's plays] is no chance, which you have not foreseen; all your heroes are more than your subjects, they are your creatures; and though they seem to move freely in all the sallies of their passions, yet you make destinies for them, which they cannot shun. They are moved (if I may dare to say so) like the rational creatures of the Almighty Poet, who walk at liberty, in their own opinion, because their fetters are invisible; when, indeed, the prison of their will is the more sure for being large; and, instead of an absolute power over their actions, they have only a wretched desire of doing that, which they cannot choose but do.[2]

Almanzor, the hero of *The Conquest of Granada* (1670), is troubled by the same problem:

> O Heaven, how dark a riddle's thy decree,
> Which bounds our wills, yet seems to leave them free!
> Since thy fore-knowledge cannot be in vain,
> Our choice must be what thou didst first ordain.
> Thus, like a captive in an isle confined,
> Man walks at large, a prisoner of the mind:
> Wills all his crimes, while Heaven the indictment draws,
> And, pleading guilty, justifies the laws.[3]

[1] Mr. Merritt Y. Hughes has pointed out parallels in his article, "Dryden as Statist," *Philological Quarterly*, VI (1927), 334–50; but Mr. Hughes relied only on internal evidence, without noting either the remark of Aubrey or the contemporary accusation that Dryden got his political ideas from Hobbes, in *Censure of the Rota* (see Mark Van Doren, *The Poetry of John Dryden* [New York, 1920], p. 21).

[2] *Works* (*ed. cit.*), II, 132–33.

[3] *Conquest of Granada*, Part II, Act IV, sc. iii (*Works*, IV, 190–91).

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A sufficient number of such allusions can be found before 1680 to indicate that Dryden was interested in the subject.[1] Perhaps the most surprising expression of determinism is in *The State of Innocence* (1674), his operatic version of *Paradise Lost*, a philosophical perversion of the epic to which it is hard to believe Milton would have given his consent. In the opera the newly created Adam seems to have an innate understanding of seventeenth-century philosophy. When he first becomes conscious, he rises and speaks as a Cartesian:

> What am I? or from whence? For that I am
> I know, because I think, etc.[2]

But when Gabriel and Raphael are sent down jointly to instruct Adam in the doctrine of the freedom of the will, they find him a most reluctant and obstinate scholar.

> GABRIEL: The Eternal, when he did the world create,
> All other agents did necessitate:
> So what he ordered, they by nature do:
> Thus light things mount, and heavy downward go.
> Man only boasts an arbitrary state.
>
> ADAM: Yet causes their effects necessitate
> In willing agents; where is freedom then?
> Or who can break the chain which limits men
> To act what is unchangeably forecast,
> Since the first cause gives motion to the last?

The lengthy discussion appears to have been unsuccessful, for after his instructors have departed Adam is still lamenting his "hard state of life" in the divine disposition which has been explained to him.[3] These pages of argument read like a brief summary of the famous

[1] I have collected the following, with references to the Scott and Saintsbury edition:
Indian Queen (1664), Act II, sc. iii (II, 246)
Indian Queen (1664), Act III, sc. ii (II, 257)
The Tempest (1667), Act III, sc. v (III, 175)
Tyrannic Love (1669), Act I, sc. i (III, 389)
Tyrannic Love (1669), Act III, sc. i (III, 410)
Tyrannic Love (1669), Act IV, sc. i (III, 430)
Conquest of Granada, Part I (1670), Act II, sc. i (IV, 56–57)
Conquest of Granada, Part II (1670), Act III, sc. i (IV, 162)

In the Dedication to *Aurung-Zebe* (1676) there is an interesting passage: "Our minds are perpetually wrought on by the temperament of our bodies; which makes me suspect, they are nearer allied, than our philosophers or school-divines will allow them to be."

[2] *State of Innocence*, Act II, sc. i (V, 133–34).

[3] *Ibid.*, Act IV, sc. i (*Works*, V, 152–56).

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Bramhall-Hobbes controversy, with Adam, despite his innocence, taking the part of Hobbes.

But it would be a mistake to rush, from such passages and from Aubrey's note, to the conclusion that Dryden was at this time a disciple of Hobbes, any more than of Descartes. He must have been interested in necessitarianism, speculated on its implications, and enjoyed testing out its argumentative strength in verse. Sympathetic intellectual curiosity is one of Dryden's marked characteristics. But this very suppleness of his mind served also to liberate him from the dogmatism and egotism of Hobbes. In his old age he spoke of Hobbes's translation of Homer as "bald," adding that he studied "poetry as he did mathematics, when it was too late."[1] It was a curt dismissal. In 1685, in a discussion of himself as translator of Lucretius, he incidentally clearly draws the distinction between himself and Hobbes, both in temperament and ideas:

> If I am not mistaken, the distinguishing character of Lucretius (I mean of his soul and genius) is a certain kind of noble pride, and positive assertion of his opinions. He is everywhere confident of his own reason, and assuming an absolute command, not only over his vulgar reader, but even his patron Memmius. For he is always bidding him attend, as if he had the rod over him, as our poet and philosopher of Malmesbury. This is that perpetual dictatorship, which is exercised by Lucretius; who, though often in the wrong, yet seems to deal *bona fide* with his reader, and tells him nothing but what he thinks; in which plain sincerity, I believe, he differs from our Hobbes, who could not but be convinced, or at least doubt, of some eternal truths, which he had opposed. . . . . For there is no doubt to be made, but that he [Lucretius] could have been everywhere as poetical, as he is in his descriptions, and in the moral part of his philosophy, if he had not aimed more to instruct, in his System of Nature, than to delight. But he was bent upon making Memmius a materialist, and teaching him to defy an invisible power: in short, he was so much an atheist, that he forgot sometimes to be a poet. These are the considerations, which I had of that author, before I attempted to translate some parts of him. And accordingly I laid by my natural diffidence and scepticism for a while, to take up that dogmatical way of his, which, as I said, is so much his character, as to make him that individual poet.[2]

These passages, it is true, come too late in Dryden's life to constitute alone any sure indication of his attitude toward Hobbes before 1680. But when they are considered along with his earlier comments on the new science, the Royal Society, and his own distrust of

[1] *Preface to the Fables* (1700), in *Essays* (ed. W. P. Ker), II, 252.

[2] *Preface to Sylvae* (1685) (*Essays*, I, 259–60).

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dogmatism, they lose their casual appearance; and the impression grows that Dryden's attitude toward Hobbes must from the beginning have involved reservations and that he found himself more naturally on the side of the Royal Society, with its eminent spokesmen Boyle and Glanvill.[1]

V

There can be no doubt of Dryden's real appreciation of the new science. In an *Epistle to Dr. Charlton*, written in 1662, he praises English science, especially Bacon, Gilbert, Boyle, and Harvey. There is the famous apostrophe to the Royal Society in *Annus Mirabilis*, in which, after prophesying remarkable progress in navigation, he adds:

> This I foretell, from your auspicious care
> Who great in search of God and nature grow;
> Who best your wise Creator's praise declare,
> Since best to praise His works is best to know.

Even more direct and forceful are two passages, heretofore strangely neglected, in the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (1668). One is a recognition of the remarkable scientific advance after Copernicus:

> Is it not evident [asks Crites, who is otherwise on the side of the Ancients] in these last hundred years (when the study of philosophy has been the business of all the Virtuosi in Christendom), that almost a new Nature has been revealed to us?—that more errors of the school have been detected, more useful experiments in philosophy have been made, more noble secrets in optics, medicine, anatomy, astronomy, discovered, than in all those credulous and doting ages from Aristotle to us?—so true it is, that nothing spreads more fast than science, when rightly and generally cultivated.[2]

Later in the same essay he makes Lisideius allude to "what the philosophers say of motion that, when it is once begun, it continues

[1] A very interesting passage in the *Essay on Heroic Plays* (1672) by no means implies discipleship: "I dare further affirm, that the whole doctrine of separated beings, whether those spirits are incorporeal substances (which Mr. Hobbes, with some reason, thinks to imply a contradiction), or that they are a thinner or more aerial sort of bodies (as some of the Fathers have conjectured), may better be explicated by poets than by philosophers or divines. For their speculations on this subject are wholly poetical; they have only their fancy for their guide; and that, being sharper in an excellent poet, than it is likely it should in a phlegmatic, heavy gownman, will see farther in its own empire, and produce more satisfactory notions on those dark and doubtful problems" (*Essays* [ed. Ker], I, 153). A man who held such theories of knowledge and psychology would certainly never have been recognized by Hobbes as a hopeful disciple. Dryden had a very un-Hobbesian interest in the realms of mystery, and he repeatedly defended the use of the supernatural in epic poetry.

[2] *Essays* (ed. Ker), I, 36–37.

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of itself, and will do so to eternity, without some stop put to it"[1]—which is a simple statement of what was later to become Newton's first law of motion.

But we can go even further. That "natural diffidence and skepticism" which Dryden in 1685 declared part of his character, he already in 1668 identified with the skeptical attitude of the Royal Society. When his brother-in-law, Sir Robert Howard, charged him with being "magisterial" in the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, his reply was that

> in vindication of myself, I must crave leave to say, that my whole discourse was sceptical, according to that way of reasoning which was used by Socrates, Plato, and all the Academies of old, which Tully and the best of the Ancients followed, and which is imitated by the modest inquisitions of the Royal Society. That it is so, not only the name will show, which is *an Essay*, but the frame and composition of the work. You see it is a dialogue sustained by persons of several opinions, all of them left doubtful, to be determined by the readers in general.[2]

In the true spirit of the Royal Society he asks, in the Preface to *An Evening's Love* (1671), "why should there be any *Ipse dixit* in our poetry, any more than there is in our philosophy?"[3]

That skepticism which separated Dryden from Hobbes and Lucretius was therefore no passing whim; it was both an early and a permanent intellectual characteristic. In the Preface to *Religio Laici* (1682) he confesses that he was "naturally inclined to scepticism in philosophy." He criticizes the Deists, and even some leaders in the Anglican church, for their confidence in religious rationalism. He says:

> Our modern philosophers, nay, and some of our philosophizing divines have too much exalted the faculties of our souls, when they have maintained that by their force mankind has been able to find that there is one supreme agent or intellectual Being which we call God. . . . . They who would prove religion by reason, do but weaken the cause which they endeavour to support: 'tis to take away the pillars from our faith, and to prop it only with a twig.

It was this distrust of reason, this philosophical skepticism, that drove Dryden toward conservatism and authority in religion, and ultimately to the Catholic church, just as his distrust of the populace was one reason for his increasing conservatism and Toryism in politics.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 63. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 124.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 138. Cf. also *Defence of the Epilogue* (1672), I, 163.

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VI

On such evidence the case must rest. Fragmentary and meager as it is, it would at least seem sufficient to indicate that Dryden was not unresponsive to the intellectual impulses aroused by the new scientific movement. All that we know of Dryden's intellectual character, his sensitiveness to all winds of doctrine, his curiosity, his wide and sympathetic interests, should in fact have led us to expect just such a conclusion. Few poets have consciously cultivated so many contacts with the world as Dryden. He wrote in 1674:

> Mere poets and mere musicians are as sottish as mere drunkards are, who live in a continual mist, without seeing or judging anything clearly. A man should be learned in several sciences, and should have a reasonable, philosophical, and in some measure a mathematical head, to be a complete and excellent poet; and besides this, should have experience in all sorts of humours and manners of men.[1]

Again, in 1679, in his Preface to *Troilus and Cressida*, he says that the "manners" are to "be gathered from the several virtues, vices, or passions, and many other commonplaces, which a poet must be supposed to have learned from natural Philosophy, Ethics, and History; of all which, whosoever is ignorant, does not deserve the name of poet."[2] Dryden proves so baffling because, with a multiplicity of ideas, he appears to have no system; he incorporates ideas, often contradictory ones, into his writings with an eye more to their rhetorical than their philosophical value. Carneades, one of the most famous of Greek skeptics, appeared before the Roman Senate on two successive days, and shocked the moral sense of that venerable assembly by brilliantly attacking the second day all that he had brilliantly defended on the first; skepticism offers peculiar advantages to the artist in expression. Dryden loved reasoning in verse so well that he could not resist an opportunity for a debate, whether in a play or a poem; and he lent of his fire and strength to both sides. But in spite of this inclusiveness of Dryden's intellectual interests, there is a consistency of temperament in his work which allies him with certain tendencies and groups of his time more than with others. It is the problem of

[1] Postscript to *Notes and Observations on the Empress of Morocco*, in *Works* (ed. Scott and Saintsbury), XV, 406.

[2] *Essays* (ed. Ker), I, 214.

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criticism to find the perspective from which this larger consistency becomes apparent.

Since the material is so meager for even a descriptive study of Dryden's mind, it would be rash, at least in the present state of Dryden scholarship, to make any large assertions regarding the genesis of his ideas. It is not contended here that Dryden was a skeptic because he was a member of the Royal Society and knew Boyle and Glanvill; skepticism could in that age be acquired in many ways. The purpose of this study is to emphasize the significance and representative nature of Dryden's mind. His ideas are closely related to the important movements of his age. He was interested in the Royal Society, understood its spirit, and recognized that he was like minded with it; he understood the new philosophy of motion, vaguely perhaps in its scientific aspects, but with an acute interest in its deterministic implications regarding human nature; and he rejected the dogmatic materialism of Hobbes and Lucretius. And when we look for the meaning and importance of his distrust of the reason in *Religio laici* and *The Hind and the Panther*, or for the interpretation of his ingenuous changeableness in literary opinions, we must go, among other places, to his intellectual experiences with the new science, with Hobbes, and with the Royal Society.

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THOMSON AND THE COUNTESS OF HERTFORD

To rescue a literary lady from the unmerited disparagement of Dr. Johnson is a pleasant privilege even after many years. Of the lady who gave hospitable encouragement to the early efforts of the author of *The Seasons*, comparatively little that is trustworthy has been written. History has been content to refer to her as "the patroness of Thomson"; to mention that to her the poet dedicated his *Spring;* and then to repeat the anecdote from Johnson's *Life of Thomson.* The Doctor wrote:

> Spring was published next year [1728], with a dedication to the Countess of Hertford; whose practice it was to invite every summer some poet into the country, to hear her verses and assist her studies. This honor was one summer conferred on Thomson, who took more delight in carousing with Lord Hertford and his friends than assisting her ladyship's poetical operations, and therefore never received another summons.[1]

Interpretation of this anecdote worked, strangely enough, more to the disadvantage of the lady than of the poet, notably in the essay of the Earl of Buchan in 1792. The poet's irascible Scotch apologist wrote:

> That no earl or countess ever gave Johnson an invitation to the country can excite no wonder, nor that Thomson's genius and independent spirit should lead him to prefer wit and the social board of an accomplished family, to the manufacture of courtly verses, for a verse-sick countess.[2]

"Courtly verses" is as far from an appropriate description of the compositions of Lady Hertford's rural muse as "verse-sick countess" is descriptive of the lady herself, who, Walpole declared (with un-

[1] First published in Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* in 1781. Part of the material concerning Thomson's earlier years Boswell gathered for Johnson in Scotland. He complains of Johnson's failure to correct one mistake of earlier biographers in regard to Thomson's mother's maiden name: "Dr. Johnson was by no means attentive to minute accuracy in his *Lives of the Poets;* for notwithstanding my having detected this mistake, he has continued it" (*Life of Johnson* [Oxford University Press, 1924], II, 271).

[2] Earl of Buchan, *Essays on the Lives and Writings of Fletcher of Saltoun and the Poet Thomson: Biographical, Critical, and Political* (London, 1792), p. 258.

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wonted generosity), had "as much taste for the writings of others as modesty about her own."[1]

Johnson's authority for the story of Thomson's conduct to his patroness, and the consequent break in their relations, has been only mildly questioned. Successive biographers of the poet repeated the anecdote; and biographers of the Countess of Hertford, from the early editor of her letters[2] to the modern annalists of the House of Percy,[3] have shown little disposition to clear her reputation of this mild indignity. One may suspect that the story originated with Savage, who was associated with Thomson during the years in question.[4] On Savage's assertion Johnson admittedly based other statements in his *Life of Thomson*.[5] Was it through Thomson, on the other hand, that word of Savage's disastrous plight reached the sympathetic countess and led to that appeal to Queen Caroline which saved the unfortunate man's life?[6]

Certain doubters of the Doctor's accuracy did arise. Sir Harry Nicholas in his *Memoir*, first published in 1831 in the Aldine edition of Thomson's poetical works, recalling the solicitude at the time of Thomson's death which Lady Hertford expressed in letters to Lady Luxborough and to Shenstone, declares: "These passages prove her Grace's respect for his memory, and render Johnson's remark, that he displeased her, unlikely."[7] Mr. G. C. Macaulay, in his life of Thomson, is likewise mildly incredulous, but seems to echo the words of Nicholas. Quoting Johnson, Mr. Macaulay adds: "It may be so; but Lady Hertford did not lose interest in him [Thomson], for a letter of later date is extant, in which she enthusiastically praises his work."[8]

[1] Horace Walpole, *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England, ...* Second Edition (London, 1759), II, 200. John Duncombe in his *Feminead; or Female Genius* (1751) also celebrated Lady Hertford in the laborious eulogy:

"Here, sweetly blended, to our wond'ring eyes,
The Peeress, Poetess and Christian rise;
And tho' the Nine her tuneful strains inspire,
We less her genius than her heart admire."

[2] William Bingley, *Correspondence between Frances Countess of Hartford, and Henrietta Louisa, Countess of Pomfret* (London, 1806), I, vii–viii.

[3] Gerald Brenan, *A History of the House of Percy* (ed. W. A. Lindsay; London, 1902), II, 422.

[4] Thomson met Savage at Aaron Hill's on April 26, 1726. See *Poetical Works of James Thomson* (Aldine ed.; London: Pickering, 1847), I, xxviii.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

[6] Shell's account of this incident emphasizes a little more than Johnson's the virtue of the countess "who engaged in his [Thomson's] support with the tenderness and humanity particular to that amiable lady" (*The Lives of the Poets . . . . By Mr. Cibber and other Hands* London, 1753], V, 44).

[7] *Poetical Works* (Aldine ed., 1747), I, vi. See *infra*, p. 33.

[8] G. C. Macaulay, *James Thomson*, "English Men of Letters Series" (London, 1908), p. 23.

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Finally, Mr. J. Logie Robertson, in his notes to the Oxford edition of Thomson's poetical works, declares, after rehearsing Johnson's anecdote:

> It is extremely probable, however, that Thomson wrote part of *Spring* at Marlborough Castle, in Wiltshire, the seat of the Earl of Hertford; and it is certain that as a poet he retained the respect and regard of the Countess as long as he lived. In 1748 we find her generously recommending to one of her friends the poem of that year—"Mr. Thomson's *Castle of Indolence*."[1]

All three skeptics, it should be noted, refer to Lady Hertford's letters of the year 1748.

Recent examination of certain papers of the Percy family at Alnwick Castle (an investigation which I was privileged to make through the very great kindness of the Duke of Northumberland) has discovered abundant evidence of the continued interest of the Countess in Thomson, and of some measure of friendly intercourse between them from 1727 until Thomson's death in 1748. The traces of this relationship throw a little light on Thomson's life and his reputation, and contribute to our knowledge of an eighteenth-century lady of modest but genuine literary gifts, and intellectual enthusiasms of a romantic order shared with a notable circle of friends. Among her correspondents Lady Hertford numbered Lady Winchilsea, Lady Pomfret, Lady Luxborough (the half-sister of Bolingbroke), Mrs. Carter, Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe, Miss Talbot, Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, Isaac Watts, Gilbert Burnet, and others less known to fame; not to mention the poets for whom she served as friendly patroness—Thomson, Stephen Duck, and Shenstone in particular. The private letters of this group[2] display the vitality of that "enthusiasm" so deprecated by their neo-classical contemporaries.

The granddaughter of that first Viscount Weymouth of Longleat, who befriended Bishop Ken—see the charming poems entitled *Lyra Innocentium* which the bishop wrote for his host's little granddaughters "Molly" and "Fan"[3]—Frances Thynne spent much of her childhood amid the quiet beauty of her grandfather's estate. In 1715,

[1] *The Complete Poetical Works of James Thomson* (Oxford ed.; ed. J. Logie Robertson; Oxford, 1908), p. 48. See also William Bague, *James Thomson* (Edinburgh and London, 1898), pp. 65–66.

[2] Lady Hertford's circle includes several members of the "Warwickshire Coterie." See W. H. Hutton, *Burford Papers* (London, 1905), pp. 153–90; and W. H. Hutton in the *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, Vol. X, chap. xi, sec. II.

[3] E. H. Plumptre, *The Life of Thomas Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells* (London, 1889), II, 178.

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when barely sixteen, she married Algernon Seymour, Earl of Hertford, son of the sixth Duke of Somerset, "the Proud Duke," who was so powerful a figure at the courts of Queen Anne and George I; and son also of Elizabeth Percy of romantic history, through whom he inherited the Percy baronies. After her marriage the young bride entered immediately upon the social life of London and the Court of St. James's. In 1716 her first child was born, Lady Elizabeth Seymour, who became the first Duchess of Northumberland, the "Lady Betty" of her mother's letters; and in 1725 the son, George Lord Beauchamp, whose death of smallpox while traveling in Italy with his tutor in 1744 cast a lasting shadow over his mother's spirit. In 1723 Lady Hertford was appointed Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess Caroline, and served that princess and queen until her death in 1737.[1] Lady Hertford herself died in 1754.

Through all these years when the demands of court life taxed her limited strength and vexed her sensitive spirit, Lady Hertford was happiest when, escaping from her house in Grosvenor Street, she withdrew to the seat of the Seymours at Marlborough Castle, or to a more modest residence at St. Leonard's Hill in Windsor Forest. In 1739 Lord Hertford purchased from Lord Bathurst his *extravagante bergerie*, as Pope called it, at Richkings near Colnbrook, rechristened Percy Lodge; here Lady Hertford spent all her later years. In such rural retreats, in her beloved gardens, her grotto, and her "closet," withdrawn from society other than that of the family to whom she was devoted and the close friends upon whom she lavished a generous affection, her time freed for reading, pious meditations, and for the writing of many letters, the Countess of Hertford really expressed herself. A lover of natural beauty and an eager seeker after the peace which, like many contemporary poets, she looked for in retirement, she extended prompt and hospitable encouragement to the genius of any who seemed to share her tastes.[2]

According to his biographers, Thomson first won the notice of the Countess of Hertford with the publication of *Winter* in 1726. "From

[1] The facts of this biographical sketch are derived from family papers at Alnwick Castle which correct certain vague or erroneous statements of early biographers, e.g., in regard to the dates of her birth, her marriage, and of her appointment as maid of honor.

[2] On the poetic expression of pleasure in retirement and solitude in this period see Dr. Amy L. Reed's dissertation, *The Background of Gray's Elegy* (Columbia University Press, 1924).

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that time," writes Murdock, in his memoir, prefixed to the 1762 edition of the poet's works, "Mr. Thomson's acquaintance was courted by all men of taste; and several ladies of high rank and distinction became his declared patronesses; the Countess of Hartford, Miss Drelincourt, afterwards Viscountess Primrose, Mrs. Stanley, and others."

Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe writes Lady Hertford at this time: "There is a Poem in blank verse lately printed call'd Winter by Mr. Thomson. 'tis very fine so I am perswaded will please the Justice of your taste. I must copy this discription:

> The year yet pleasing but declining fast
> Soft, o'er the secret Soul, in gentle Gales,
> A Philosophic Melancholly breathes,
> And bears the swelling Thought aloft to Heaven.
> Then forming Fancy rouses to conceive,
> What never mingled with the Vulgar's dream:
> Then wake the tender Pang, the pitying Tear,
> The Sigh for suffering Worth, the Wish prefer'd
> For Humankind, the Joy to see them bless'd,
> And all the Social Off-Spring of the Heart!"[1]

That Thomson visited Lady Hertford during the summer of 1727 at Marlborough and composed part of his *Spring* there is fairly certain.[2] Stephen Duck, another poet who later enjoyed the hospitality of Lady Hertford, wrote in his *Description of a Journey to Marlborough:*

> From hence the Muse to silver Kennet flies,
> On whose green Margin *Hertford's* Turrets rise.
> Here often round the verdant Plain I stray,
> Where[3] THOMSON sung his bold, unfetter'd Lay;
> Or climb the winding, mazy Mountain's[4] Brow;
> And, tho' I swiftly walk, ascent but slow.
> The spiral Paths in gradual Circles lead,

[1] Alnwick MSS, No. 110, p. 131. A quarto volume bound in green leather contains Mrs. Rowe's letters to Lady Hertford from *ca.* 1716 to 1737 copied in Lady Hertford's hand. A selection from these letters was published by her brother-in-law, Theophilus Rowe, after her death under the title *Miscellaneous Works in Prose and Verse of Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe* (London, 1739). The copy of this work in the Wellesley College Library bears the inscription in Thomson's hand "James Thomson—The Publisher's Gift." With rare exceptions the letters are undated both in the MS and in the published volume; internal evidence makes the dating of certain ones possible.

[2] See *The Poetical Works* (ed. J. Logie Robertson), p. 48.

[3] "Mr. *Thomson* compos'd one of his *Seasons* here" (Duck's note).

[4] "*Marlborough* Mount" (Duck's note).

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Increase my Journey, and elude my Speed:
Yet, when at length I reach the lofty Height,
Towns, Vallies, Rivers, Meadows meet my Sight;
A thousand grateful Objects round me smile,
Whose various Beauties overpay my Toil.

. . . . . .

Within the Basis of the Verdant Hill,
A beauteous Grot confesses HERTFORD's Skill;
Who, with her lovely Nymphs, adorns the Place;
Gives ev'ry polish'd Stone its proper Grace;
Now varies rustic Moss about the Cell;
Now fits the shining Pearl, or purple Shell:
CALYPSO thus, attended with her Train,
With rural Palaces adorns the Plain;
Nor with more Elegance her Grots appear,
Nor with more Beauty shines th' Immortal Fair.[1]

The description of Lady Hertford's grotto in the latter part of this quotation I shall have occasion to refer to again.

Thomson's *Spring* was published in the following year, 1728, with a fulsome Dedication to the Countess. "Happy!" he exclaims, "if I have hit any of those Images, and correspondent Sentiments, your calm Evening Walks, in the most delightful retirement, have oft inspired. I could add too, that as this Poem grew up under your Encouragement, it has therefore a natural Claim to your Patronage." The poem opens with the much-quoted apostrophe to his patroness:

Oh Hertford, fitted, or to shine in Courts
With unaffected Grace, or walk the Plain,
With Innocence, and Meditation join'd
In soft assemblage, listen to my Song,
Which thy own Season paints, when Nature all
Is blooming and benevolent like Thee.

This tribute, which, as a matter of fact, is justified by all that we know of Lady Hertford, surely does not indicate any break in their relations.

In the correspondence between Mrs. Rowe and Lady Hertford, Thomson holds a prominent place from this time forth. "I am more impatient to see Mr. Thomson himself than Mr. ———s letter," declares Mrs. Rowe.[2] And later, in a letter perhaps referring to his

[1] *Poems on Several Occasions* (London, 1738), pp. 146–48.

[2] Alnwick MSS, No. 110, p. 215.

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dedicatory epistle, she says, "The Verses I have enclosed for Mr. Thompson will satisfye y^r La^sp what my real thoughts are of what you were so obliging to transcribe for me I will not distress y^r modesty with saying all I could on this subject. you could not more oblige me madam then putting a subscription for me to Mr. Thompsons Poems wch I hope will meet as they deserve great encouragement."[1]

It is presumably to the first edition of *The Seasons*, subscriptions to which were advertised in 1728 though it was not published until 1730, that Mrs. Rowe wishes to subscribe, perhaps at Lady Hertford's suggestion. It is interesting, therefore, to note in the published list of subscribers that the Earl of Hertford took one book, the Countess of Hertford two, and Mrs. Rowe one. The verses which Mrs. Rowe inclosed in her letter were probably those entitled *To Mr. Thomson. On the Countess of ———'s praising his Poems*, in which she congratulates the poet on his good fortune in the lines,

> Secure of glory crown thy head with bays
> Ambition sets its bounds in Delia's praise.[2]

In a subsequent letter Mrs. Rowe shows herself a lady of superior mind. Though an earnest Dissenter, and a warm friend of Isaac Watts, she is yet capable of enjoying Shaftesbury's *Characteristics* and Berkeley's *Minute Philosopher* when they appear, and she reports with amusement the orthodox distrust of Thomson's poetry evinced by her friend Mrs. Sewell. "She has happen'd to hear that Mr. Thompson is a Deist," writes Mrs. Rowe, "and since that I cannot get her to read a line of his, I might as well persuade her to read a conjuring book as any Poem writt by such a wicked man as she calls him."[3]

Thomson's *Hymn on Solitude* Lady Hertford apparently sent to Mrs. Rowe when it appeared in Ralph's *Miscellany* in 1729; for her correspondent writes ecstatically, " 'Tis y^r Ladyships Talent to oblige people with the best Grace in the World you almost prevented my impatiency for the pleasure of reading Mr. THOMPSON's Hymn wch is really fine."[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[2] E. Rowe, *Miscellaneous Works in Verse and Prose* (ed. Theophilus Rowe; London, 1772), I, 170.

[3] Alnwick MSS, No. 110, p. 234.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 242; Theophilus Rowe in publishing Mrs. Rowe's letter published the poem also. See *Miscellaneous Works* (1772), II, 192–94.

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On the composition of this poem, the favorite perhaps among Thomson's shorter works, if we may judge by its prominence in anthologies, Lady Hertford's commonplace book throws interesting new light. In a letter to Mallet dated July 10, 1725, Thomson wrote: "To fill up this letter I shall give you a few loose lines I composed in my last evening walk, they may be once worth the reading but no more."[1] The lines were the first version (which I shall call the "A Version") of his *Hymn on Solitude*, reading as follows:

Hail ever pleasing Solitude!
Companion of the wise and good!
But from whose awful piercing eye
The herd of fools and villains fly.
5 O, how I love with You to walk!
And listen to your silent talk
Which innocence and truth imparts,
And melts the most obdurate hearts.
A thousand shapes You wear with ease,
10 And still in every shape You please.
Now wrapt in some mysterious dream,
A sage Philosopher You seem;
Now a Religious port You bear,
And now a Hermit you appear;
15 Now o'er the meads and groves You fly,
And now you sweep the vaulted sky,
And Nature dances in your eye.
Then straight again You court the shade
And pining hang the pensive head;
20 A shepherd now You haunt the plain,
And warble forth Your oaten strain.
Now a gay Huntress by the dawn
You trip it o'er the dewy lawn.
A Lover now, with all the grace
25 Of that sweet passion in Your face
A thousand shapes You wear with ease,
And still in every shape You please,
Your's is the fragrant morning blush,
And your's the silent evening hush,
30 Your's the refulgent noonday gleam,
And your's, ah then! the gelid stream.
Descending angels bless Your train,

[1] P. Cunningham, "James Thomson and David Mallet," *Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society* (London, 1857–58), IV, 7.

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The virtues of the Sage and Swain.
Soft Innocence in white array'd,
35 And Contemplation rears his head;
Religion with her awful brow
And all the Muses wait on You.
O, let me pierce Your secret cell,
And in Your deep recesses dwell,
40 For ever from the world retir'd,
For ever with your raptures fir'd;
Nor by a Mortal seen save he
A Mallet or a Murdoch be.

Among the Alnwick manuscripts is a leather-bound quarto volume inscribed on the flyleaf: "A Miscellany of Verse and Prose Begun March the 5, 172$\frac{6}{5}$."[1] Also on the flyleaf is written several times "F. Hartford" and "F H" as by someone trying a pen. Lady Hertford made entries in this volume in 1726 and during the years following. Pages 92–93 of this volume, written in Lady Hertford's hand, contain the following version of Thomson's poem (which I shall call the "B Version"):

A HYMN TO SOLITUDE

BY MR. THOMPSON

Hail ever pleasing Solitude
Companion of the wise and good
But from whose holy peircing eye
The Herd of Fools and villains fly
5 Oh how I love with Thee to walk!
And listen to thy whisper'd Talk
Which innocence and truth imparts
And melts the most obdurate Hearts
A Thousand Shapes you wear with Ease
10 And still in every Shape you please
Now wrapt in Some mysterious Dream,
A lone Philosopher you seem,
Now o'er the Hills and Vales you fly
And now you sweep the vaulted Sky
15 And Nature dances in your Eye
Then straight again you court the shade
And pining hang the pensive head
A Shepherd now you haunt the Plain

[1] The ensuing pages contain entries at intervals for many years.

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And warble forth your oaten Strain
20 Then soft divided you assume
The gentle-looking Hertford's Bloom
As with her *Philomela* she
Her *Philomela* fond of Thee
Amid the long-withdrawing vale
25 Awakes the rival'd Nightingale.
A lover now with all the Grace
Of that Sweet Passion in your face!
A thousand Shapes you wear with Ease
And still in every Shape you please.
30 Thine is the unbounded breath of morn
Just as the Dew-bent Rose is born
And while meridian Fervors beat
Thine is the woodland dumb retreat
But cheif when evening Scenes decay,
35 And the faint landskip swims away,
Thine is the doubtfull dear decline
And that best hour of Musing thine
Descending Angels bless your train
The virtues of the Sage and Swain
40 Plain Innocence in white array'd
And Contemplation rears the Head
Religion with her awful brow
And wrapt Urania waits on you
Oh let me peirce thy Secret hill
45 And in Thy deep Recesses dwell
Forever from the World retir'd
Forever with thy Raptures fir'd
Nor by a mortal seen save He
A Lycidas, or Lycon be.

This, I take it, represents a re-working, perhaps in 1727 or 1728, of the earlier version, into a compliment to the poet's hostess and patroness, by the insertion of lines 20–25 (in place of 22–23 of the A Version) with their tribute to Lady Hertford and to her friend Mrs. Rowe, whose pen-name was "Philomela."[1] The alteration of the concluding lines of the poem also seems to indicate an adaptation of the poem to special circumstances: the "secret hill" in place of "secret cell" with its "deep recesses" may refer to the grotto under Marlborough Mount referred

[1] This lady's love of solitude was so extreme as to make her live the life of a recluse in her later years. Only occasionally was she tempted forth to visit Lady Hertford or her mother, the Hon. Mrs. Henry Thynne, girlhood friends.

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to in Stephen Duck's descriptive verses already quoted. Another description of the same place occurs in a letter from Lady Hertford to Lady Pomfret dated Marlborough, June 10/21, 1739:

> The trees I planted some years ago in my garden, though they now afford me a delightful shade (under which I pass many solitary hours), have no beauties that will appear upon paper, unless a pen like that of Mr. Pope should describe them. The grotto that we have made under the mount—and which, without partiality, I think is in itself much prettier than that at Twickenham—would, in my description, fall infinitely below it, as painted in one of Mr. Pope's letters.[1]

Apparently the names of Thomson's two friends, Mallet and Murdoch, were eliminated and "Lycidas" and "Lycon" substituted that there might be nothing to detract from the compliment to the Countess.

Soon after, I think, the B Version was subjected to certain minor changes—the rearrangement of certain lines, and two or three verbal changes, the most important of which was the replacing of "secret hill" of the B Version by "secret cell" of the A Version—and thus the C Version was published in 1729 in *Miscellaneous Poems, by Several Hands . . . . Publish'd by Mr. Ralph.* It should be noted that this version is very different in important respects from that which appears in modern collections, notably *The Oxford Book of Eighteenth Century Verse* (1926), said to be reprinted from *Ralph's Miscellaneous Poems.*

HYMN ON SOLITUDE

Hail ever-pleasing Solitude!
Companion of the Wise, and Good!
But, from whose holy, piercing Eye,
The Herd of Fools, and Villains fly.

O! how I love with thee to walk!
And listen to thy whisper'd Talk;
Which Innocence, and Truth imparts,
And melts the most obdurate Hearts.

A thousand Shapes you wear with ease,
And still in every Shape you please;
Now wrapt in some mysterious Dream,
A lone Philosopher you seem;

[1] *Correspondence between Frances, Countess of Hartford, (afterwards Duchess of Somerset,) and Henrietta Louisa, Countess of Pomfret, between the years 1738 and 1741* (2d ed.; London, 1806), I, 128–29.

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Now quick from Hill to Vale you fly,
And now you sweep the vaulted Sky,
15 And *Nature* triumphs in your Eye:
Than strait again you court the Shade,
And pining, hang the pensive Head.
A Shepherd next, you haunt the Plain,
And warble forth your oaten Strain.
20 A Lover now, with all the Grace
Of that sweet Passion in your Face!
Then, soft-divided, you assume
The gentle-looking H——d's Bloom,
As, with her PHILOMELA, she,
25 (Her PHILOMELA fond of thee)
Amid the long, withdrawing Vale,
Awakes the rival'd Nightingale.
A thousand Shapes you wear with Ease,
And still in every Shape you please.
30 Thine is th'unbounded Breath of Morn,
Just as the dew-bent Rose is born;
And while *Meridian* Fevers beat,
Thine is the Woodland dumb Retreat;
But chief, when Evening Scenes decay,
35 And the faint Landship swims away,
Thine is the doubtful dear Decline,
And that best Hour of musing thine.

Descending Angels bless thy Train,
The *Virtues* of the Sage, and Swain;
40 Plain *Innocence* in white array'd,
And *Contemplation* rears the Head;
Religion, with her awful Brow,
And rapt URANIA waits on you!

Oh, let me pierce thy secret Cell!
45 And in thy deep Recesses dwell;
For ever with thy Raptures fir'd,
For ever from the World retir'd;
Nor by a mortal seen, save he
A LYCIDAS, or LYCON be.

Next, the C Version was revised slightly by the substitution in line 32 of "fervors" for "fevers," and in line 33 of "woodland's" for "woodland," and by certain alterations in spelling, capitalization, and punctuation. The D Version thus produced was printed in 1748 in the third volume of Dodsley's *Collection of Poems*. The first edition

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appeared in January, a second in December;[1] the poet died in August of that year. This version may, therefore, represent Thomson's final preference; on the other hand, it may have been inserted by Dodsley, or by the Countess of Hertford, without the author's knowledge or approval, as was the case with Shenstone's *Schoolmistress*.[2]

When the revisions which produced the E Version, the version now universally reprinted, were made, and under what circumstances, I have been unable to discover. The poem was not included in the 1738 edition of Thomson's works. In the edition of his works which appeared in 1750, in that two-volume folio edition of 1762 with Murdock's memoir, said to contain the poet's "last corrections, additions, and improvements," in the four-volume edition published by Millar in 1766, and in the editions of 1768 (Edinburgh) and 1788, appeared this version which is reprinted in modern collections. Especially notable among the alterations in this version are the substitution of "Musidora" for "Philomela," and the addition of six new lines at the end of the poem, emphasizing effectively that contrast between town and country noted in the last stanza of the *Ode to Retirement* to be quoted later.[3] These lines are as follows:

> Oh, let me pierce thy secret cell!
> And in thy deep recesses dwell;
> Perhaps from *Norwood's* oak-clad hill,
> When meditation has her fill,
> I just may cast my careless eyes
> Where *London's* spiry turrets rise,
> Think of its crimes, its cares, its pain,
> Then shield me in the woods again.

Comparison of three lines in the five versions will indicate that Lady Hertford's copy is nearest to the version of 1725 sent by the poet to Mallet; for this reason it is termed the B Version:

> A, l. 15: Now o'er the meads and groves you fly.
> B, l. 13: Now o'er the Hills and Vales you fly.
> C, l. 13: Now quick from Hill to Vale you fly.
> D, l. 13: Now quick from Hill to Vale you fly.
> E, l. 13: Now quick from hill to vale you fly.

[1] Ralph Straus, *Robert Dodsley, Poet, Publisher and Playwright* (London and New York, n.d.), pp. 334 and 337.

[2] Shenstone wrote to Lady Luxborough: "As to Dodsley's collection . . . . I should have been better pleas'd with him if he had giv'd me previous notice e'er he published my Schoolmistress that I might have spruced her up a little before she appeared in so much company" (Straus, *Robert Dodsley*, p. 106).

[3] See below, p. 461.

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A, l. 17: and Nature dances in your eye.
B, l. 15: and Nature dances in your eye.
C, l. 15: and Nature triumphs in your eye.
D, l. 15: and Nature triumphs in your eye.
E omits the line.

A, l. 20: a shepherd now.
B, l. 18: a shepherd now.
C, l. 18: a shepherd next.
D, l. 18: a shepherd next.
E, l. 15: a shepherd next.

The appearance of Thomson's first play, his tragedy *Sophonisba* (1730), is heralded in a letter from Mrs. Rowe. "Mr. Thomson has furnisht me with some of the most agreeable lines in the world to express my thoughts," she exclaims, and quotes those lines (from Act II, scene iii) so congenial to her solitary temper:

I want to be alone, to find some shade
Some solitary gloom there to shake off
This weight of Life this tumult of mankind,
And there to listen to the gentle voice
The sigh of Peace.

" 'Tis a noble Tragedy," she continues, "I can't help prefering it to Mr. Addison's Cato the language and Sentiments have all a peculiar Grandeur The following lines give me a very good opinion of the author

Ye misterious Powers
Whose ways are ever Gracious ever Just
As ye think wisest best Dispose of me
But whether thro' your gloomy depths I wander,
Or in your mountains walk; give me the calm,
The steady, smiling Soul;

In reading this, a sort of Divine Contentment Spreads on the Mind I seem to want nothing but to be wiser and better. Of which you will think there is evident necessity."[1]

In 1730 Thomson went abroad as tutor to Charles Talbot, the young son of the solicitor-general, later Lord Chancellor Talbot, on whose death the poet wrote memorial verses in 1737. Thomson's desire was to gain through travel that accumulation of impressions

[1] Alnwick MSS, No. 110, p. 251.

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which he held to be the stuff of poetry. His letters on this occasion to Bubb Dodington, to whom he had dedicated *Summer*, have been reprinted;[1] two passages only are of special interest here for their bearing on a later letter to Lady Hertford. From Paris, Thomson wrote on October 24, 1730:

> Travelling has been long my fondest wish, for the very purpose you recommend. The storing one's imagination with ideas of all-beautiful, all-great, and all-perfect Nature: these are the true *Materia Poetica*, the light and colours, with which fancy kindles up her whole creation, paints a sentiment, and even embodies an abstracted thought. I long to see the fields where Virgil gathered his immortal honey, and tread the same ground where men have thought and acted so greatly!

And on November 28, 1731, he wrote from Rome:

> I will make no apology for neglecting to do myself the honour of writing to you since we left Paris. I may rather plead a merit in not troubling you with long scrawls *of that travelling stuff*, of which the world is full even to loathing. . . . . The enthusiasm which I had upon me, with regard to travelling goes off, I find, very fast. One may imagine fine things in reading ancient authors; but to travel is to dissipate that vision.

As to the date of Thomson's return from the Continent there has been some disagreement among biographers. Robertson says he returned to England in December, 1731.[2] Tovey sets the same date, adding: "It is probable that for some time he continued to live with or near the Talbots, and to work at leisure on this poem 'Liberty.' "[3] Neither scholar is able to tell what Thomson did in 1732. Sheils, on the other hand, who has the merit of being a contemporary of the poet, wrote: "With this young nobleman, Mr. Thomson performed (what is commonly called) The Tour of Europe, and stay'd abroad about three years."[4] Morel, on the evidence of a letter from Dr. Rundle to Mrs. Sandys, states with Robertson and Tovey that the travelers returned to Ashdown Park (Talbot's seat) in December,

[1] Seward, *Supplement to The Anecdotes of Some Distinguished Persons* (London, 1797), pp. 137–45; passages from the letters are quoted in the *Poetical Works* (Aldine ed., 1847), p. xlviii–lii.

[2] *Poetical Works* (ed. Robertson), p. xvii.

[3] *The Poetical Works of James Thomson. A New Edition with Memoir and Critical Appendices by the Rev. D. C. Tovey, M.A.* (London, 1897), I, xlv.

[4] *The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland, By Mr. Gibber and Other Hands* (London, 1753), V. 203.

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1731.[1] But he too is unable to discover Thomson's residence during the ensuing year. He writes: "A son retour à Londres, au milieu de décembre, 1732, après avoir passé l'été et partie de l'automne à la campagne,[2] il s'occupe achevement d'une œuvre de charité [the benefit for Dennis]."[3]

An unpublished letter from Thomson to Lady Hertford, dated Paris, October 10, 1732, indicates that if he returned to England in December, 1731, he was back in Paris most of the following year. The letter also expands the ideas of the letters to Dodington. It is copied in part, in Lady Hertford's hand, in her *Miscellany;*[4] but the original also is preserved among the Alnwick manuscripts.[5] It reads as follows:

LETTER FROM Mr THOMSON WITH THE ABOVE WRITTEN POEM[6]

PARIS Oct 10 1732

MADAM

It was but yesterday that I recieved a letter you did me the honour to write April last the Banker there not having known how to send it me—I mention this only to prevent my being judged altogether inexcusable and not by way of apology for having so long neglected to pay my respects where they are so justly due. To speak naturally, as one who longed mightily to hear of

[1] Léon Morel, *James Thomson, sa vie et ses œuvres* (Paris, 1895), p. 99: "Dans sa lettre à Dodington, du 28 novembre [1731], il ne parle aucunement de retour; et cependent, son élève et lui étaient revenus à Londres avant la fin de décembre. La famille et les amis de Talbot se trouvaient réunis à Ashdown Park, sans doute pour les fêtes de la fin de l'année, et Rundle écrivit [to Mrs. Sandys]: '... Toutes les neuf Muses sont arrivés ici avec Mr. Thomson, l'esprit et la vivacité avec Billy [William, Earl Talbot], et la sagesse, mais après avoir laissé derrière elle ses façons solonnelles, avec le Solicitor.'

"Murdock nous dit que Thomson fut, dès ce retour à Londres, pourvu par son patron d'une lucrative sinécure. Les choses n'allèrent pas si vite. Talbot n'était pas encore Chancelier, et n'avait pas la disposition des emplois qui pouvaient le mieux convenir à son poète, c'est-à-dire de ceux qui n'entraînaient aucune fonction active. Le 'tutor' continua donc, selon toutes probabilités, à vivre auprès de son élève, dans l'agréable hospitalité de Talbot. Il eut ainsi tout loisir d'écrire ce poème dont il avait conçu la pensée pendant son voyage, et qu'il avait mis sur le métier aussitôt après, s'il en faut croire ces vers du début:

'Musing, I lay: warm from the sacred walks,
Where at each step imagination burns'

[*Liberty*, Part I, vss. 15, 16].

Le progrès du travail fut cependant très lent. L'année 1732 et la plus grande partie de 1733 s'étaient écoulées sans que la première partie du poème fût achevée."

[2] "Soit chez Talbot à Ashdown Park, soit à Eastbury, bien que Dodington fût alors en Irlande."

[3] Léon Morel, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

[4] Alnwick MSS, No. 116, pp. 185–89.

[5] *Percy Family Letters and Papers (1730–1736)* (Alnwick MSS), XXV, 75–76.

[6] *On the Death of Aikman*, a copy of which precedes the letter in the *Miscellany* (Alnwick MSS, No. 116, pp. 184–85).

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your Ladyships health, I resolved a thousand times to write, and continually reproached my self for neglecting it; but then a vain Imagination of writing in the character of a traveller still prevented me: and like one who finds himself quite unable to answer his engagements, I desperately turn'd Bankrupt. The letter however you have honoured me with has awakened me to such a lively remembrance of your goodness, as makes me flatter my Self that, upon this ingenuous confession you will absolve me from any rash promise I made while the fairy prospect lay before me—There are certainly several very fine natural Scenes to be seen abroad, but they are saddened by the misery of their Inhabitants, and Scenes of human misery ought never to please but in a tragedy. The bad Government in Italy, and perticularly that of the Priests, has not only extirpated almost human arts and Industry but even disfigured Nature her self. Tho they might command all that can tend either to the convenience, pleasure, or magnificence of life, yet are they in some sort destitute of all. The gracious sun indeed still dispences to them his powerfull smiles, but him they are afraid of. It ought to be considered rather as the land of the dead than of the living. Suppose one who is perfectly master of the antient Poets and Historians suddenly transported there, without knowing what country it was; he would scarce I fancy find it out by their descriptions. After, 'tis true, having wandered through a vast desolate plain, where by degrees began to appear the tombs of Heroes, broken arches, and aqueducts, till at last thro' many majestic ruins he came to the palatine mount, the seat of the Imperial palace: here, would he say, astonished at the awful prospect, here must have stood Rome the mistress of the World—Behold an Empire dead! and those venerable ruins all around, these triumphal arches, pillars, remains of temples, Baths aqueducts and Amphitheatres are but her wide spread monument a monument, tho' made up of ruins, infinitely, infinitely more noble than all the other monuments of the world put together. Several peices of Grecian sculpture that may be said to adorn this monument are divine. was I writing to another than your Ladyship I might forget my self, and say, that they represent a finer nature than is to be found now-a-days. The famous Italian painters having taken their Ideas from them, no wonder that their works should be so vastly Superior to the painting of all other Nations, as they beyond comparison are. The language and musick of Italy are Inchanting. being but an Infant in the language I ought not to pretend to judge of it, yet I cannot help thinking it not only very harmonious, and expressive but even not at all incapable of manly Graces. as for their Music it is a sort of charming malady that quite disolves them in Softness, and greatly heightens in them that Universal Indolence men naturally (I had almost said reasonably) fall into when they can receive little or no advantage from their Industry. They talk of the Tarantula in Italy for whose bite music is a cure. That Tarantula must, I fancy, mean the bad government, for whose oppression music if not a cure yet is at least some relief, by gently lulling them into a sweet forgetfullness of Misery. Now that I mention Music, one cannot, I believe, have a stronger

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instance of the power of custom with regard to taste than one meets with here in the french opera. While they themselves die away in raptures at what they call their beaux morceaux others whose taste is form'd to the Italian musick would rather hear the screech-owl than their screaming heroines. their excessive vanity has led them into this difference of taste from others; for they will have a peculiar taste of their own, tho to have it they must forsake Nature. But it is time to make an end of these Impertinent observations. Now that I come to talk of France again, of which I troubled you with my Sentiments already.[1] It is hard that such a great nation as England cannot be decently proud enough, to have a standard of dress, exercises, & polite behaviour among themselves without thus always awkwardly Imitating a people they never either can nor ought to be like. I wish we would also imitate them in one thing and that is being as indifferent about them as they are about us. There has been this season, and still are, such a crowd of all ages and sexes here as must give foreigners a strange opinion of England. Their common notion of us is I reckon, of a cold, dark, dull, dirty country where there is nothing but money. Notwithstanding tho' of this prevailing fashion of Ladies traveling I despair of the honour of seeing y^r^ Ladyship till next Spring in London. — as for me I am as much abandoned by the Muses as ever. The few lines I take the liberty to send you enclosed are rather a plain testimony of Friendship, than an attempt of poetry.

Give me leave to return you my most humble acknowledgement for the honour you did me in presenting my Book to the Prince of Wales. I wish it had been something more worthy of you to present, and of him to read. The approbation he was pleased to give a first Imperfect essay does not so much flatter my vanity as my hopes, of seeing the fine arts flourish under a Prince of his so noble equal humane and generous disposition; who knows how to unite the sovreignty of the Prince with the liberty of the People, and to found his happiness and Glory on the publick good. oh happy as a God he who has it both in his hand and his heart to make a people happy![2]

Lord Hartford and Lady Betty do me a great honour in remembering me. My most respectful compliments and good wishes attend them, as also Lord Beachamp [*sic*]. Their Indisposition that you mention I hope is long ago past, and that last summer spent amidst the persuits[3] of social retirement has made amends for the melancholy of the winter. How I long to get a little out of the storms of the city, where all the fiercer passions blow; and to pursue again the friendly calm of the country, agitated alone by the gentler ones. It delights me to hear that Mrs. Nevinson survived the great danger of death she was in. Her health is I hope now perfectly recovered. Nothing can give me greater pleasure than to hear of your Ladyships health. If I cannot have

[1] This would suggest an earlier letter to Lady Hertford.

[2] At this point the copy in the *Miscellany* ends; the conclusion of the letter is taken from the original (*op. cit.*, p. 76). The original letter I discovered only at the end of my last day at Alnwick. I had time merely to compare it rapidly with the portion in the *Miscellany* which I had already copied, and then to copy the final portion from the original letter.

[3] Word uncertain because of illegible manuscript.

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the honour of a line from your hand, the Shortest written by your order cannot fail of making me very happy. Your commands will find me—à l'Hotel d'Espagne, rue Guenegaud faux-bourg St Germain, à Paris. I am with the sincerest respect

Madam,
Your most obedient
humble servant
JAMES THOMSON

The verses inclosed in this letter were those on the death of Mr. Aikman, a Scotch doctor and painter who died in London in June, 1731.[1] As in the case of the *Hymn on Solitude*, the draft of the poem sent by the poet to Lady Hertford lacks the revisions of the later printed version, the superiority of which recalls Somervile's admonitory epistle to his friend,

Why should thy Muse, born so divinely fair,
Want the reforming toilette's daily care?
Dress the gay maid, improve each native grace,
And call forth all the glories of her face.[2]

In Lady Hertford's *Miscellany* the verses stand as follows:

A POEM ON THE DEATH OF MR. AIKMAN

BY MR. THOMSON

Oh, could I draw, my friend, thy genuine mind
Just as the living forms by thee designed,
Of Raphael's figures none should fairer shine,
Nor Titian's colours longer last than mine.

A mind in wisdom old, in lenience young,
From fervent truth where every virtue sprung;
Where all was real, modest, plain, sincere;
Worth above show, and goodness unsevere:
Viewed round and round, as lucid diamonds throw
Still as you turn them a revolving glow,
So did his mind reflect with secret ray
In various virtues heaven's internal day;
Whether in high discourse it soared sublime
And sprung impatient o'er the hands of time,
Or, wandering nature through with raptured eye,

[1] Robertson adds the following notes to the poem: "Only the last eight lines were printed in Thomson's *Poems on Several Occasions*, published by A. Millar (price sixpence) in 1750. The whole piece was first printed in 1792 from a MS. in the possession of the Earl of Buchan" (*Poetical Works* [ed. Robertson], p. 444).

[2] *The Poetical Works of William Somervile*, "The Poets of Great Britain" (London, 1807), LXXVII, 26.

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Adored the hand that turned yon azure sky:
Whether to social life he bent his thought,
And the right poise of mingling passions sought,
Gay converse blest; or in the thoughtful grove
20 Bid the heart open every source of love:
New varying lights still set before your eyes
The just, the good, the social, or the wise.
For such a death who can, who would refuse
The friend a tear, a verse the mournful muse?

25 Yet pay we just acknowledgement to heaven,
Though snatched so soon, that Aikman e'er was given.
Grateful from Nature's banquet let us rise
Nor meanly leave it with reluctant eyes.
A friend, when dead, is but removed from sight
30 Sunk in the lustre of eternal light;
And, when the parting storms of life are o'er,
May yet rejoin him in a happier shore.

As those we love decay, we die in part,
String after string is severed from the heart;
35 Till loosened life, at last but breathing clay,
Without one pang is glad to fall away.
Unhappy he who latest feels the blow,
Whose eyes have wept o'er every friend laid low,
Dragged lingering on from partial death to death,
40 Till, dying, all he can resign is breath.[1]

Promptly transmitted to Mrs. Rowe by Lady Hertford, the poem received from that lady only qualified praise in a letter dated November 11, 1732: "I am charm'd wth the Beauties wth which Mr. Thomson's muse has drawn Mr Aikmans character," she writes, "but am rather more delighted with that elegant simplicity & natural innocence that appears in y^{r} La^{sps} Pastorels."[2]

The letter itself bears interesting relation to Thomson's later

[1] Alnwick MSS, No. 116, pp. 184–85. The improvement in the published version of this poem is another fortunate instance of the poet's power of self-criticism: ll. 27–28 are omitted; at the beginning of l. 30 "Sunk" is changed to "Hid"; between l. 30 and l. 31 are inserted four fine lines to the deepening of the thought. Of this poem Morel writes: "Ces quarante-deux vers ne furent pas publiés du vivant de l'auteur. Les huit derniers, furent imprimés dans l'édition des œuvres de 1750. Ils avaient sans aucun doute été communiqués par Lyttelton, car le manuscrit s'en trouve encore dans les archives de la famille à Hagley [Phillimore, *Life of Lord Lyttleton*, I, 312]. La pièce entière était en la possession du comte de Buchan et fut publiée par lui en 1792 [*Essays on the lives and writings of Fletcher of Saltoun and the Poet Thomson*]" (*op. cit.*, p. 98 n.). It now appears, however, that Lady Hertford also had possession of a complete copy of the poem, and she rather than Lyttleton may have been instrumental in its first partial publication.

[2] Alnwick MSS, No. 110, p. 317. This is one of the few dated letters in the collection.

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poetry. It contains, of course, the germ of his long and unsuccessful poem, *Liberty*, the first part of which came out in 1735 under the title, *Ancient and Modern Italy Compared*, with a Dedication to Frederick, Prince of Wales. The sentiments expressed in the letter are echoed in such lines of the poem as

> . . . . Mark the desponding Race,
> Of Occupation void, as void of Hope;
> Hope the glad Ray, glanc'd from Eternal Goods,
> That Life enlivens, and exalts it's Powers,
> With views of Fortune—Madness all to them!
> By the relentless seiz'd their better Joys,
> To the soft aid of cordial Airs they fly,
> A kind Oblivion breathing o'er their Woes,
> And Love and Music melt their Souls away [ll. 190–98].

The letter recalls, too, passages in *The Castle of Indolence;* e.g., the conflict between the Knight of Art and Industry and the Demon of Indolence in the second canto, and the description of the important part which music plays in the enchantment.

Soon after his return from abroad Thomson must have called upon his patroness, perhaps in London, as he suggested, for Mrs. Rowe writes on March 26, 1733: "I am pleased to hear of any improv'ment that so fine a Genius as Mr. Thomsons has gained by His Travels."[1]

On June 13, 1735, the poet was again Lady Hertford's guest, this time at St. Leonard's Hill, Windsor Forest, where he seems to have composed another poem carefully copied by the countess into her *Miscellany*, though never, so far as I have seen, included in any published collection:

> To RETIREMENT
> AN ODE
>
> Wrote at ST. LEONARD' HILL
> By Mr Thomson
> June 13th 1735
>
> 1.
>
> Come calm Retirement! Sylvan Power!
> That on St. Leonard's lov'st to walk,
> To lead along the thoughtful Hour
> And with the gentle Hartford talk.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 324. This letter also indicates a return from the Continent late in 1732 or early in 1733.

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2.

From Thee, when vernal Nature Blooms
  With tender Soul the Bosom glows;
And thro' the Woodland Summer Glooms
  The Zephirs breathe from Thee Repose.

3.

By Thee brown Autumn bounteous spreads
  Or pensive melts the soften'd Heart;
Even hoary winter's leafless shades
  A solemn joy from Thee impart.

4.

Come, let thy cloud-dispelling Hand
  Awaken the Poetic eye,
With finer Beauties deck the land
  With purer Azure swell the sky.

5.

Oh lead me to yon airy steep
  With tufted Trees inviting Crown'd;
Or plunge me in the Forrest deep,
  A Sea of Wood that Waves around!

6.

There let me thrid the verdant maze,
  In search of Scenes grotesque and new,
Of Glades that draw the lengthen'd Gaze,
  Of opening Lawns that chear the view.

7.

Hark! nought is heard but Natures voice!
  The whispering Breeze, the tuneful Throat:
See! how her harmless sons rejoyce,
  Their wanton Tyrant Man forgot.

8.

Then is the time to calm the mind
  A trembling then uncertain Tide;
To bid the Hearts tempestuous wind
  Into a sighing gale subside.

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9.

And lo! where On Augusta's Shore,
The Human Tempest roars amain;
What wretches there their fate deplore!
Oh cover me ye woods again![1]

On this Mrs. Rowe comments briefly, "Mr. Thomson's verses on Retirement are realy fine."[2]

The similarity of the thought of the final stanza of this poem to that of the concluding line of the E Version of the *Hymn on Solitude* is to be noted. The poem, if Thomson's, perhaps represents extempore composition.

Another poem is linked with this one in the Index to the *Miscellany* (this portion, at least, of the Index is in Lady Hertford's own hand); the entry stands as follows:

On a Lady's undertaking to tell a Gentleman what he thought on feeling his Pulse. Mr. Thomson.
To Retirement an Ode by the same.

The other poem, perhaps the casual fruit of the same festive occasion, is also preserved in Lady Hertford's copy, as follows:

ON A LADY'S UNDERTAKING TO TELL A GENTLEMAN WHAT HE THOUGHT ON BY FEELING HIS PULSE

1.

Taught by the Pulse, in vain Clarinda tries
From the mixt mass the favourite thought to Call;
Whilst at her touch such sweet Disorders rise,
And the comparing Hand Confounds them all.

2.

Yet if Clarinda ought of Pulses knows,
If she their faithful Silent Language hears;
Then did she learn a Thousand tender woes,
That lay Conceal'd among a Thousand Fears:

3.

Then did she learn what neither look nor sigh,
Can speak pathetic, nor the Muse's strain;
And what must buried in my Bosom ly,
Till piteous she shall ask my Pulse again.

[1] *Ibid.*, No. 116, pp. 229–30. [2] *Ibid.*, No. 110, p. 351.

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4.

Ah fatal pity! so the Docter dire
  Feel the tumultuous vein, him self tranquil,
Exults inhuman in the rising Fire
  Protracts the Pain, and cares not tho' he kill.[1]

If this is Thomson's composition, as appears likely, courtly conceits were obviously not his forte; presumably he knew it and suppressed the poem.

At the close of this visit Thomson's host accompanied the poet on his homeward way; the following day, June 14, 1735, Lord Hertford writes to his wife: "In the first place I must tell You that I got hither very well, but left Mr. Thomson at Hammersmith where he took boat as he said in order to go to Mr. Doddington, but I fancy he will go a little farther."[2]

In one of her last letters to Lady Hertford, Mrs. Rowe, who died in 1737, writes: "I have been Reading over Mr. Thomsons Seasons with a new and truly Rational delight one would think you had sat for the Picture of the Spring. The Resemblance I found, induced me to copy it, for Drawing is the Constant amus'ment of my Leisure time."[3] It would seem that in her retirement at Frome, "Philomela" was enjoying the fine engravings by Kent for Thomson's *Seasons*, and tracing in one of the figures in the frontispiece to *Spring* the lineaments of her friend.

The record of Thomson's reputation as a dramatist is now carried forward in the correspondence of Lady Hertford with another of her circle, the Countess of Pomfret, the lady so often maligned by Horace Walpole.

Of *Edward and Eleanora* Lady Hertford writes from London in February, 1739:

> I think you in the right, to be angry with our poets for neglecting so many fine subjects as the English history affords for the theatre; and am glad I can inform you that a subject named in your last will appear at the play-house in Covent-Garden in about a fortnight: It is the history of Edward the First and his queen, written by Mr. Thomson.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, No. 116, p. 228.

[2] *Percy Family Letters and Papers (1730–1736)* (Alnwick MSS), XXV, 216.

[3] Alnwick MSS, No. 110, p. 359.

[4] *Correspondence*, I, 99–100.

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A little later she reports:

Mr. Thomson's play of Edward and Eleanora has met with the same fate as Gustavus Vasa, in being forbidden. I think all the world seem in worse humour than ever I saw them in before; or else I look through smoked glasses —which I really believe is not the case, for I never felt my own house more peaceful than it is at this hour.[1]

In June, 1739, she writes to Lady Pomfret:

I hope your route will lead you to the Fontaine de Vancluse, which Petrarch has made so famous in his Sonnets, and which is also celebrated in an Epistle of Madame Des Houlières to Mademoiselle La Charce, whose story I dare say you are not unacquainted with. Mr. Thomson told me he had seen this fountain; and he promised to give me the description of it in verse: but the promises of poets are not always to be depended upon.[2]

In June of the same year she writes from St. Leonard's Hill: "I have read Mr. Thomson's Edward and Eleanora. I hear, it is the fashion to decry it extremely; but, I own, I am ungenteel enough to prefer it infinitely to Agamennon."[3] (*Agamennon* had appeared in April of the preceding year.) And in August she tells Lady Pomfret—who is in Italy:

I write by this post to order my bookseller to send you Gustavus Vasa, Edward and Eleanora, and Mr. West's poem, which he calls a Canto of Spenser. I venture to add Mrs. Carter's translation of signor Algarotti's book of Light and Colours.[4]

Lady Pomfret, who is more of a blue-stocking than Lady Hertford, writes critically from Florence on February 7, 1740:

Spenser's Canto charms though it condemns me. Edward and Eleanora tires and provokes me: the first by its stupidity; the last, that a man who is capable of feeling should choose such a subject to destroy. Gustavus Vasa has greatly my approbation, and I think the prohibition of it a more severe libel than any I have read.[5]

Finally of Thomson's last dramatic work, *The Masque of Alfred*, Lady Hertford writes from Richkings on September 10, O.S. 1740:

As to books, I have met with nothing new lately, except a Masque which was written by the Prince of Wales's command and represented at Cliefden. The subject of it is the history of Alfred; and the scene is laid in the isle of Athelney, in Somersetshire, where he was at the neatherds house. The clown

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 117–18.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 130.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 126.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 147.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 209–10.

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and his wife are made to speak the dialect of a hero and heroine in a court. The whole conduct of the piece is incorrect. There are two or three fine speeches, several party hints, and one invidious reflection—which did not need the pains that have been taken (by presenting it in a different character) to make it absolutely unpardonable. This fine performance is the joint work of Mr. Thomson and Mr. Mallet.[1]

From this point the correspondence of Lady Hertford with another friend takes up the story. From Mrs. Knight (later Lady Luxborough), Bolingbroke's half-sister, Lady Hertford had been separated since 1736. When their intercourse is resumed Mrs. Knight writes on August 20, 1742: "I enquir'd after Thompson of Mr. Symmer[2] but don't hear that he has publish'd very lately; but of him I should not speak since you have renounced y^r Love for Poetry; Your preferring Truth to Fiction I do not wonder at but I fear one reads as many Untruths in Prose."[3] To this Lady Hertford replied on September 7, 1742:

> I have not seen Thomson almost these three Years he keeps Company with scarce any Body but Mallet & one or two of the Players, & indeed hardly any body else will keep Company with him, He turns Day into Night, & Night into Day & is (as I am told) never awake till after Midnight & I doubt has quite drown'd his Genius.[4]

But though in an earlier letter Lady Hertford had disclosed to her friend a sad middle-aged tendency to turn from poetry to works of fact, she had not abandoned her interest in poets, or in Thomson at least. A manuscript letter of hers, bound in the front of a volume of her published letters in the British Museum, reads as follows:

PERCY LODGE Aug. 9th [1744?]

MR. DODSLEY

I was very much obliged to y^u (thô I have not told y^u so sooner) for the Verses upon the Death of Mr. Pope & without any Compliment [words obliterated] think y^r own were much the best amongst them, the Epigram upon [obliterated] Sara is a very good one. I see there is another Complaint come out, which I should be glad to have & my Lord would have the other numbers of Travels & the History of England but does not care for the naval

[1] *Op. cit.*, II, 61–62.

[2] Mr. Symmer was the tutor of Lord Brooke, Lady Hertford's nephew, who lived near Mrs. Knight.

[3] *Percy Family Letters and Papers* (Alnwick MSS), LXXVII, 174.

[4] Brit. Mus. MSS Add. 23728.

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History. I directed a Letter to Mr. Thomson some time agoe to be left at y^r House I should be glad to know that he has received it. Is Mr. Dalton Dead or alive? or where is he if above ground.

I am
Y^r sincere Friend
HARTFORD[1]

Of Thomson's last work, *The Castle of Indolence*, published in 1748, Lady Hertford writes Lady Luxborough on May 15 of that year in the letter so often quoted:

I conclude you will read Mr. Thomson's *Castle of Indolence:* 'tis after the manner of SPENCER, but I think he does not always keep so close to his Stile, as the *Author of the School-Mistress*, whose Name I never knew, till you were so good as to inform me of it. . . . . I believe it [*The Castle of Indolence*] will afford you Entertainment; there are many pretty Paintings in it, but I think the *Wizard's Song* deserves a Preference: "He needs no Muse who dictates from his Heart."[2]

A few months later, on November 14, 1748, Lady Luxborough replies (in a letter unpublished, I think) with an account of the grief over Thomson's death displayed by a group of littérateurs assembled at Lyttelton's seat. Lady Luxborough writes to Lady Hertford:

At Hagley we learn'd ye Death of Mr. Thomson wch Mr. Lyttleton was grieving at under one Tree & Mr. Shenstone under another as we walk'd in ye gloomy part of ye Park; the latter is actually setting up an Urn to his Memory in what he calls Virgils grove to whom he erected an obelisk some time ago surrounded by Cascades of Water as I believe I wrote y^r L.^p word. . . . .

We [Shenstone and Lady Luxborough] have at present a great dispute about ye Seasons of ye Year, his dislike being perticularly to Autumn wch is ye Season I admire, but in spite of me he rails at it, & Mr. Thomson's death just at that time made him take it more wch he expresses in ye Lines I enclose wch were writ in more a manner extempore; He is in ye right to regret him for from the time Mr. Lyttleton had introduced him to Mr. Shenstone's he approv'd of the Taste of ye Latter, contracted a Friendship wth him & Mr. Shenstone hope he'd have continued it, & have criticis'd or corrected what he writes wch would have been an advantage to a Young Poet . . . . there are some *pretty Paintings* as y^r L.^p expresses it in ye Castle of Indolence. Mr.

[1] Bound in the front of Vol. I of the *Correspondence between Frances, Countess of Hartford and Henrietta Louisa, Countess of Pomfret* (1805) (Brit. Mus. 10920, cc. 34). *An Elegy on the Death of Mr. Pope* was advertised by Dodsley on June 22, 1744 (Straus, *Robert Dodsley*, p. 327); and Young's *The Complaint* (*Night the Sixth*) was published by Dodsley on March 30, 1744 (*ibid.*, p. 326).

[2] Thomas Hull, *Select Letters between the Late Duchess of Somerset, Lady Luxborough . . . . and Others* (London, 1778), I, 68–69. Cf. *supra*, p. 441.

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Shenstone thinks he sh^{d} not have anticipated ye Deseases & Inconveniency of Indolence in his 1st Canto as they are so largely displayed in ye 2^{d} where they'd have appear'd more strikingly.[1]

Into her *Miscellany* Lady Hertford copied Shenstone's tribute to the dead poet under the title, "Written in Autumn 1748 by Mr. Shenstone";[2] and also "Verses by Mr. Dyer" on Thomson, beginning,

> O Thomson we have long in absence lain
> And long in Silence have we ever met
> As Friend met Friend? . . . .

Dyer's *Grongar Hill* (published in 1726) occupied a prominent place in the opening pages of the *Miscellany*, as we might expect.

On November 20, 1753, at the time when Dodsley was gathering material for the later volumes of his *Collection of Poems*, Lady Hertford writes to Shenstone:

> I cannot help mentioning another Copy of Verses of yours, which, if it is not already printed, I hope you will permit Mr. Dodsley to add to his new Collection, and that is *Damon's Bower*, occasioned by the Death of Mr. Thomson. If you should have mislaid the Original, I have a copy at your Service, which I will transmit either to you, in Case you should have a Mind to look it over again, or transmit it directly to Mr. Dodsley.[3]

Doubtless she refers to the verses transmitted to her by Lady Luxborough and copied in the *Miscellany*. This request to Shenstone suggests the possibility that the appearance of Thomson's *Hymn on Solitude* in the early form in Dodsley's third volume may also have been due to Lady Hertford's efforts.

Finally, the Countess's admiration for Thomson's poetry is suggested not only by the record of her correspondence from 1726 to 1753, but also by the quality of her own verse. Many of her compositions preserved in manuscript discover not genius but a sympathetic observation of nature and a delight in country life expressed now realistically and now rhapsodically. Of the former type is a poem, "To the East Wind," inclosed in a letter to Lady Pomfret in 1741, two stanzas of which read:

[1] *Percy Family Letters and Papers (1745–1751)* (Alnwick MSS), XXX, 199–200.
[2] Alnwick MSS, No. 116, pp. 265–67.
[3] Hull, *op. cit.*, I, 183.

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My harmless lambs upon the green,
  Were wont to frisk in wanton play,
But shiv'ring now and dull are seen,
  Bleating beside the racks for hay:
The blossoms from my pear-trees fall,
And naked leave the western wall.

That wall, which us'd to charm my sight
  With varied blooms adorn'd and gay,
Can now afford me no delight,
  Whilst you its glories sweep away:
If in my borders vi'lets blow,
You bury them in flakes of snow.[1]

And a paean in blank verse, reminiscent of Thomson, is entitled, "A Soliloquy written at the Hermitage at St. Leonard's Hill May the 25th 1732"; it begins:

Great God of Nature! in this Sylvan Scene
While I admire thy various Works O Teach
My Soul thro' all their Plenty to Pursue
Thy forming Hand, & render Thee the Praise:
. . . . . .
Thy Powerful word first bade the Riv'lets flow,
In which the Sun burnt Cattle Slake their Thirst,
And cool their limbs, Parch'd with the Mid Day Heat.[2]

Lady Hertford's interest in Thomson, dating from the appearance of *Winter* in 1726, arose primarily, I think, from her delight in his appreciation of natural beauty, and the visual appeal of his descriptions of country landscape; it is such detailed and realistic description that she often essayed in her own verses. She shared with Mrs. Rowe also a sympathy for the deistic doctrine of the religion of nature to which he gave pre-eminent expression in the *Hymn* at the close of the *Seasons*, for his sense of the harmony of the natural universe, and the healing peace of rural solitudes, to which her spirit turned perhaps more instinctively than his. The appeal of his poetry to her romantic taste and its influence upon her own writing are worth noting because the Countess of Hertford stands as the representative of a distinguished group of readers including, as her own circle included, cultivated members of the leisurely middle class as well as maids of honor,

[1] *Correspondence*, III, 45.

[2] Alnwick MSS, No. 115, pp. 78–79.

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men and women for whom life was something other than the existence of town and court, and literature something more than a record of its social gestures. The letters of Lady Hertford and her circle prove the justice of the surmise of one of the ablest of Thomson's modern editors: "The age itself, perhaps," wrote Rev. D. C. Tovey, "had surer instincts than its poets; it might be shown that readers were sighing for the country while poets were making for the town," adding, only too truly, "London did much to spoil Thomson."[1] In the second quarter of the eighteenth century Lady Hertford and her friends followed eagerly the work of the rising school of minor poets—Thomson, Dyer, Savage, Duck, Shenstone, Somervile, etc.—whose descriptive poetry portrayed the beauty of the world of nature which the poets had really seen, and whose narrative verse revealed the life of the common man and the spirit within him.

On three points, then, the material in the Alnwick MSS throws new light: on Thomson's friendly relations with the Countess of Hertford up to the time of his death; on the composition of the *Hymn on Solitude;* and on his continental travels and his residence in 1732. In addition to the unpublished letter from Paris, two unpublished poems, the *Ode to Retirement* and the verses *On a Lady's undertaking to tell a Gentleman what he thought on by feeling his Pulse*, and an early version of the lines *On the Death of Mr. Aikman* are discovered. The two new poems, if Thomson's they are, as seems to me likely, were probably extempore compositions written during some visit to Lady Hertford in the years 1730–35.

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[1] *The Poetical Works of James Thomson* (ed. D. C. Tovey; London, 1897), I, xliv.

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THE RÔLE OF GULLIVER

In Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, who is Gulliver; what is he? It is easy to give two wrong answers in a breath: he is Swift in disguise; or he is, as William A. Eddy puts it, "the allegorical representative of man, as truly as Christian is in *Pilgrim's Progress*."[1] Since Gulliver is the one figure absolutely vital to the scheme of Swift's most complicated and effective book, this figure may well be worth all the analysis anyone is able to give it, as it doubtless embodies all that Swift was capable of in artistic creation of character.

That Gulliver is not Swift himself in either intellect or disposition is abundantly certain. The Swift of 1726–27 (the period of *Gulliver's Travels*) was in his intellectual perceptions, witness his achievements up to that time in politics[2] and in literature,[3] almost as keen as any recorded human being. With Gulliver, it is a very different matter: a good sound fellow enough, but slow to seize upon even an obvious new idea; far from brilliant. And Gulliver's disposition is equally remote from Swift's. Gulliver possesses an easy good nature. He is ready of his sympathy and affection. He has a just sense of his own mediocrity (at least to begin with, he has!) and appears almost humbly unobtrusive in his ways. But in Gulliver lies that most precious capacity for acquiring knowledge: slowly, surely, he learns. Swift seems, on the other hand, to be afire with impatience that comes from too clear insight. While he was undoubtedly sympathetic, his sympathy was frequently obscured to the world by his so-called arrogance. (Can a man so genuinely superior as Swift was to his associates, in many ways, be justly called arrogant for realizing his superiority?) Swift was capable of devotion to individuals such as we look for in vain in Gulliver. Swift was profoundly humorous, while Gulliver, though he may be the cause that wit sparkles in other men, is hardly witty in himself. Scorn and rage at iniquity constitute the very tem-

[1] William A. Eddy, *Gulliver's Travels, a Critical Study*, p. 100.

[2] From 1710 to 1713, it would be difficult to maintain that any man in England wielded greater political weapons than Swift. Ten years later (1724), Swift showed his political pre-eminence in Ireland.

[3] Before 1726, Swift had published, among many lesser things, *The Tale of a Tub*, 1704; *Battle between the Ancient and Modern Books*, 1704; *The Drapier Letters*, 1724.

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per of Swift. In Gulliver, these things are induced gradually, against the grain. Only that passion in readers for assuming the autobiographic can account for any confusion of Gulliver with Swift.

No more is Gulliver "the allegorical representative of man." He is not everyman, by any means, but as much an individual, almost, as Parson Adams or Squire Western (figures, both of them, somewhat typical and somewhat special). In certain ways, he surpasses the average man and, in certain other ways, he is peculiar or just different from the average without being superior or inferior. He is, to be sure, an example of a man getting knowledge or wisdom. But Swift is able for his purposes to create a human being much more perfectly appropriate and more real than a mere average or representative figure. So quietly natural is the process of creation in Swift's hands that it has scarcely been appreciated as a marvel of artistry. Gulliver is an entirely credible and probable person at the same time that he is precisely the person to enforce Swift's demonstration. Swift, obviously enough, desires to communicate his own thoughts and passions regarding human beings to the readers of his book. That is, in a general sense, one of the reasons for all efforts of an artistic sort. To infect others with his own ardent misanthropy,[1] Swift could not have chosen a more effective human instrument than Lemuel Gulliver, it would seem.

Gulliver's individual traits stand forth sufficiently for anyone who seeks, in the two earlier voyages—that to Lilliput and that to Brobdingnag. Here we have the "given quantity" (but how far from a stiff symbol is Gulliver) upon which the demonstration is to be performed. It is, consequently, very important to comprehend the man as "given" in these two voyages before he has been perceptibly modified by his astonishing experiences.

The very first hints about Gulliver himself are unobtrusively but meticulously conveyed through the prefatory letter from Richard Sympson, publisher, to the reader, and through a second letter from Captain Gulliver (as it were, after the fact of publication) to his cousin Sympson.[2] In the former letter, Sympson apologizes for the travels as "a little too circumstantial"; while he excuses the tedious-

[1] Yet note upon this point Ernest Bernbaum in his Introduction to *Gulliver's Travels* (1920).

[2] In all unabridged editions of *Gulliver's Travels* these two letters immediately precede "A Voyage to Lilliput."

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ness, in some measure, on the ground that "the author was so distinguished for his veracity, that it became a sort of proverb among his neighbors at Redriff, when any one affirmed a thing, to say it was as true as if Mr. Gulliver had spoke it." The letter from Gulliver to Sympson, in so far as it exhibits Gulliver, must be considered in any study of his rôle last rather than first, for it was supposed to have been written some time subsequent to the voyage to the Houyhnhnms. The quiet exposition of Gulliver's capacities and inclinations during his sojourn in Lilliput gives ample material for a reader's information; the man's intellectual caliber and emotional caliber are rather more than suggested though not altogether unfolded. He studied "physic," mathematics, and navigation (these three more than other things) for three years at Cambridge and for two years and seven months at Leyden. He must have had a share of brains, one would deduce. It was not all theory with him, either. After Leyden, he was three years ship's surgeon on voyages to the Levant. He then married and attempted to practice medicine in London, but without success. Six more years as ship's surgeon followed; three consecutive years on land again; poor fortune brought him as usual to the sea. Thus comes the voyage to Lilliput.[1] His province was evidently "marine" surgery and he worked with uniform success in his own province. Yet Gulliver was exceptional among marine surgeons, for he tells us:

> My hours of leisure I spent in reading the best authors, ancient and modern, being always provided with a good number of books; and when I was ashore in observing the manners and dispositions of the people, as well as learning their language, wherein I had a great facility by the strength of my memory.[2]

Besides having sufficiently good brains for a considerable period of study, he had a remarkably agile and accurate memory.

Among the Lilliputians, Gulliver's character, both intellectual and moral, is thrown into relief. His natural inclinations emerge in spite of the astonishing circumstances, partly because of them. As always (or nearly always) he shows himself resourceful in ordinary and extraordinary physical emergencies. His bellowing and struggling very soon subside into meek-enough compliance and trust. "I thought it the

[1] "Lilliput," chap. i. In view of the great number of good editions of *Gulliver's Travels*, it seems wisest to avoid page references in favor of references to particular voyage and chapter. The biographical material surveyed up to this point is all to be found in the early pages of the chapter indicated.

[2] "Lilliput," chap. i.

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most prudent method to lie still. . . . ."[1] Gulliver soon finds ways of getting along tolerably, be the people big, little, or equine. He is adaptable in the restricted sense of being able to endure all sorts of uncouth occurrences equably. This does not imply much plasticity on his part. Intellectually he is deliberate if not actually slow; for he fails to realize the implications for mankind in the absurdities of Lilliputian politics, wars, religion, education. It is only at the close of the conversations with the King of Brobdingnag[2] that he gets an inkling of the significance to himself, to any Englishman, to any human being, of these adventures among the pygmies and the giants. He comes near to being a stolid Englishman. Not only is he intellectually deliberate; he is unsophisticated in many ways and capable only with considerable pains of sophistication. The whole book (all four voyages) might, not altogether inappropriately, be entitled *The Sophistication of Lemuel Gulliver*.

He is, congruously enough, decidedly good natured. He likes people—from six-inchers to sixty-footers. The Lilliputians who amused themselves by wantonly discharging arrows at Gulliver were treated by him with great gentleness.[3] He is compact of various loyalties. Who is more enthusiastic about his "dear native land" than Gulliver? In his protracted account of England,[4] her people and institutions, to the King of Brobdingnag, Gulliver is positively chauvinistic.

For I have always borne that laudable partiality to my own country which Dionysius Halicarnassensis with so much justice recommends to an historian: I would hide the frailties and deformities of my political mother, and place her virtues and beauties in the most advantageous light. This was my sincere endeavour in those many discourses I had with that mighty monarch, although it unfortunately failed of success.[5]

[1] *Ibid.* And a little later in the same chapter we find: "I confess I was often tempted while they were passing backwards and forwards on my body, to seize forty or fifty of the first that came in my reach, and dash them against the ground. But the remembrance of what I had felt . . . . and the promise of honour I made them, for so I interpreted my submissive behavior, soon drove out these imaginations."

[2] "Brobdingnag," chap. vi.

[3] "Lilliput," chap. ii: ". . . . As to the sixth, I made a countenance as if I would eat him alive. The poor man squalled terribly . . . . but I soon put him out of fear: for, looking mildly, and immediately cutting the strings he was bound with, I set him gently on the ground, and away he ran."

[4] "Brodbingnag," chaps. vi, vii.

[5] *Ibid.*, chap. vii. Cf. in chap. vi: "Imagine with thyself, courteous reader, how often I then wished for the tongue of Demosthenes or Cicero, that might have enabled me to celebrate the praise of my own dear native country in a style equal to its merits and felicity."

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And for all the harsh criticism leveled at English institutions by the attentive King,[1] Gulliver never admits that his own faith in her is at all seriously shaken. He is intellectually and temperamentally disinclined to alter his outlook upon human affairs and human beings; but we may probably assume that such downright condemnation of those beings and affairs as issued from the admired monarch's lips found subconscious lodgment in Gulliver's heart or brain. So his acquisition of wisdom may be supposed to have begun definitely in Brobdingnag; whereas his mature intellectual and temperamental stiffness had been proof against, what seems to most readers, the rather obvious exposure of the falseness of human affairs and human beings in Lilliput. It is clear that Gulliver is a loyal defender of human beings as such (as well as of Englishmen) from such passages as the following, addressed to the King of Brobdingnag:

> I one day took the freedom to tell his majesty, that the contempt he discovered towards Europe, and the rest of the world, did not seem answerable to those excellent qualities of the mind he was master of. That reason did not extend itself with the bulk of the body: but on the contrary, we observed in our country, that the tallest persons were usually least provided with it. . . . . And that, as inconsiderable as he took me to be, I hoped I might live to do his majesty some signal service.[2]

Here Gulliver undoubtedly conceives himself as a sort of defender of the essential excellence of the human species.

Perhaps the honest optimism and good nature of the man emerge more distinctly in his relations with individuals in Lilliput and Brobdingnag. It is not in him to be mean or resentful either to creatures one-twelfth his size or to those twelve times his size. In spite of the frightful plots[3] contrived against him at the instance of Skyresh Bolgolam and Flimnap, Gulliver flees without any impulse to vengeance. His good nature after such imminent perils is touched only to the point of resolving ". . . . never more to put confidence in princes or ministers, where I could possibly avoid it; . . . ."[4] Nowhere does Gulliver's good will to human beings shine clearer than in his sojourn at Brobdingnag; witness his forgiveness of the nearly fatal pranks

[1] Note particularly the concluding paragraph of "Brobdingnag," chap. vi.

[2] "Brobdingnag," chap. vi.

[3] "Lilliput," chap. vii.

[4] *Ibid.*, chap. viii. In this connection, note *ibid.*, chap. vii: "I had been hitherto all my life a stranger to courts, for which I was unqualified by the meanness of my condition."

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played upon him by the farmer's boy[1] and the Queen's dwarf,[2] and, more positively, witness his genuine (though not passionate) affection for Glumdalclitch.[3] Not yet disillusioned by his experiences in Lilliput, he readily gives his unaffected admiration and friendship to the King and Queen of Brobdingnag (who happen to deserve what he bestows!).[4] This Gulliver is truly reluctant to be taught wisdom by experience.

As one voyage succeeds another, the student of the character of Lemuel Gulliver must carefully examine the framework of each adventure—what might be called the departures and the landfalls. There are two points to note: his attitude as husband and father and his professional experiences. He is presented to us as a loving and attentive husband up to the time of his return from Houyhnhnm-land.[5] His business has always been one that necessitates long absences from wife and children. To be sure, he has an "insatiable desire of seeing foreign countries," but that implies no "disaffection" for his family; it was not a case of taking one and rejecting the other. He had tried business at home and failed at it.[6] How naturally he chronicles his leave-taking for the voyage that led him to Brobdingnag.

> My son Johnny, named so after his uncle, was at the Grammar School, and a towardly child. My daughter Betty (who is now well married, and has children) was then at her needle-work. I took leave of my wife, and boy and girl, with tears on both sides, and went on board the Adventure, a merchant-ship. . . . .[7]

Gulliver is not a uxorious family-man, obviously; yet is a normal, kindly father and husband.

The second point to note in these bits of preface and conclusion is that Gulliver is getting ahead professionally. He may suffer many shipwrecks, but he keeps advancing; so it is impossible to maintain

[1] "Brobdingnag," chap. i. [2] *Ibid.*, chap. iii. [3] e.g., "Brobdingnag," chaps. ii, viii.

[4] See *ibid.*, chap. vii; and chap. v (for the Queen's virtues).

[5] After his return from Lilliput, Gulliver remains with his family two months. Then the desire "of seeing foreign countries would suffer me to continue no longer." That does not mean any discontent with his family, however; for he takes the greatest pains to provide them with "a good house" and "fifteen hundred pounds" and "an estate in land of about thirty pounds a year," etc. See "Lilliput," chap. viii, final paragraph.

[6] See *ibid.*, chap. i, the second and third paragraphs. And another attempt at setting down is chronicled in the fourth paragraph! See also the concluding lines of "Brobdingnag," chap. viii.

[7] "Lilliput," chap. viii, last paragraph: On his return from Laputa via Luggnagg and Japan, Gulliver "went straight to Redriff . . . . and found my wife and family in good health" ("Laputa," chap. xi, last paragraph).

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that lack of worldly success or recognition was souring his nature. The first voyage ". . . . I accepted an advantageous offer from Captain William Pritchard, master of the Antelope, who was making a voyage to the South-Sea."[1] The second voyage, he merely records that he "took shipping" in a certain ship with a certain commander. But with the third voyage he achieves a better position.

> . . . . At last he [a captain] plainly invited me, though with some apologies, to be surgeon of the ship; that I should have another surgeon under me besides our two mates; that my salary should be double to the usual pay; and that having experienced my knowledge in sea-affairs to be at least equal to his, he would enter into any engagement to follow my advice, as much as if I had share in the command.[2]

Gulliver is now a man of solid professional repute, capable of large responsibility, still retaining his cheerful appetite for travel, "the thirst I had of seeing the world." The fourth voyage represents further professional advancement, the positive measure of success.

> I continued at home with my wife and children about five months in a very happy condition, if I could have learned the lesson of knowing when I was well. I left my poor wife big with child, and accepted an advantageous offer made me to be Captain of the Adventurer, a stout merchantman of 350 tons: for I understood navigation well, and being grown weary of a surgeon's employment at sea, ... I took a skilful young man of that calling. . . . .[3]

Gulliver, our given quantity, turns out then, briefly, to be not an extraordinarily keen man in any way, not blessed (or cursed) with flashing and piercing insight. At the same time he is extraordinarily (though far from uniquely) endowed with a zest for experience, a curiosity to see and to know. He is, here, well above the average. In temperament, Gulliver is, again, not a mere typical man but a noticeably kindly, friendly, patriotic, perhaps even optimistic man. Sufficiently happy both in his family and in his profession, Gulliver is of a nature almost immune to meanness, selfishness, hatred, morbidity of any sort. If native land, wife, children, human race become dark and sinister and vile in his eyes, it will be (we must all admit) only for very potent, indubitable causes. His every predisposition is against misanthropy. But he has the capacity slowly and honestly to think. The human race may be conceived as individually pinning their faith to

[1] "Lilliput," chap. i. [2] "Laputa," chap. i.

[3] "Houyhnhnms," chap. i. Note the tone of tenderness at the beginning of this quotation. Gulliver has not yet attained by any means to true wisdom.

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Gulliver, and reflecting, the while, "If Gulliver ever becomes a man-hater that will be the perfect demonstration (for such of us as can think) that the race is hateful. Experiences that transform the good Gulliver into a misanthropist would much more surely transform us others should we pass through them." At least, Swift seems to calculate some such effect of Gulliver upon readers of the book.

Gulliver's Travels is in some sort the education of this man—his higher education, that is—and we see his so-to-speak Freshman and Sophomore experiences in Lilliput and Brobdingnag, bewildering experiences to him, with little seemingly vital result, but nevertheless an indispensable first tilling of the intellectual soil from which no genuine fruits are to be expected until later. This "later" means in Laputa and in Houyhnhnms-land. His final years may now be viewed, leading as they do to a sort of degree of ultimate understanding or sophistication. The goal of the book is not reached until the last page. To deal with it otherwise than as an organic unit is altogether to mutilate it.

In "Laputa" there are signs that the middle-aged, good-natured Gulliver is no longer impervious to the terrible suggestions and implications for him (and for any man!) of present events. He begins to apply what he observes to the case of human beings as such, wherever. Having been told of the way in which the wife of a prime minister in Laputa has twice deserted her indulgent but preoccupied husband to take up her abode with "an old deformed footman, who beat her every day," having heard this, Gulliver promptly remarks:

> This may perhaps pass with the reader rather for an European or English story, than for one of a country so remote. But he may please to consider, that the caprices of womankind are not limited by any climate or nation, and that they are much more uniform than can be easily imagined.[1]

That his disillusionment is well under way is indicated by certain reflections that we would never have heard upon the lips of that Gulliver who dealt so naïvely with the King and ministers of Lilliput.

> These unhappy people were proposing schemes for persuading monarchs to choose favourites upon the score of their wisdom, capacity, and virtue; of teaching ministers to consult the public good; of rewarding merit, great abilities, eminent services; of instructing princes to know their true interest by placing it on the same foundation with that of their people; of choosing for employments persons qualified to exercise them; with many other wild impossible chimaeras. . . . .[2]

[1] "Laputa," chap. ii. [2] *Ibid.*, chap. vi.

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In many instances, in the third voyage, it would not be difficult to maintain that, for the time, Swift speaks through the lips of Gulliver. That does not mean, of course, that Gulliver is a disguise for Swift but merely that Gulliver is attaining wisdom.

There is a late flare-up of Gulliver's native good nature, philanthropy, and idealism in his experience at Luggnagg, apropos of the Struldbrugs or the people who never die. Certain persons of quality in Luggnagg volunteer to expound and exhibit the Struldbrugs to Gulliver. The mere prospect moves him more profoundly than any danger or any marvel previously encountered in the travels.

> I freely own myself to have been struck with inexpressible delight upon hearing this account: [the account was very vague up to this point]. . . . . I could not forbear breaking out into expressions perhaps a little too extravagant. I cried out as in a rapture; Happy nation where every child hath at least a chance for being immortal! Happy people who enjoy so many living examples of ancient virtue, and have masters ready to instruct them in the wisdom of all former ages! but, happiest beyond all comparison are those excellent Struldbrugs, who being born exempt from that universal calamity of human nature, have their minds free and disengaged, without the weight and depression of spirits caused by the continual apprehension of death.[1]

Not content with this exhortation, Gulliver proceeds (for the last time in his life, we may be sure) to pour forth his most cherished aspirations, which are characteristically marked by great good will to man. It impresses as the final struggle of Gulliver's buoyant soul against the inevitable, imminent wisdom of misanthropy.

> . . . . If it had been my good fortune to come into the world a Struldbrug, as soon as I could discover my own happiness by understanding the difference between life and death, I would first resolve by all arts and methods whatsoever to procure myself riches. . . . . In the second place, I would from my earliest youth apply myself to the study of arts and sciences, by which I should arrive in time to excell all others in learning. Lastly, I would carefully record every action and event of consequence that happened in the public, ... with my own observations on every point. . . . . By all which acquirements, I should be a living treasury of knowledge and wisdom, and certainly become the oracle of the nation. . . . . I would entertain myself in forming and directing the minds of hopeful young men. . . . . But my choice and constant companions should be a set of my own immortal brotherhood. . . . . Where any of these wanted fortunes, I would provide them with convenient lodges round my own estate. . . . .

[1] *Ibid.*, chap. x.

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These struldbrugs and I would mutually communicate our observations and memorials through the course of time, remark the several gradations by which corruption steals into the world, and oppose it in every step, by giving perpetual warning and instruction to mankind; which, added to the strong influence of our own example, would probably prevent that continual degeneracy of human nature so justly complained of in all ages.[1]

Such words and ideas could flow only from a temperament sufficiently sanguine, a generous disposition. No sooner has Gulliver's nature thus expressed itself than he receives a chilling lesson. The inhabitants of Luggnagg are diverted at his ingenuousness. They inform him that an immortal (struldbrug) becomes, *ipso facto*, a prey to "not only all the follies and infirmities of other old men, but many more which arose from the dreadful prospect of never dying."[2] Furthermore, typical struldbrugs are exhibited to Gulliver. The point for a student of Gulliver's character and rôle to note here is the remarkable docility with which he learns the lesson in all its implications. He has surmounted that dulness which prevented him from appreciating the suggestions for human nature and human affairs at Lilliput and Brobdingnag. The seed of the idea sprouts promptly in the brain so long apparently sluggish or impenetrable. He admits a great loss of "appetite for perpetuity of life," and even entertains the project of transporting "a couple of struldbrugs to my own country, to arm our people against the fear of death."[3] Disillusioned as he is in many respects, Gulliver still is concerned to benefit people. His education is not finished; his pilgrimage as yet uncompleted.

In the light of the first three books of the *Travels*, it is not only necessary but natural to expect the fourth. The reader has been lured in the steps and into the thoughts of Gulliver by an unobtrusive and unwavering art not immeasurably less masterly though perhaps less lovely than the art of Milton in tracing the degeneration of Satan or that of Shakespeare in patiently following the gradual ruin of King Lear's body and mind.

Gulliver, after dwelling for a period among the admirable Houyhnhnms and observing with horror their filthy but thoroughly human slaves, the Yahoos, shows himself such an adept at receiving unfamiliar and uncongenial ideas that he may be pronounced educated or sophisticated more utterly than any other recorded man! For a meas-

[1] "Laputa," chap. x. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*, last two paragraphs.

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ure of his growth in comprehension of things,[1] it is convenient to contrast his account to his master, the Dapple Gray Houyhnhnm,[2] of mankind (particularly Englishmen) with his account of the same species to the King of Brobdingnag.[3] Every item in the account to the Dapple Gray is presented in a disagraceful light where each had been set forth with bellicose patriotism and philanthropism in the account at Brobdingnag. Our long and intimate acquaintance with Lemuel Gulliver in the earlier voyages has led us almost imperceptibly to cherish a not inconsiderable liking for him and (more significantly) to feel a measure of confidence in his good nature and his general capacity. The result is that we find ourselves inclined to accept his views. Shocking and ferocious as the attack on man may be in the "Voyage to the Houghnhnms," we are conducted with singular gentleness, everything considered, by our friend Gulliver through all the desolation of humanity. We tend to believe him until the tale is done and we have had a chance to appreciate the indictment. Then comes the ferocious shock rather than in the reading.

Gulliver explains innocently his reason for the new attitude toward mankind:

> I must confess, the many virtues of those excellent quadrupeds [i.e., the Houyhnhnms] placed in opposite view to human corruptions, had so far opened my eyes and enlarged my understanding, that I began to view the actions and passions of man in a very different light, and to think the honor of my own kind not worth managing [i.e., manipulating]; . . . .[4]

It is hard not to credit the words of a friend who evinces a yearning for ideal virtue.

> I had not been a year in this country, before I contracted such a love and veneration for the inhabitants, that I entered on a firm resolution never to return to human kind, but to pass the rest of my life among these admirable Houyhnhnms in the contemplation and practice of every virtue; . . . .[5]

Gulliver's education is coming not only to flower but to fruit. He no longer considers ways of benefiting man as he had even so recently as during his visit to the struldbrugs. The final revelation of wisdom has

[1] A comprehension of things means to Swift (beyond doubt) a conviction of the vileness of men as such—of their absolutely incurable vileness. So the views of Gulliver and of Swift finally coincide, though they show no identity of intellect or disposition.

[2] "Houyhnhnms," chaps. v and vi.

[3] "Brobdingnag," chaps. vi and vii.

[4] "Houyhnhnms," chap. vii.

[5] *Ibid.*

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been apparently to refrain from human contact—a revelation convincing enough to transform a philanthropic Gulliver.

The full force of Gulliver's attainment of knowledge is not felt until he is forced back among men—an indubitable Yahoo. He is constrained to admit his Yahoo-nature humbly; to admit, also, that as a Yahoo he must depart the land of virtue forever.[1] It is only when he finally reaches England and his wife and children that the realization comes of his utter disillusion, his complete wisdom! ". . . . The sight of them filled me only with hatred, disgust and contempt. . . . ."[2] We know from our long intimacy with Gulliver that he is incapable of cruelty, hard-heartedness. We know he is not morbid or easily bored. He must have attained to whatever is the final attainment, extraordinary as the results of it may seem. From this new point of vantage (if we may so call it), Lemuel Gulliver writes to his publisher and cousin Richard Sympson that letter which forms an essential Preface to *Gulliver's Travels*—he writes condemning his own general attitude toward men in his earlier days. He protests: "I should never have attempted so absurd a project as that of reforming the Yahoo race in this kingdom; but I have now done with all such visionary schemes for ever."[3] These are the ultimate words from the pen of Lemuel Gulliver. He has played out his rôle to perfection. Or possibly we might say that he has gone another pilgrim's progress, this time not to the Celestial City, but to a place equally difficult of human attainment if we may believe Swift—to Misanthropolis. And the pilgrimage is real to us in the reading (if not in the after-thought) because Gulliver is in disposition and in intellect so credible, probable, recognizable, and trustworthy.[4]

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[1] When Gulliver hears his doom he confesses "that I knew too well upon what solid reasons all the determinations of the wise Houyhnhnms were founded, not to be shaken by arguments of mine, a miserable Yahoo."

[2] "Houyhnhnms," chap. xi.

[3] "A Letter from Captain Gulliver to His Cousin Sympson," printed just before "A Voyage to Lilliput" in *Gulliver's Travels*.

[4] In calling attention to the fact that Gulliver should not be viewed merely as the representative of Swift himself or simply as the representative of mankind, I have not considered a possible view of Gulliver as a regular, undistinguished, eighteenth-century traveler. At first thought, what more plausible than that he is the conventional figure upon whom strange adventures may be hung like hats upon a hat-tree! Now no man of the period has made use of such figures more frequently than Defoe, and from his narratives we can gather just how little care had been bestowed upon travelers to make them recognizable human beings. Captain Singleton is surely a typical traveler of the time—an empty image. To compare Singleton with Gulliver is to feel the latter's individuality.

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PRECURSORS OF THE FINNISH METHOD OF FOLK-LORE STUDY

Certain general principles in the study of traditional materials are known as the Finnish or historico-geographical method. These principles were being used and even formulated into rules long before they were finally codified by Finnish scholars. This development was quite independent of the course events took in Finland, and would have led sooner or later to the creation of a rigid analytical method. It is not without interest and importance to show the nature and course of this development.

The Finnish method consists in assembling as complete a list of versions as possible,[1] in dividing the story into a series of episodes, in

[1] Of course we must not forget that assembling a complete or even relatively complete collection of versions is a very laborious undertaking and one not to be assumed lightly. In this insistence on completeness the Finnish method differs from the earlier methods generally, in so far as we can perceive any definite procedure in them. Max Müller, for example, appears to have used the versions which came to hand without searching for others. The much-talked-of psycho-analytic "method," if it can be called a method at all, is quite as casual in its selection of versions for closer study. De Keyser ("Het Lied van Halewijn; een psycho-analytisch onderzoek," *Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor Volkskunde*, XXVII [1922], 165–74) takes a text which illustrates most strikingly the points which he wishes to make and then treats it as primitive and original without more ado. Jan de Vries ("Het Lied van Halewijn: over het goed gebruik van wetenschappelijke methoden," *ibid.*, XXVIII [1923], 1–17) calls him to order, but doubtless unavailingly. I cannot see that other psycho-analytic studies in traditional materials are better in this regard. Except for the article on "Cinderella," Saintyves (*Les contes de Perrault et les récits parallèles* [Paris, 1923]), who may be cited as representative of those seeking origins in prehistoric rituals, appears to rest his case on versions which chance to fall into his hands rather than on an exhaustive collection of materials, and for Cinderella he relies on Miss Cox's famous book. The ethnological method of Andrew Lang would, one might expect, demand completeness of its disciples. But examples of the method are hard to find, at least examples of its detailed and thorough application are practically non-existent. Lang, in his study of the Cupid and Psyche story, aims at bringing together examples of savage custom, and so does MacCulloch in his *Childhood of Fiction*. The older and the more scattering the examples the better. But a really painstaking determination of what constitutes the Cupid and Psyche story does not occur to a member of the ethnological school, although such a determination might seem to be a prerequisite to explaining the story. I cannot pass over unmentioned Karsten's review of Hästesko, *Länsisuomalaiset tautien loitsut* ("West Finnish Charms against Sicknesses") in *Zs. des Vereins f. Volksk.*, XXI (1911), 426–27. Karsten says, "Die Ergebnisse, zu denen der Verf. gelangt, und die von ihm angewandte Methode sind indessen, wie mir scheint, sehr anfechtbar. Die Methode ist die in Finnland besonders von Prof. K. Krohn vertretene historisch-geographische Entlehnungsmethode, die a priori von der Voraussetzung ausgeht, dass sowohl die Zauberlieder selbst wie die ihnen zugrunde liegenden magischen oder religiösen Vorstellungen überhaupt nichts Allgemein menschliches darstellen, sondern bei einem einzelnen Volke entstanden und von diesem allmählich durch Entlehnung zu andern gekommen seien." Two things

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minutely comparing each episode's variations as found in the whole body of texts to establish a prototypic original, and in deducing from this comparison the story's wanderings. In this minute comparison as well as in the consequent deductions certain obvious, almost axiomatic principles enable us to reach our conclusions. Such is briefly the Finnish method, a method to which, as I hope to show, scholars would have come in any event. Indeed, the scholarly world was already moving inevitably toward the Finnish method, at the very time when Finnish scholars codified and standardized the procedure.

Three essential stages, viz., the collection of all the texts, the division of the theme into episodes, and the painstaking comparison of each episode's variations, are already exemplified in Grundtvig's epochal work, *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* (1853 ff.), and with this we shall begin without inquiring whether preliminary efforts in the same direction already existed. For ballad after ballad Grundtvig systematically performs these three tasks. Yet the procedure is almost wholly descriptive; rarely and only incidentally does it attain any result or draw a deduction, however obvious. Of course no blame attaches to Grundtvig, for he intended to go no farther. In all particulars Child follows Grundtvig in collecting and editing the English and Scottish popular ballads, as have in general later ballad collectors. Just what Grundtvig and Child accomplished is clearly brought out by comparing the method of Ludwig Erk and his later editor, F. M. Böhme, in *Deutscher Liederhort* (1893 ff.) and the various collections which led up to it, or of F. van Duyse in *Het oude nederlandsche lied* (1903 ff.). In such collections we have merely the first stage of the procedure; the material is brought together with reasonable completeness. The summaries of the various similar ballads and stories are printed one after another. The decomposition of the theme into traits or episodes and the systematic comparison of the variations in each trait or episode are not undertaken.[1]

are here confused: the charms themselves and the magical or religious ideas which lie behind the charms. If we can show the ideas to be *allgemeinmenschlich*, we have by no means shown that the charms, which belong to a distinct and peculiar literary genre, are equally universal. How one can write the history of Finnish charms without collecting them and endeavoring to see whether each individual charm has been borrowed is more than I can say. Karsten grants that the charms are "of comparatively late origin" (*verhältnismässig späten Ursprungs*), and the concession answers his objections.

[1] Cosquin's method of comparison was also the juxtaposition of complete texts rather than their decomposition into traits. See, for example, his *Etudes folkloriques* (Paris, 1922).

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We may now pass to discussion and illustration of the third stage of the Finnish method: the piecemeal examination of the theme. This procedure is the essence of the Finnish method. For each trait the variations are tabulated. These variations are then examined in the light of certain general principles which have the same importance as the axioms of geometry. These principles provide a firm basis for deductions regarding the story's rise and spread. Stated in general terms, a trait may suffer enlargement, contraction, or substitution.[1] In the list of varying traits we endeavor to find whether a particular trait can be classed under one of these three heads and in this way to determine which trait, if any, represents the original form. If no existent trait is original, we may yet be able to deduce an original trait from which all the others spring. In rare instances a definite conclusion is impossible, but this *impasse* need not terrify us until we come to it. These deductions as to the original form of the trait rest on certain axioms. The trait selected as original must conform to

[1] We need not be concerned by any possible difficulty in assigning a particular variation to one of these heads rather than another. That sort of thing is all a question of terms. For example, we need not insist that the replacement of a single actor by three is enlargement and not substitution or vice versa. Thus "Gil Brenton" (Child No. 5) reads as follows:

F 1. There were three sisters in a bouir,
Eh down and Oh down
And the youngest o them was the fairest flour.
Eh down and O down

2. And we began our seven years wark,
To sew our brither John a sark.

3. When seven years was come and gane,
There was nae sleeve in it but ane.

4. But we coost kevils us amang
Wha wud to the green-wood gang,

and

H 1. We were seven sisters in a bower,
Adown adown, and adown and adown
The flower of a' fair Scotland ower.
Adown adown, and adown and adown

2. We were sisters, sisters seven,
The fairest women under heaven.

3. There fell a dispute us amang,
Wha would to the greenwood gang.

4. They kiest the kevels them amang,
O wha would to the greenwood gang.

Without attempting for a moment to settle what the original form may be we can see clearly that between F and H the first person has replaced the third or vice versa. But whether we call the replacement of three sisters by seven enlargement or substitution is merely a question of terms, and similarly should we regard seven as original and three as secondary, we may call the change indifferently contraction or substitution. In general, it is possible to make a satisfactory division under these three heads, which quite clearly include all possible alterations, i.e., expansion, abbreviation (including of course omission), and replacement.

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some requirements, and the case for it is much strengthened if it conforms to others. The original trait must provide an explanation, mediate or immediate, of all variations as enlargements, contractions, or substitutions which are spontaneous in origin or have arisen from some definite cause. The case for the trait selected as original will be much strengthened if the trait is (1) widely known, (2) of frequent occurrence, (3) found in the oldest versions. But no one of these qualifications is a qualification essential to the acceptance of the trait as original. A trait may be widely known and not be original, and similarly it may be represented in many texts, even the oldest ones, and still not be original; but if it affords an explanation for all the varying traits, it must be original. On these obvious matters it is not necessary to dwell longer.

The principles which we have just summarized as essential to the Finnish method are implied again and again in the headnotes of Child and Grundtvig. For convenience we may select as the source of our examples the headnote to No. 4, "Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight," which is based in the English version on the studies of Grundtvig and Bugge. Professor Child rejects a trait in the following fashion: "K and L are of the same length and the same tenor as J. There are no names in L; in K both Annele and Ulrich, but the latter is very likely to have been inserted by the editor."[1] No further explanation is offered for rejecting this trait, i.e., the name Ulrich. Let us supply the grounds. These are sufficient: (1) The trait does not accord with the nearly related variants J and L.[2] (2) The trait in K does not provide an explanation for the forms J and L. (3) An explanation for the variation in K can be found: The editor of K is notoriously careless in the handling of his texts and consequently may have inserted the name from a version lying outside the group J, K, L. We must note just what has happened here: Child has ventured to establish a parent-form for the three texts J, K, and L. This parent-form does not contain the name Ulrich. At the same time he seems to imply that the name Annele belongs to the original form, for it is found in J and K and is lost in L. The correctness or incorrectness of the reasoning

[1] I, 33.

[2] The lack of agreement among J, K, and L is evidence that some explanation is needed.

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in this particular instance does not concern us, but we are much interested in observing that the Finnish method is implied at every step.

In another connection Child observes regarding German H[1] that "a stanza is lost between 6 and 7, which should contain the warning of the dove." No reasons are given for this assertion, and none need be, for its truth is obvious. It is sufficient to remark that the versions which contain the bird's warning cannot be derived one and all independently from a text in which such a warning is lacking. In other words, German H does not provide an explanation for the other texts and therefore cannot be original. Furthermore, we are confirmed in this belief by the facts that an easy explanation of German H's variation lies ready to hand, i.e., simple omission due to forgetfulness and (what has little value) that German H stands alone and does not have the strength of numbers behind it.

Of German M, which has three warning doves, Professor Child says, "The second and third doves, as being false prophets, and *for other reasons*, may be safely pronounced intruders."[2] He vouchsafes no details regarding the "other reasons." We can easily supply them: (1) Three doves provide an insufficient explanation for the trait's other forms. (2) Triplicate expansion of a subsidiary figure is a commonplace in traditional materials.

The remarks concerning other traits in the same ballad illustrate the Finnish method in much the same way. The names Ulinger, Oldemor, Ulrich, and the like have "likeness enough to tempt one to seek for a common original."[3] In other words, a widely distributed trait—and perhaps an old trait, although that qualification is nowhere specified and is not necessarily implied—is likely to be an original trait. Clearly a less important and indeed quite unessential reason is here put first. Grundtvig, whom Child is following with critical comments, should have shown first that Holofernes provides an explanation for all the diverging forms of the name; second, that no other form of the name provides so satisfactory an explanation; and third, that the case is strengthened by the age and wide distribution of names which might imply an original Holofernes. As it is, the third of these reasons stands first. Similar implications of the Finnish method are readily seen elsewhere, e.g., "The original name of the heroine has

[1] I, 32. [2] I, 34. The italics are mine. [3] I, 51.

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been lost, and yet it is to be noticed that Gert Olbert's mother, in German A, is called Fru Jutte."[1] No reasons are given, but the implications are obviously: (1) Loss of names is a frequent phenomenon in ballad transmission. (2) German A is an old text.[2] The first implication involves the necessary prerequisite in establishing the original form, viz., that the form selected shall explain the trait's variations and the second implication involves the respect due an old text.

As a last illustration from this headnote we may select the following: "It is an original trait in the ballad that the murderer, *as is expressly said in many copies*, is from a foreign land."[3] Perhaps the possibility of deriving all the variations from this "original trait" is present by implication, but certainly the case is made to rest chiefly on the number of instances—a most precarious basis one need scarcely say.

By this time someone will have exclaimed, "But the Finnish method is only common sense!" To such a remark I should instantly agree, adding that the Finnish method is only common sense codified into a rigid procedure and not applied at random. The method deserves the epithet "Finnish" because Finnish scholars made the codification.

Thus far we have examined the Finnish method chiefly in its descriptive aspect. From the facts it reveals in the tale's history we can often arrive at conclusions regarding the tale's dissemination. In determining the place of a tale's invention we employ two fundamental principles: (1) The tale is best preserved[4] in its place of origin. (2) The texts show a progressive deterioration as we go farther and farther from the place of origin. These principles are to be employed with great caution, for we also know that a version which lies on the edge of the area of distribution may have kept traits which have been elsewhere lost in the eddying currents. An outlying version may therefore contain very old traits, and is at the same time almost certain to be sadly disordered.

The application of these principles is not original with Finnish

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] German A, to be sure, is not older than 1800, and I am not quite certain that its age is implied here.

[3] I, 51. The italics are mine.

[4] "Best preserved" describes those texts which have preserved traits in the original forms, which have least altered the tenor of the original story, and which have kept the significance of beliefs, customs, or superstitions implied in the story.

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scholars. In an important collection of French ballads, Doncieux, for example, employs these principles in a discussion of "Donna Lombarda." He finds but one sadly disordered French text of a ballad often sung in Italy and concludes at once that the ballad is Italian in origin:

> On ne l'a recueillie qu'une fois hors des frontières italiennes, en pays d'oc, sous une forme française très fruste. ... Une aire géographique aussi bien délimitée, de même que le nom caractéristique de "dona Lombarda" qui désigne le personnage principal de la chanson, ne laissent point de doute sur son lieu d'origine.[1]

In the same way he deduces the Scandinavian origin of "La belle Hélène ou la danseuse noyée" from the facts that the story is well preserved in Scandinavia and defective in France: "Le récit mythologique de la tradition scandinave se réduit dès lors à une historiette morale touchant les funestes effets de la désobéissance."[2] We need not illustrate at greater length the use of such obvious principles as these.

The progress toward the Finnish method did not stop at such suggestions and implications as have been mentioned. In both France and Germany and no doubt elsewhere studies in traditional materials had used methods belonging to the Finnish codification with more or less success. One of the last studies, perhaps even the very last, published by Gaston Paris is very instructive.[3] He makes a complete collection of the available material.[4] The older fashion of summarizing the tales one after another still constrains him,[5] but he concludes with a comparison of the varying traits and by this means deduces the oldest form.[6] The arguments used in reaching this conclusion are: (1) The form selected as original is both widely spread and frequently told. (2) It accords well with the tale's intent. (3) The variations can be explained by means of it. At a later point in his study he follows exactly the Finnish method of presenting the evidence:

> Ich gebe von dem gemeinsamen Inhalte der sechs Märchen einen Auszug und verzeichne kurz die besonderen Abweichungen jedes einzelnen. Zu diesem

[1] *Le romancéro populaire de la France* (Paris, 1904), p. 179.

[2] P. 404.

[3] "Die undankbare Gattin," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XIII (1903), 1–24, 129–50.

[4] P. 1 n. [5] E.g., pp. 3–8. [6] E.g., pp. 8–9.

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Zwecke teile ich die Geschichte in acht Abschnitte, an deren Spitze ich die Form stelle, die sich durch die Vergleichung mit den anderen als die älteste erweist.[1]

Further illustration is unnecessary. One or two general criticisms of the organization in Gaston Paris' essay are, however, not out of place. He arranges his material in groups of related stories. The arrangement implies a previous knowledge of the relations. In other words, he works out the whole study before writing it and thus doubles his labor. In a systematic comparison based on historical and geographical considerations such groups present themselves of their own accord; more than that, the reader would not be tempted to raise the question whether other groups could have been formed. Yet the merits of Gaston Paris' presentation, its perspicuity and strict organization, are not to be underestimated. A further difficulty arises from the necessity of going beyond the limits of the group to explain a variation, e.g., "Die Lösung ist sicher umgearbeitet, um den buddhistischen Ideen angepasst zu werden. . . . . Die Ueberarbeitung ist deutlich. In den nicht-buddhistischen Versionen findet man die Bestrafung wieder."[2] I omit unnecessary details of the argument. Here he is compelled to use the non-Buddhistic texts which lie outside the group under immediate consideration. Elsewhere he could have attained his result more directly by comparison than by reliance on "obvious" deductions, e.g., "Die Art, in der dies geschieht, ist offenbar entstellt."[3] Even so apparent a corruption as that to which he is referring would have been made clearer by comparison, but the reader is left to seek the variants and prove the point for himself. In brief, Gaston Paris has employed the Finnish method, which he had characterized almost ten years before as "une méthode nouvelle et rigoureusement scientifique."[4]

As a second example of the use of the Finnish method apart from its formulation and use in Finland I select Friedrich Ranke's brilliant essay, *Der Erlöser in der Wiege* (1911). Here we find[5] a comparison

[1] P. 139. [2] P. 5, n. 1. [3] P. 6, n. 3.

[4] *Journal des savants* (1894–95). He goes on to say: "Cette méthode outre qu'elle repose sur la division des contes en 'traits,' qu'avaient déjà pratiquée d'autres savants, est essentiellement 'géographique' en ce sens qu'elle s'efforce de limiter les aires dans lesquelles les contes se sont formés, se sont propagés et se sont modifiés." I quote from K. Krohn, *Die folkloristische Arbeitsmethode* (Oslo, 1926), p. 15.

[5] Pp. 18 ff.

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of a trait's varying forms. He selects one as original and then shows[1] that the varying forms can be derived from it and conversely that no other form will provide a satisfactory starting-point. In a methodological Appendix[2] he emphasizes certain restrictions which might seem obvious: (1) The frequency with which a particular variation occurs in the collection of materials gives little or no indication as to its originality. (2) A variation's age affords equally little basis for calling it original. (3) The most nearly original form is found in a remote and inaccessible district, i.e., on the borders of the area of distribution. He lays stress on an interesting and useful fact, viz., in examining the tabulated variations of a trait, the incoherent and disordered versions are often the most important and are likely to yield significant indications of the tale's meaning, origin, and development. Such confused versions may represent a transitional stage between an obscured and partially understood *Urform* and a better-ordered, more intelligible, but later form. The abundant and well-told versions may have arisen from a systematization of the story.

The Finnish method is therefore a procedure which was already being employed elsewhere and which, if it had not been formulated by Finnish scholars, would have found formulation sooner or later in France or Germany. Yet the codification was itself so significant a step forward that we shall not begrudge the Finns the method's name. It is not out of place to comment on two disputed corollaries which Antti Aarne entangled with the Finnish method and which have properly nothing to do with the method's application. In his codification, *Leitfaden der vergleichenden Märchenforschung*, Aarne asserted that European *märchen* were invented at a late stage of human culture and, in particular, in the Middle Ages.[3] The assertion may or may not be true, but in any event it does not concern the method. His phrasing of the assertion is very cautious and should not have called forth as much contradiction as it has. In the same book[4] and in his studies he made a very unfortunate distinction between versions from literary sources and versions from the folk. This distinction has caused a tremendous turmoil.[5] Scholars have rushed to the defense of the "liter-

[1] Pp. 32 ff. [2] Pp. 73 ff. [3] *FF Communications*, XIII, 18. [4] Pp. 18 ff.

[5] See particularly A. Wesselski, *Märchen des Mittelalters*, pp. xi ff., and K. Krohn, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, XXVI (1925), 111 ff.

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ary" variants. Here again the dispute centers on a detail quite beside the main issue. A "literary" variant is capable of more definite interpretation and evaluation than a version from the folk. A tale in Boccaccio's *Decameron* has been subjected to more or less readily definable cultural influences which can be taken into account, while a tale from the folk must be accepted for what it is worth without much attempt at evaluation. In general, we can recognize the effects of certain cultural influences and of literary adaptation in the literary tale, while we cannot readily see them in the folk-tale. Of course the distinction is relative, and unfortunately the emphasis in theory and practice has rested a little too strongly on the special treatment of "literary" variants.

Aarne and the Finnish method have been accused of simply counting the variations in a trait and selecting that one which was in the majority. It is true that his works seem to justify this criticism. Moreover, Walter Anderson's masterly study of "King John and the Abbot of Canterbury"[1] continues in the same manner and indeed goes farther by giving percentages for each variation in relation to the total number of variations. Of course such reliance on numerical superiority is entirely erroneous, and neither Aarne nor Anderson are guilty of it. The skill of both scholars and their thorough familiarity with popular tradition kept them from errors into which one less competent might have fallen. The percentages in Anderson's study seem quite beside the point, but an important corollary implicit in them will be drawn a little later.

By way of summary and conclusion we can show the Finnish method's slow development in the more important studies of traditional materials since 1850.[2] Grundtvig and Child insisted on the first essential stage in the Finnish method: a complete collection of the evidence. This they accomplished. Both ballad editors examined the individual traits or episodes and tabulated the variations. This task they did not accomplish completely, and they apparently made no effort looking toward completeness. Some details are tabulated, others are not, and chance seems to determine a trait's fate in this regard. The Finnish method, on the contrary, insists upon tabulating all varia-

[1] *FF Communications*, XLII.

[2] Nils Lid's interesting essay, "Wilhelm Mannhardt og hans nyskaping av den folkloristiske metoden," *Syn og Segn* (1925), might seem to be of significance here, but it deals with quite other problems.

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tions and studying them carefully. Certain variations can be rejected as meaningless, since they are plausibly and immediately explicable as spontaneous in origin, e.g., those variations which have arisen by the substitution of one for three, of white for black, or the like. Into the remaining variations we can usually bring order by finding some prototypic form out of which the existing forms can be derived, if need be, by reference to a more complex set of associations. Such is Aarne's method, and such is the Finnish method, but it has a defect which Aarne did not trouble to remedy. Aarne does not formally insist on the complete examination of all variations, and his works do not show that he required the hypothetical prototypic form to supply an explanation for all the varying traits. We have seen the significance of this complete examination of the versions in Ranke's study where it is pointed out that any single variation is as valuable and as likely to be the original source as any other. The examination of all variations is implied in Anderson's percentages, although he nowhere makes any remark about this detail in his procedure. Of course it is quite unnecessary to convert the figures into percentages; it would have sufficed to add up the variants each time and find that all were accounted for. A corollary to what has just been said is this: We must take into account those variations in which a trait is absent, for absence is a variation quite as important as any other.[1]

By way of conclusion we may summarize the steps in the Finnish method in its present application: (1) the complete collection of the versions; (2) the division of the story into traits or episodes; (3) the minute comparison of the variations in trait or episode while recognizing (4) that the absence of a trait is a variation to be accounted for; (5) the deduction of a prototypic form which must supply an explanation for all variations in the traits.[2] Such tabulation and critical examination may teach us the tale's dissemination and history as revealed by its progressive decay or transformation. To such a procedure as this the scholarly world was rapidly and inevitably coming at the very time when rules were being drawn up in Finland.

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[1] Taylor, *FF Communications*, LXX (1927), 9.

[2] Not an exception is admissible. The kinds of explanations which are likely to be employed are described at length in Aarne, "Leitfaden der vergleichenden Märchenforschung," *FF Communications*, XIII, 23 ff.; K. Krohn, *Die folkloristische Arbeitsmethode*, pp. 59 ff.

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REVIEWS

An Introduction to Old Norse. By E. V. GORDON, professor of English language in the University of Leeds. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927; New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. Pp. lxxxiv+383. $3.50.

The core of this textbook consists of one hundred and sixty-five pages of well-chosen Old Scandinavian text, chiefly Icelandic, but with specimens of Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish, and of sixty pages of grammar. Accompanying this is a generous cultural, historical, and literary introduction, extensive notes to the texts, a section on runes, glossary, maps, illustrations, and a general bibliography. The beginner gets in one book what he would otherwise have to search for in many books in various languages. The author covers a wide field; he is well informed on his subject, and it is to be regretted that the world of Scandinavian scholarship has heard so little from him, for he has given us an attractive book, packed with information both for beginners and for those who have already made progress.

The reviewer feels strongly that Professor Gordon should have given either much less space to sound-changes, or considerably more. He explains certain changes and briefly dismisses or ignores many that will strike the student's eye and cause him to conclude that phonological laws have but limited application. Thus, no explanation is given of the cause of *i*-mutation in comparatives and superlatives, or in many instances of the sounds which cause the changes in root-vowels of nouns. An account of the inflectional endings in Germanics is needed for the latter. Although Professor Gordon frames his statements with fine precision they are sometimes cryptic by reason of brevity, as in his statement of *i*-mutation in § 35, of the loss of *j* in § 62, of the origin of *-ggj-* in § 65, in his comment on *vetr* in § 77, and elsewhere.

The inclusion of so much illustrative material from Old English is very helpful, but it is to be regretted that Gothic is ignored and that Primitive Germanic is so rarely employed for explanation; in many cases a Gothic form would have clarified and shortened the statement.

In the principal parts of strong verbs the third plural of the past is given, instead of the first plural, as is the present usage in all other scientific grammars of Germanic dialects. Why go out of the way to destroy a uniformity helpful to students because Vigfusson and Powell were not uniform at a time when uniformity was not so well established?

I leave the matter of misprints to another reviewer. Would not 'rise' and 'fall' be a better translation of *Hebung* and *Senkung* than 'lift' and 'sinking'?

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The author speaks (p. xxxix) of the "slow rhythm and emphasis of Norse speech." None of the modern Scandinavian languages sounds slow to me, least of all Icelandic. I doubt if the older language was slow.

The chapter on "Norse Studies in England" is useful, but a chapter on Scandinavian studies in general, with emphasis on the Scandinavian and German scholars who have created our science, would have been more useful.

From the prefatory note on page 111 it seems that Professor Gordon regards the story of Auðun as historical. Of course no one can prove that it is not, but he who reads *Von einem schretel und von einem wazzerbern* in *ZfdA*, VI, 174–84, will hardly regard it as historical. It is more probably a motive from the tale represented by Aarne, No. 1161. It is characteristic of the way Icelandic literature treats traditional tales. In emphasizing the absence of exaggeration in the sagas, Professor Gordon neglects to make an exception of the *Fornaldarsögur*, which he had just cited (p. xxxiii).

The author speaks (p. 182) of the *æsir* and elves in heaven. If he means Valhǫll why not say so? On page xxxi he says: "Every religious-minded man of the heathen age believed that he existed for the sake of that hopeless cause," i.e., to fight the wolf at the final destruction. Scholars no longer believe that the Othinic tales formed any part of popular religion. Moreover, what was a "religious-minded man of the heathen age"? He was a man who had a good stock of magical means for averting unpleasant events. The author combines Christian concepts with the inventions of ancient poets into something that never was.

Similarities of poetic technique and diction in different Germanic dialects are attributed to descent from a common Germanic tradition (pp. xxxvi and 227). This is a dangerous supposition in view of the thousands of years which have intervened since the separation of the Scandinavians from the other Germanic peoples. Would it not be more reasonable to explain such agreements by social contacts favored by similarity of speech?

The title, *Introduction to Old Norse*, means to the author "Introduction to Old Scandinavian," and he subdivides "Old Norse" into Old Icelandic, Old Norwegian, Old Danish, and Old Swedish. I am well aware that he has the best of lexical authority for this, but it is a bad practice and followed by few. The most of us regard Old Norse as equivalent to Old Norwegian and a Norseman as a Norwegian. People also hazily refer to Old Icelandic as Old Norse, a usage to which Professor Gordon objects. This latter is simply a translation of *gammel Norsk* used for Icelandic by superheated Norwegian patriots of the sixties and seventies, a phrase to which other Scandinavians objected. Professor Gordon fails to use his terminology correctly (pp. xx, xxii, xxiv, and elsewhere), and repeatedly uses "Norse" for "West Scandinavian" when referring to Icelandic and Norwegian poetry. His terms do not readily lend themselves to exact statements. Since the term "Old Norse" detracts from clarity, it would be better to dispense with it and speak of Old

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Scandinavian, East Scandinavian, West Scandinavian, Old Icelandic, Old Norwegian, Old Swedish, Old Danish.

There is another objection which goes much deeper than any of the foregoing: This book does not lead the student to the noble adventure of mental initiative; it prepares him to pass an examination. The author does not suggest problems, the grammar gives no references to further literature on the subjects discussed, and rarely indicates that there is more than one view of a question. For instance, the student is not informed that few scholars accept Kock's *-iR* mutation, or that Sievers no longer regards his five-type system of versification as a dominant norm. Thus certain things look much simpler in this book than they really are. In general it answers the question "What?" much better than the question "Why?"; but the latter is the question which should continually face our students. Otherwise the inquiring mind will be driven to stop questioning.

In spite of such objections as these, I consider it a good book, and I shall put it into the hands of my students.

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A Bibliography of Writings on the English Language. By A. G. KENNEDY. Cambridge and New Haven: Harvard Press and Yale Press, 1927. Pp. ix+517.

It has been justly said that "there is no man of letters who deserves better of the community than the compiler of a good index." With what greater praise shall we commend the man of letters who in the same year publishes one good index and whose name is recorded upon the title-page as the joint author of another? This is the year's service to scholarship of Professor Kennedy with his *Bibliography* and Tatlock and Kennedy's *Concordance to the Complete Works of Chaucer*. The cause of scholarship is at present in greater need of such reliable bibliographies and such competent indexes than it is of new theories and startling discoveries. Happily enough, in the past few months other compilations of high value to scholarly studies have appeared; notably, Pollard and Redgrave's *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland . . . . , 1475–1642*, the third supplement to Wells's *Manual of Writings in Middle English*, Crane and Kaye's *Census of British Newspapers and Periodicals, 1620–1800*, and the last volume of Caroline Spurgeon's *Chaucer Criticism and Allusion*. These aids in lightening the mechanical labor of the scholar are, however, valuable to the student of the English language only incidentally; and the pursuit of research in this field of study has been in greater need of comprehensive and trustworthy bibliographical aid than that in the history of literature. The emphasis placed upon the study of the English language in the second half of the nineteenth century and in

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the years of the twentieth up to the outbreak of the Great War produced an overwhelming amount of printed matter, the greater part of which appeared in fugitive form as dissertation, program, and journal article. A full finding-list of this material has heretofore not been available. Professor Kennedy's publication of a guide to it comes to students of the English language as a blessing from Heaven—and from Stanford University and the Harvard and Yale presses.

A bibliography should at least be complete (within its specified limits), accurate, well ordered, conveniently and fully indexed. These requirements Kennedy's *Bibliography* meets with a high average of attainment.

For sufficiently good practical reasons the compiler was forced to place some limitation upon the term "English language." He chose to exclude studies of versification and literary style, the mass of nineteenth- and twentieth-century school rhetorics and composition manuals, and modern elementary grammars and dictionaries. With this material cast aside, Kennedy sought to furnish a complete record of all printed material of any value to the student of the general history of the English language or of any particular field of it. The index-items run from Caxton's *Prefaces* to the end of 1922. That the record should be absolutely complete in its thirteen thousand titles is a hope that goes beyond any sane person's confidence in human frailty. It certainly goes far beyond the modest denial of the author of any claim to infallibility. He rightly prophesies that "specialists in any part of the field will no doubt be able to supplement the material" in any one of his sections. I have checked carefully the section devoted to "Old English Syntax," a field in which I have for several years collected bibliographical items. Of the more than four hundred gatherings which I had made, I find that Kennedy has omitted three fairly unimportant titles.[1] The section concerned with foreign and English grammars to about 1650 might with profit have been materially added to; but it is a field of important study which has received from no one the attention which it deserves.

In the large scope of Kennedy's book, errors, too, are unescapable. I feel confident, however, that when all the returns are in, after the book has been in use for some time, an unusually high degree of reliability will be placed upon it. One or two misstatements are due to the author's use of secondary bibliographical sources, a use which he is always careful to indicate; for example, 1541 as the date of Hollyband's *Treatise for Declining Verbs* instead of 1580, an error carried over from Hazlitt, and the initials "N. G." for George Delamothe (*A French Alphabeth*, 1592), taken from the *Library of Congress Catalogue*. Professor Kennedy invites co-operative effort in tracing any errors which may be found in his index in order to better the foundation he has

[1] T. J. Farrar, *The Gerund in Old English* (Baltimore, 1902); L. Erckmann, *Infinitive and Gerund as a Means of Abbreviating Substantive Sentences in the English Language* (Luenburg: Rostock Diss., 1875); L. Walter, *Der syntaktische Gebrauch des Verbums in dem angelsächsischen Gedichte "Christ und Satan"* (Rostock Diss., 1907).

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securely laid for a "work of such accuracy and comprehensiveness as shall satisfy the most exacting requirements." Else what's a heaven—or a first edition—for?

The material is well ordered and conveniently arranged. The thirteen thousand titles are listed under ten large sections, half a hundred subsections, under the majority of which fall several smaller classes, descending from the most general to special books and articles. Within the divisions the separate items are placed, as far as is practicable, in chronological order. Overminute classification has fortunately been avoided; but where it has not been carried far enough to provide an exclusive category for every item, double and triple reference has been used—much to my satisfaction—and cross-reference has been carefully provided. Thus the way of the bibliography-seeker has been made plain. It has been made easy, too, by the preparation of an Author Index of some seven thousand names and of a Subject Index of more than three hundred and fifty topics, both of which in a fairly familiar use of the book I have found reliable.

With the aid of Kennedy's *Bibliography* we are now in a position to turn our glance backward and observe what we so far have accomplished and to plan what we shall undertake. The sowers have sown abundantly; the harvest has been gathered; the wheat must be separated from the chaff—and of the chaff the crop is large. The most pressing challenge of the index is its invitation to the preparation of a history of English language study.

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The Wandering Scholars. By HELEN WADDELL. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927. $5.00. Pp. xxviii+292.

Miss Waddell's brilliant study of the wandering scholars and their background is one of those books which are the delight and the despair of scholars. Not since John Addington Symonds' *Wine, Women, and Song* has any body of comment and translation from the Medieval Latin appeared so glowingly depicting the human and humane values which lie buried in the *corpus* of Latin verse from decaying paganism to the *Carmina Burana*. Especially notable are the chapters on "The Ordo Vagorum" and "The Scholars' Lyric." Miss Waddell is brilliantly right in her insistence that the body of pagan culture did not vanish with Boethius to reappear miraculously with Petrarch, though, curiously enough, she seems to have missed the *De vera religione* of the thirteenth century, discovered by J. W. Thompson, which would have triumphantly rounded off her work.

When there is so much that is vital and moving, it is unfortunate that Miss Waddell should not be a safer guide. Her difficulty lies in her very virtue. She is so insistent that we shall see medieval scholars as men, she forgets

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that they were both scholars and medieval. Not only does she incessantly dramatize her facts, but she is perpetually pointing a modern instance. In the space of ten pages we are told that Fortunatus "wanders through the terrifying courts of the giants, a little like Gulliver"; that he loved Radegunde and Agnes "as Cowper loved Mrs. Unwin and Lady Heskith"; that "no renaissance tyrant, no Jew of Malta" gloried in jewels as did he; that "he loves good cheer and country things as Herrick did"; that Jerome behaved "very like Dr. Johnson"; and so on. Such statements are usually extreme, and often misleading. As style it is wearisome; and what is worse, it points to a profound misconception of the medieval mind.

Let us take a single instance. In what earthly sense (or heavenly, for that matter) can the mystic love of Fortunatus for Radegunde be compared with Cowper's mild, domestic affection for Mrs. Unwin? The whole distance between Catholicism and Protestantism, the whole distance between mysticism and domestic love, the whole distance between Gregory the Great and Rev. John Newton separates the two instances. And it is not merely as a slip that one objects to this sort of thing; it is the radical defect of Miss Waddell's brilliant book that she misreads and misrepresents the Middle Ages. For, a little after these unfortunate remarks on Fortunatus, we read of his marriage verses on Chilperic and his bride, "One could have spared the felicitations of Fortunatus on that occasion, but he was a courtier poet." Precisely. Miss Waddell can spare these verses, but they cannot be spared from the total picture of the literary activity of the very scholars she is describing. They are a vital part of the story.

For the vast Latin literature from 500 to 1400 contains, besides the human-interest passages of Miss Waddell's delight, a hundred times as much that is not "human" and not modern, but distinctly medieval. This aspect of the story does not appear in her volume. One can read her discussion of the Carolingian scholars and scarcely suspect that the interminable tomes of the *Poetae Karolii Aevi* are, unless sifted, a weariness of the flesh, a stupendous compound of bad verse, of dull homily, of empty panegyric, of monotonous elegy, of abecedaria and acrostic and anagram and palindrome, of edifying discourse and endless sermon and monkish chronicle and versified stale small-beer. One can read what she has to say about the lyrics of the *Latin Anthology*, and, unless he has read Brinkmann's article (*Neophilologus*, Vol. IX, 1924) never suspect that the amatory lyrics she praises are perfectly set pieces, falling into three types repeated over and over.[1] To remark as she does that "the romantic quality in Latin" captured the imagination of the Middle Ages is surely to misread the medieval belief that the story of Aeneas

[1] Incidentally, when Miss Waddell speaks of a "score of lovely lyrics buried in the anthologies of the sixth and ninth and tenth centuries" (p. xxii), the first lines of some of which she then quotes, the reader will scarcely discover that most of her lyrics do not belong to the sixth, ninth, and tenth centuries, but have been unhesitatingly ascribed to Petronius Arbiter. Miss Waddell undoubtedly knows this, but she is too eager in her picture-building to remember that the reader does not know it.

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was authentic history. To write that "the last three centuries of the Empire" form "the spiritual foundations" of medieval Europe is true, but it is not true as Miss Waddell writes it, for she ignores the vast in-pouring of Eastern mysticism, Plotinian philosophy, Judaic allegorizing and theology, Byzantine conventionality, Arabian science, and love-lore of these and subsequent centuries; they do not figure in her book. In sum, selected details give a clever picture of the medieval scholar, but it is not always a true picture; and as the doubts begin to crowd upon the informed reader—as rash generalization and impassioned interpretation confront him, as he is informed for the tenth time that something or other medieval is the greatest of its kind[1]—he is inclined to put the book aside with impatience.

But if Miss Waddell has, as I think, constructed a picture of the medieval scholars in which everything is in high-lights and there are no shadows, if she moves among Latin texts in a state of perpetual amazement, she is none the less tonic. Her translations are always competent and often superb. For the general reader she opens a world as undiscovered by most as was America when the *Carmina Burana* was written down. She will be read with delight, but she must be read with perpetual caution.

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Jahrbuch für historische Volkskunde. Edited by WILHELM FRAENGER. Vol. II. Berlin: Herbert Stubenrauch, 1926. Pp. 216. Illustrated.

This is the second of a series of annuals devoted to the study of folk-lore, its history, sources, literature, and art. The first volume, which appeared in 1925,[2] dealt with the methods and principles of modern research in this field. It is proposed in the second volume to present a handbook for the history of folk-art. To this end the articles are arranged in three groups, covering the theoretical background, the practical questions of scientific organization of the objects studied, and finally a detailed description and evaluation of specific folk-art, intended to direct attention to its positive aspects. At the end, plans for the exhibit of folk-art in 1929 at Dresden are outlined. The critical Bibliography is a very valuable addition to a handbook of this sort.

The theoretical portion contains articles by Alfred Vierkandt, Hans Prinzhorn, and Arthur Haberlandt. They at once dismiss the old but nevertheless widespread theory that art, having absolute standards of value, must have existed, in primitive groups and among "common" people, in a form es-

[1] For instance, "Liutprand tells us . . . . the liveliest history that has ever been written" (p. 76). Hroswitha's *Drusiana* "antedates by some centuries the discovery of romantic passion" (p. 79). Aldhelm's *Carm. Rhythm.* "Swinburne would be hard put to it to beat" (p. 38). Ausonius "breaks into one of the loveliest lyric measures of the ancient world" (p. 10). The Archpoeta "has the diabolic rhyming of *Don Juan*, the Ariel lightness of *Iolanthe*, and he made his own tunes: Gilbert and Sullivan in one" (p. 153). The *Carmina Burana* is "the last flowering of the Latin tongue" (p. 208).

[2] Reviewed by Professor A. Taylor, *Modern Philology* (Feb., 1927), p. 372.

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sentially different from that of great art (*Stilkunst*). The more modern principles of individuality and of the influence of cultural environment, applied in all the social sciences, have here at last penetrated the field of folk-lore. Hans Prinzhorn, attempting to analyze the original experience (*Urvorgang*) of pictorial representation, concludes that this, bereft of any metaphysical implications, is simply an urge for the expression of some inner state. The desire may be playful, it may be ornamentative, or simply illustrative. Its application is determined by the background of the individual's general outlook on life and by the foreground of his immediate environment. Arthur Haberlandt, in the article "Begriff und Wesen der Volkskunst," has, justly, attempted to reject the false distinction between *Stilkunst* which is determined by individual personalities and *Volkskunst* which is determined by group personality, putting in its place a more positive viewpoint toward folk-art. He maintains that the individual executes the artistic purpose in folk-art as well as in *Stilkunst*. But he does not carry his idea to its logical conclusion, namely, to the elimination of the term *Volkskunst* entirely and to a consideration of every artistic expression from the standpoint of the individual artist. There would then be no essential difference between an artist who is a peasant and one who happens to live in an urban society. Both would be artists in the true sense of the word. The question whether the term *Volkskunst* has any real significance needs to be considered before the work in it moves merrily on.

Following the general theoretical inquiries, there is a comparative study of European folk-art by Michael Haberlandt. He indicates how forms and motifs are scattered through certain geographical areas, and are not necessarily confined to one country. Of similar nature is the purely descriptive article by Wilhelm Pessler, "Grundzüge zu einer Sachgeographie der deutschen Volkskunst." The latter urges a more detailed study of forms in architecture and art according to their regional distribution, and inserts maps indicating what may be done. E. Hoffmann-Krayer gives practical suggestions on the work of museums for comparative folk-lore. The type of thing that should be displayed and the standpoint of the collector are clearly brought out.

In the three detailed investigations, on the significance of mythology in peasant art, on Swedish peasant painting, and on Russian art, the positive value of folk-art is again stressed. Here, also, it is regarded not simply as a degenerate form of *Stilkunst*, but is taken as a new and individual synthesis for which individual standards of judgment exist. The excellent illustrations contribute to the value of this section. The most interesting article, to me, in this group is the one by Wilhelm Fraenger on Russian picture sheets of the eighteenth century. The author shows that, although these pictures were copied from German *Stilkunst* by peasant artists, they are genuine works of art because in each case the artist followed his own interpretation of the sub-

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ject, which rested upon a very definite, unified idea of style. The lack of perspective and the naïveté of linear composition are to Fraenger characteristic of the serious, realistic, neutral attitude of the peasant. In the same way he shows how a Dürer etching, imitated in both *Stilkunst* and *Volkskunst*, had degenerated in the former because it was not re-created, but had attained genuine artistic merit in *Volkskunst* because the imitation lay in subject matter, not form. The characteristic folk-touch is, according to Fraenger, again the strict epic informativeness, rather than plastic, dramatic force as in the etching. What Fraenger does not stress and what is most important in the consideration of these picture sheets is the fact that, in every case, the emphasis was laid by the artist upon the composition, the linear design. This alone accounts for the apparently neutral, abstract presentation of the subject. The artist was not primarily interested in adapting his style to the style of the biblical version of the story, as Fraenger maintains (p. 170). His artistic purpose far outweighs any literary value that may be placed upon the picture. In artistic synthesis the Russian picture surpasses the Dürer etching, even if we take into account the difference in force of perception. This artist cannot draw a line without giving it significance in the totality. The ships are not in the picture to convey the idea of sea, but they are essential to the design—they balance the kneeling figure at the right, and afford a contrast in rhythmic curves to the sharp diagonal across the picture. In point of design and composition the Russian picture stands high as art. This is the essential fact. Behind the artistic phenomenon we need not seek a naïve mind nor a "folk" mind in contrast to a highly trained artistic temperament. We need seek only an individual mind, an individual artistic experience, just as in the art of well-known masters.

FRIEDA BACHMANN

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Studien über den Gebrauch des Partizips in Goethe's Dichtersprache. By KLARA TRENKLER. Dissertation. "Seminar für germanische Philologie an der Universität Warschau. Polen. Krakowskie Przedm.," Nos. 26–28. Warsaw, 1927.

Starting with a remark by Goethe that the particular function of participles is not to fix relations definitely in the mind but to suggest them generally to the imagination, Dr. Klara Trenkler states as the purpose of her dissertation not statistical enumeration of the different grammatical types of participles detached from their literary relations, but investigation of Goethe's literary intentions in his use of this form. She divides Goethe's work into three periods: before Weimar, "Epoche der ersten Bildung"; 1776 to the time of Reineke Fuchs, "Epoche des eigentümlichen Strebens"; and after Reineke Fuchs, "Epoche des Gelangens zum Ziel. Anzeichen der sinkenden Kraft neben

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der höchsten Vollendung. Verjüngung." This division is in agreement with the generally accepted opinion—an opinion, which to the mind of the reviewer, is open to the criticism, that, by implication, it fails to do justice to the originality and quality of the work of the years 1771–76; and that the exclusive attribution of "highest perfection" to the poetic works of the last period is based on a standard of values largely irrelevant to poetry. This is, however, not intended as reflecting upon the value of Miss Trenkler's study.

The characteristic function of the participle in the first period is shown by Dr. Trenkler as "Bereicherung und Verstärkung der Handlungsbegriffe." Her selections of examples will surprise even those intimately acquainted with Goethe, by the remarkable boldness, richness, and creative power in his early use and formations of participles. The present participle predominates in this period, in which action, impulsive response to the present, predominates over reflection.

The second period is characterized by a loss of boldness and active energy, by the growth of reflection and the beginning of a conscious tendency toward smoothness, correctness, regularity, harmonious rhetoric, and adoption of classic Greek types of compound participles. Participial nouns increase, revealing Goethe's growing inclination toward typification. Original formations are now rare.

In the last period, the use of the participle chiefly as a means of stylistic economy and brevity displaces the orginal use of it as a vehicle of abundant imaginative energy and diversity. Participial nouns, "classic" composites, future, or passive, participles increase. A distinct purpose to improve the German language becomes apparent.

The dissertation is an exemplary study. It is properly selective; it avoids both the literary futility of the grammatical method and the pitfalls of subjectivity and speculative extravagance by which the badly misnamed "idealistic neophilology" is threatened. It gives a clear and convincing account of important lines of development in Goethe's mind.

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BRIEFER MENTION

THOMAS FREDERICK CRANE, 1844-1927

Few American philologists initiated work in so many and so widely separated fields as did Thomas Frederick Crane. Notwithstanding its variety, his work is singularly excellent and important; after nearly half a century even the oldest portions remain a substantial contribution to knowledge, works of reference to which all must turn. In other and more personal ways he also demands our respect. No one, I dare say, has so nearly spanned a century of scholarly activity. At the beginning, he touched hands with the founders of Romance philology, for he carried a letter from Ticknor to Diez when he went to study in Germany. At the end, he was in contact with the men who developed the new scientific study of folk-lore, Giuseppe Pitrè, Kaarle Krohn, and Antti Aarne. His openness to new ideas and his ability to organize and accomplish made him a good executive in life and in scholarship. More or less accidental circumstances brought him to Cornell University, and there he remained throughout a long and active life.

In 1883 he printed, in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, a short but fundamental paper on medieval tales; seven years later, the *Exempla* of Jaques de Vitry appeared. This work, now reissued by the British Folk-Lore Society in an anastatic reprint, became at once and remains the standard work on the subject. The importance of the illustrative stories used in medieval sermons had been recognized by Karl Goedeke, and the collections had been used in desultory fashion by Hermann Oesterley and others. Professor Crane set forth their significance, provided a survey of the whole field which no one has improved upon in the forty years since, and printed the texts with abundant critical and comparative notes. The full value of his work in this field is yet to be appreciated.

Along with his investigation of *exempla* he undertook the publication of *Italian Popular Tales* (1885), an anthology of Italian *märchen* with exhaustive comparative notes. This gives a selection of the best and most characteristic tales that had been printed, with complete citation of the Italian parallels. This sensible limitation of his endeavors to what could actually be accomplished with approximate completeness is characteristic of the man. His book has permanent value, while many another which aimed at doing more amounted to less and is now forgotten. This attempt to survey a nation's stock of popular literature had no imitators for a decade. Ten years later, Joseph Jacobs attempted the same thing for other countries, but could not resist the

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temptation to alter his sources. Another dozen years elapsed and the idea was taken up by the publishing-house of Diederichs in Jena, in the series "Märchen der Weltliteratur," and this proved an enormously successful venture.

Upon his substantial contributions to French literary history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries I shall not venture to touch. These studies occupy the middle period of his scholarly activities, the decade of the nineties. Along with them he printed an attractive anthology of French folk-song.

After his retirement, he completed an exhaustive study of *Italian Social Customs* (1920), which showed him to be quite abreast of modern movements in scholarship with its interest in cultural and social backgrounds. A younger scholar might have hesitated to enter a field so beset with bibliographical difficulties.

About this time, his interest in folk-lore studies manifests itself in the reviews of "FF Communications"; these brought this invaluable series to the attention of American scholars. It is interesting that the full appreciation in Finland itself of Antti Aarne's fundamental studies and his election to a professorship in the University of Helsingfors are due directly to these reviews. This is but one example of his suggestive and important reviews and gives a glimpse of one side of his work which might be overlooked in a hasty appraisal.

His last important work was the editing of the *Liber de Miraculis Beatae Virginis Mariae* (1925), which, along with Mussafia's essays in the Vienna *Sitzungsberichte*, will remain the foundation for future studies. In the prefatory note he alludes to the difficulties with which he struggled in finding channels for publication. He saw the opportunities for scholarly publication grow from restricted space in the *Nation* to our present abundance of philological journals. Against these difficulties and under the burdens of executive duties Professor Crane displayed a single-hearted devotion to scholarship which remains an inspiration to us.—A.T.

In Erich Maschke's *Studien zu Waffennamen der althochdeutschen Glossen* (dissertation; Greifswald, 1926; 72 pp.) the textual and linguistic discussions (words for 'helmet,' 'byrnie,' and 'buckler') are brief but very well done. The raisin in the pudding is the explanation (p. 19) of Gl K *uecticalia*, Ra *uentigalia: nasahelmes* (*Ahd. Gl.*, I, 263, 28): "*nasa helmes* übersetzt also ein nach Ansicht des Glossators aus *vectis galeae* entstandenes *vectigalia*. . . . . Der Schreiber der ersten Handschrift verstand das lateinische Wort, wie es der Glossator ausgedeutet hatte, nicht, sonst hätte er nicht *-galia* durch *-calia* ersetzt. Der Kopist der zweiten Handschrift hat aber wahrscheinlich *vectigalia* in seiner lateinischen Bedeutung erkannt, die Verdeutschung aber liesz ihn eine andere lateinische Bildung vermuten, weshalb er sich an die vorhergehen-

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den Lemmen *ventilabrum, ventilaturium* anschlosz." The weakness of this explanation lies in the somewhat unlikely twist of the error attributed to the original glossator; this error was better accounted for (but the lemma of Gl K left up in the air) by C. Hofmann, *Germania*, IX, 228: "Der Glossator hat *ventigalia* für *ventalia* (Luftlöcher des Helmes) genommen. . . . . *Ventalia* ist eim gemeinromanisches Wort, prov. *ventalha*, franz. *ventaille*. . . . . *Nasahelm* wird dem mittell. *nasale*, altfr. *nasel* entsprechen." Only, we must correct Hofmann's translation of *ventalia* to 'Nasenband' and, with Maschke, read *nasa helmes*.

To each linguistic comment Maschke adds a Shandean farrago (crammed with varied and abstruse citations) anent the archaeology and history of the utensil. I cannot say whether or not these elaborations offer anything new to archaeologist or historian; if they do, it is a shame to hide them in a linguistic essay on glosses.—L. B.

The Oxford University Press (American Branch) published last year a new edition of the Middle English *Floris and Blancheflour*, edited by Professor A. B. Taylor. This volume, which is uniform with Tolkien and Gordon's *Sir Gawain*, contains a concise Introduction, the text, a small body of notes, and a Glossary. It is intended, evidently, for school use and competes in no way with Hausknecht's or Mac Knight's editions. Though it uses as a basis one of the poorer manuscripts, the edition performs a service in making this version available in an inexpensive form and with enough apparatus to facilitate the reading of the text.—J. R. H.

Professor H. C. Wyld has prepared a third edition of his useful *Short History of English* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1927). This volume contains fifty pages more than the first edition, and the sections on Middle English have been largely re-written. Professor Wyld gives here the new division of Middle English dialects which he and his pupils have worked out, largely on the evidence of place-names. As the evidence on which the classification has been made has not yet been published in full, it is impossible for a scholar who has not engaged in the work with Professor Wyld to judge its validity. But from the account which he gives of his careful methods, it seems reasonable to suppose that the classification represents an actual advance in the study of Middle English. At any rate, students of the English language will be glad to have a systematic statement of Professor Wyld's results together with a concise, exact, and up-to-date survey of the history of sounds and inflection, n this handy form.—J. R. H.

No portion of the Romance territory of Gaul has been more thoroughly explored linguistically than the region occupied by the ancient Belgae, and of the two grand divisions of this territory it is the eastern, the Walloon, which

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seems to lead. As early as 1856, a *Société liégeoise de Littérature wallonne* was founded, and this body, after publishing fifteen volumes of preliminary studies (the "Bulletin du Dictionnaire," from 1906 on), has just sent to press the first fascicle of a *Dictionnaire wallon*, for which about a million slips have been assembled. The subtitle, *Glossaire général des Patois romans de Belgique*, indicates the scope of this monumental work. The same society has also undertaken an *Atlas linguistique de la Wallonie*. Dissatisfaction with the Walloon material given by Gilliéron, *Atlas linguistique de la France*, centers upon the fewness of the localities studied, their too great distance apart, and upon errors of detail. In 1920, the Belgian government founded at Liège a chair of Walloon dialectology, now occupied by J. Haust, author of a noteworthy volume, *Etymologies wallonnes et françaises* (Liège and Paris, 1923, pp. 353), and of a more recent *Dictionnaire des Rimes, ou Vocabulaire liégeois-français* (Liège, 1927, pp. 352). J. Haust quotes with approval an opinion, formulated by J. Jud and seconded by Ch. Bruneau, which reveals the great interest which these Walloon studies may have for the historian and the Germanist, as well as for the Latin-Romanist: "La Wallonie aurait fait partie, avant les invasions germaniques, d'un groupe de populations qui avait développé une civilisation spéciale, et possédait un vocabulaire spécial, dont nous retrouvons les vestiges non seulement dans les patois romans, mais aussi dans les patois germaniques de la rive gauche du Rhin. Il serait intéressant de délimiter cette ancienne province de la Romania" (see *Romania*, LI, 441, and *Zeits. f. roman. Phil.*, XXXVIII, 1–75).

It is probable that the French element in English also owes something to the folk-speech of the Walloon region, but little seems to have been done with the needed thoroughness. Do forms like *oile*, 'oil,' *annoy*, *provost*, and Chaucer's *werreye* (for Fr. *guerreie*) reproduce Walloon characteristics? In vocabulary also it is a priori probable that English owes some material to the eastern regions of Belgium. On page 257 of J. Haust's *Etymologies* is treated the verb *trep'ser*, 'donner à une terre le troisième labour,' representing Lat. *TRA(N)SVERSARE (REW, 8859); similarly Fr. *traversin* is in Walloon *trep'sin*, *clavecin* is *clap'cin*, while *Stapsoul* was formerly *Stavesoul*. Cf. from the same source Engadine *trafscher*, 'verwandeln,' and also, for the meaning, Span. *travesar*, 'hin und her laufen.' Have we here the original of Eng. *trapes*, *traipse*, the origin of which has so long been doubtful? Certainly 'to tramp across fields,' now to plow, now to spread manure, then to plow or harrow it in, these suggest very closely the essential idea conveyed by *traipse* in which often there is a connotation of bedraggled and muddy weariness.—T. A. J.

The Hispanic Society of America has rendered a real service to Hispanists by printing a photographic reproduction of the 1611 edition of Covarrubias' *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, and distributing the same gratis among its members. This famous dictionary, as everybody knows, is indispensable to the student of the Age of Gold, and, while most university libraries possess a

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copy, that is far from sufficient. Each worker should have one in his private library, and while the work is not excessively rare or highly priced, it is becoming increasingly difficult to purchase. In the present edition each page is reduced to the size of a postage stamp. Along with it comes one of Admiral Fiske's reading machines. When one of the minute pages is properly placed in the holder it can be easily read through the lens. But the difficulty of operation where, as in the case of a dictionary, one desires to skip rapidly from page to page, is extreme. One hesitates to look a gift-horse in the mouth, but as the donor solicits a frank opinion one may express regret that a full-size reproduction has not been made. Many of us would gladly pay ten dollars for such a book, and the cost could be little if any more than that of the present edition. However, the main thing has been accomplished, and for this we are grateful.—G. T. N.

Die deutsche Sprachwissenschaft in der Allgemeinen Deutschen Bibliothek. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Philologie im Zeitalter der Aufklärung. In this inaugural dissertation, by Werner Salow (Greifswald, 1926), the somewhat dreary tale of the linguistics contained in the book-reviews of Friedrich Nicolai's journal (1766–94) is relieved by a list of the comments on doubtful words (pp. 54–107); on the whole, these are in line with the later development. The *Bibliothek* was an organ of the rationalistic movement, which here appears not so black as it has been painted; the linguistic notions are in advance of those now entertained, say, by the average teacher. The literary man is at his worst when he discusses language; in the eighteenth century he had, at any rate, good excuse for the attempt.—L. B.

Camillo von Klenze, in his *From Goethe to Hauptmann. Studies in a Changing Culture* (New York, 1926), bids farewell to active academic work in this country, and leaves with us a token of his long and successful career as a scholar and a teacher. The five essays contained in this readable book cover different periods of time and a variety of subjects, all interesting: "Goethe's Italy"; "German Predecessors of Ruskin"; "Realism and Romanticism in Keller and Meyer"; "Naturalism in German Drama from Schiller to Hauptmann"; and "Hauptmann's Treatment of the Lower Classes." The most important of these chapters seems to be the first, which is based on an investigation published some years ago. By a thorough examination of books on travel and art in Italy known to Goethe at the time of his Italian journey, von Klenze shows conclusively that Goethe's judgments of Italian art reveal no appreciable degree of originality or of spontaneity; that they follow the generally shallow and banal estimates characteristic of the rationalism of the age; that he passed by, unheeding, the art of the Florentine and the Venetian schools to worship at the conventional shrines of Bolognese and Umbrian art, especially that of Raphael.

The reviewer is inclined to attribute to this conclusion a greater impor-

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tance than the author seems to do. Von Klenze turns from the artistic failure of Goethe's "Journey" to prove that that failure did not impair the importance of the "Journey" as a record of the development and expansion of his general humanistic and scientific understanding of life, and particularly of man in the totality of nature. The author, I believe, might have turned a fresher page by extending his study to Goethe's theories on art subsequent to the Italian journey, and particularly to the *Propyläen*, Goethe's art magazine, by which he attempted, fortunately in vain, to stem the tide released by a humble little work of young Wackenroder. Goethe's mentor in matters in art after 1795 was Heinrich Meyer, a copious writer who has come to be known in the history of art as the leader of the most reactionary and unintelligent academism in the art criticism of that time and well into the nineteenth century. Meyer, like Goethe in the *Propyläen*, was convinced of the mandatory or regulative force of his theories on art. Goethe and he meant to prescribe eternal rules to the artists, and to lay in bonds the spirit of Wackenroder which to them seemed revolutionary.

The technique applied by von Klenze with such success to the question of Goethe's originality in art matters during the Italian journey, namely, the technique of a comprehensive study of the artistic environment as embodied in the pictorial theory of the time, would lead to a definitive conclusion regarding the value of Goethe's pictorial theories as a whole—a conclusion, in view of current palpable exaggerations of Goethe's pictorial gifts, much to be desired. The reviewer cannot but hope that von Klenze may turn his skill in this, his own technique, to a task which would be the real completion of his investigation.

All the essays in this book are characterized by a large background of culture and well-chosen reading, and by a trained capacity to see individual works and personalities in a wide focus of ideas in process of development.—MARTIN SCHÜTZE.

The cataloguing of traditional materials in the field of storiology is a laborious task which has been avoided by most scholars. At the present moment, however, a number of lists are on the point of appearing. The first of these to issue from the press is P. Voorhoeve's *Overzicht van de volksverhalen der Bataks* (dissertation, Leiden, 1927). The narratives told by this tribe are in general widely current in the Far East; no doubt the material catalogued represents fairly enough the Malaysian stock of tales. The great differences between the Malaysian and the European tales made it impracticable to employ the usual system of classification, that of Antti Aarne, which is based on the ordinary North European stock. Since many Batak tales have made their way to Europe (no doubt from India as a starting-point), references to Aarne's list might have been provided in a separate list as a supplement. Scholars will thank Dr. Voorhoeve for making access possible to this large and interesting collection of material.—A. T.

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In *Ethnographie sismique et volcanique, ou les tremblements de terre et les volcans dans la religion, la morale, la mythologie et le folklore de tous les peuples* (Pp. vii+206. Paris: Champion) the Count de Montessus de Ballore, former director of the seismological service in Chile, has undertaken a well-nigh impossible task, but one for which, as compiler of a *Bibliografía general de temblores y terremotos* (Santiago, 1915–19) in eight volumes, he was perhaps as well prepared as anyone. Suspicion, however, is awakened by the fact that there is but one reference to Germany, and this is taken from a Latin work. Doubt is increased by casual review of the footnotes: German or Germanic sources are conspicuously, although not completely, absent. Suspicion is confirmed by the treatment of Loki (miscalled "Loti") in Scandinavian myth. The author cites as authorities "Les Eddas" and Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire infernal.* It is scarcely conceivable that he verified the first of these references, and the second is hardly an authority on Norse myth. Moreover, the omission of all mention of Axel Olrik's extensive studies on Ragnarök, which are so intimately concerned with the seismological aspects, is a fault of greater import. The book is perhaps better than these criticisms make it appear. It should make no pretension to competence in matters touching Germanic tradition and folk-lore. If it announced itself rather as a preliminary collection of seismological myth, story, and superstition from chiefly French, Spanish, and Spanish-American sources, and if it had a less grandiloquent and inclusive title, it would be wholly welcome. It is conveniently arranged, it contains a useful assembling of inaccessible materials, and it is in the main carefully annotated.—A. T.

William F. Giese's *Victor Hugo. The Man and the Poet* (New York: Dial Press, 1926. Pp. 315) is the most brilliant and thorough indictment of Hugo in the English language. Proceeding on the paths trodden by Biré and Hennequin, this book says superbly nearly everything that could be said against "the man and the poet." A doctrinaire bias is evident. The author is fundamentally classical, "humanistic," rational; Joubert and Babbitt are his masters. By such measuring-rods he finds Hugo naturalistic, lawless, and lacking in taste. Romanticism in general is condemned in a dozen passages, and its high-priest is simply a "charlatan of genius."

Only that and nothing more. Professor Giese deliberately averts his eyes from this unsurpassed poetry. Although he is too wise to deny Hugo his evident gifts—verbal artistry, imagery, vision, mythopœic fertility, descriptive mastery—these are conceded and not emphasized: it is mostly "illegitimate magic" that Hugo practices. These gifts were to a large extent vitiated by a Gothic lack of restraint together with an inability to think clearly and finely. The personal equation is, for Professor Giese, the ultimate quality that decides the integrity of the work; and Hugo's personal equation was low. This is demonstrated at some length as regards his overweening vanity, his love affairs, his political rôles, his inbred demagoguery. His humanitarian-

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ism is suspect, while his conception of Nature is very inadequate. The critic summarizes the poet as:

> A great decorative artist, impervious to thought and only superficially stirred by feeling, resolutely gilding commonplaces or translating man and nature into strangely arbitrary but imposing fantasies and pictures—that is perhaps a complete definition of Victor Hugo.

In other words, Hugo was not a Wordsworth, nor was he a Virgil. Professor Giese's quarrel, and that of his school, is really with French conceptions of literary art. He wants it always to be something else—thought, or ethics, or a preordained assimilation of man and nature. It is a Procrustean measure, transported from New England. It is not the way to reckon with fresh beauty and vitality. *Le plus beau poète au monde ne peut donner que ce qu'il a.* Consequently, this work, while containing many incidental values of phrase and thought, suffers from the disadvantages of a *parti pris;* it re-treads the old minuet, it repeats the familiar logical pattern. Were it not better, as regards Rousseau and Hugo, Anatole France and Marcel Proust, to subordinate other considerations and expatiate on what these writers have contributed to the art of writing? Or, if one prefers La Fontaine to Hugo, as Professor Giese does, why not "go in" for La Fontaine? Chateaubriand once suggested substituting "for the sterile criticism of defects the more fruitful criticism of beauties." Only thus can we keep our eyes level with new horizons.—E. P. D.

In *Thomas Hardy from Serial to Novel*, by Mary Ellen Chase (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1927), three of Hardy's novels, *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, and *Jude the Obscure* are the subjects of study. The main purpose is to bring out the differences in the book and the serial form of publication. At the instigation of magazine editors or out of deference to Victorian prudery and sentimentality, Hardy, in the serial publication of these novels, was less frank and realistic in the depiction of sex relationships, less somber and more sentimental in tone, and more concerned with conventional melodramatic situation and suspense. The detailed study of the differences throws an interesting light upon the conventional standards of the time and upon Hardy's methods of work.

The author in no sense condemns the novelist for his conforming to magazine requirements but commends the artistry of the final form of his work. Hardy she considers the foremost English realist of the nineteenth century. To some readers the study will justify a rather different conclusion. Hardy's chief defect, like that of other Victorian novelists, is overplotting. His concern with the minute accidents of life, his elaborate weaving of these into a fateful plot, surely qualifies the author's statement that his novels illustrate the progress of the novel from reliance upon incident to reliance upon character. Where Hardy's novels fail is precisely in the determination of the character's fates not by inner forces but by accident, coincidence, and chance.—CARL H. GRABO.

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DOCUMENTS AND RECORDS

CHAUCER ABROAD IN 1368

According to the *Life Records*, Chaucer first went abroad about June 20, 1370;[1] but the following document, recently discovered by Mr. V. B. Redstone, shows that he was abroad in 1368:

Soient faitz briefs desouz n*ostre* g*rant* seal p*ur* n*ostre* ame vallet Geffrey Chaucer de passer en port de Douorr' ouesqez deux hakeneys vint soldz por ses despenses *et* dis liures en eschange. Donne souz n*ostre* priue seal a Wyndesore le xvij iour de Juyl Lan quarante second.[2]

Since there is no reference to the King's business and none to companions —not even to a servant as riding the second hackney—the probability seems to be that Chaucer went alone, with a spare horse, either on business of his own or on business not sufficiently official to be recorded as such.

The only other letters of protection of the same date which have been preserved are: (1) for four pilgrims to St. James (of Compostella) "oue quatre liures p*ar* eschange *et* chescun de eux oue vint soldz pur ses despenses";[3] and (2) for "Henri le Fauconer du Conte de Seint Poul," with one hackney which he had brought with him into the realm and with a "vallet" and his falcons, "vint soldz en monoie pur ses despenses *et* quarante soldz p*ar* eschange."[4]

These documents show clearly that Chaucer was not going with the pilgrims to Compostella, who had only four pounds among them for exchange, nor with the falconer, evidently returning to France with two pounds.

Where was Chaucer going? And how long did he remain?

According to the *Life Records*,[5] a half-yearly payment of his annuity was made October 31, 1368, seemingly to himself; but there is nothing else to suggest that he was in England before that time. He could, therefore, have remained abroad some three and a half months.

Of his possible destination the amount of money he carried may give some hint. It was a large sum for a man traveling alone, whether viewed as the equivalent of about fifteen hundred dollars today or in comparison with the amounts carried by other travelers, as appears from the following list:

G. de Dene, yeoman, Dover to Rome, two hackneys, £10, Nov. 17, 1367.[6]

J. Busevill, parson, Dover to Rome, one hackney, £10, Dec., 1367.[7]

Two monks, Dover to Rome, one yeoman and three hackneys, £10, Dec., 1367.[8]

[1] IV, 180. He went on the King's business but the circumstances of his journey and his destination are still unknown.

[2] Chancery Warrants, Bills and Privy Seal, C. 81/918, No. 16.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 15.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 17.

[5] IV, 161.

[6] Cal. Pat. Rolls (1367–70), p. 70.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[8] *Ibid.*

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John de Padebury, squire, with two men and three horses, Dover to Naples, £15, Jan. 15—July 16, 1346–47.[1] This last is especially illuminating because Padebury was of Chaucer's status, he was evidently alone, and the fifteen pounds clearly included his expenses to Naples, both ways.

More interesting still is the detailed account of Edmund Rose, whose name also appears near Chaucer's in the list of squires, who went to Pavia with seventeen horses and seven greyhounds for the Duke of Milan, January 27—March 20, 1368, shortly before Lionel set out to marry the Duke of Milan's daughter. Although Rose's account is interesting enough to publish in some detail, the main points of it will suffice here. He was given eighty pounds at the exchequer; he had eighteen men; he was rather more than seven weeks on the way; his slowness is to be explained partly by the season and partly by his incumbrances, two weeks being given to resting, sometimes several days at a time, and dosing the horses. He spent altogether £99 10*s.* 7*d.;* but as a study of his accounts shows, nearly £30 went for extras which would be little or nothing in the case of a single traveler.[2] With these deductions, it is safe to say that £5 each way would have covered the expenses of one man going to Pavia with two horses.[3] An interesting check on this is the allowance made for the expenses of the messenger sent by Rose to England on March 24, four days after his arrival. This messenger was forty-five days (March 24—May 7) on the return journey and was allowed 16*d.* a day for himself and his horse—a total of £3.[4] Compare with this Chaucer's item in 1373 for the expenses of three messengers sent to England from either Florence or Genoa as £7 10*s.*, or 50*s.* each.[5] But nearer to Chaucer's case is that of John de Burton, "vallet" of the Queen, who only a short time before, May 1, 1368, went overseas via Dover, with two "garcons" and two hackneys, to Lombardy with ten marks "en eschange."[6] All this goes to show that Chaucer could have gone out to his earliest patron, Prince Lionel, and have returned to England on the sum he is known to have had.

But since the search for information has not been completed, it need not be argued now that he did go to Italy, though the likelihood of this destination, in view of all the circumstances, is much greater than that of Gascony, Prussia, or Spain. Apart from its possible implications, the new item is sufficiently interesting as showing the young poet, apparently alone on the Continent, two years before his earliest recorded mission abroad.

EDITH RICKERT

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[1] K. R. Accounts, E 101/312/25.

[2] As, for instance, for the pay of a French man-at-arms, to guide the party and give safe-conduct (no doubt the palfreys and hounds were valuable), for ferries, medicine for the horses, farriery, and so on, as well as for the expenses of a messenger sent back to England.

[3] Rose allowed 18*d.* per man and horse, *per diem.*

[4] Cut by the auditor to 52*s.*

[5] *LR*, IV, 184.

[6] C.81/916, No. 1. Note also in the same file that William de Hoddynge and John Courtepy (position not stated) went overseas to the Duke of Clarence, with two "garcons," taking only £26 (*ibid.*, No. 22).

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